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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOLUME XXXIV



1961-1962



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Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi
Printed at the Government of India Press, Calcutta, India
1963

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(THE NAMES OF THE CONTRIBUTORS ARE ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY)

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# ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 13, lines 2 ff.—*Add Note*—Dinna was the sculptor who fashioned the image bearing the inscription. He is known from two image inscriptions from Kasiā (cf. *ASI, A. R.*, 1906-07, pp. 49-50, 62).

,, 21, f.n. 8, line 1—Read—*Ruḻa*° and not *Ruḻu*°.

,, 48, f.n. 6.—*For* 6 *read* 4.

,, f.n. 4.—*For* 1 *read* 6.

,, 68, last line—*Read* Mallikārjuna.

,, 71, f.n. 4, line 2—Read *chāryakaḥ*.

,, 73, f.n. 7, line 1—*Read* Maṁche(cha)nārya.

,, 75, last foot-note—*Read* 5 *at the beginning*.

,, 80, f.n. 3, line 2—Read *dānta*.

,, 127, f.n. 5, line 2—*Read* p. 140.

,, 132, foot-note 2.—*Add Note*—Hiuen-tsang locates Mo-la-p'o (Mālava) near the valley of the river Mahī. Some scholars identify this land with the Mālavaka *āhāra* known from the grants of Dhruvasēna II Bālāditya to have formed a part of Maitraka territory. There were therefore at least two Mālavas even in the seventh century. As a matter of fact, however, there were several Mālava countries in different parts of India. See H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 1938, p. 492, note 4.

,, 134, f.n. 1—Read *upadhmānīya*.

,, 135, line 34—*Read* an image each.

,, 136, f,n. 5, line 2—*Read* pp. *for* p.

,, 138, line 24—*Read* which certainly.

,, 143, line 4—*For* the era *read* the area.

,, 152, f.n. 11—*Read* jyēṣṭha(shṭha).

,, 153, f.n. 5—Read *Karṇṇē*.

,, ,, f.n. 9, line 2—*Read* the forehead. Or

,, 180, f.n. 4, line 2—Read Raṅganātha°.

,, 194, line 29—Read *Amānta* and *Pūrṇimānta*.

,, 200, line 9—*Read* north of

,, 210, f.n. 1—*Read* 15-16.

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

**VOL. XXXIV** **1961-1962**


## No. 1 GRAECO-ARAMAIC INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA NEAR KANDAHAR

(*2 Plates*)[1]


J. FILLIOZAT, PARIS



(*Received on 4.5.1959*)


The inscription under study was discovered at **Shar-i-Kuna** in April 1958 by Mr. Abdul Bay Ashna, Headmaster of a school at **Kandahar** in Afghanistan. It was immediately notified, through the Afghan authorities, to the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan and to the Kabul Museum. A few days later, Dr. U. Scerrato of the Museum and Mr. J. M. Casal of the Delegation took estampages of the inscription independently. The importance of the epigraph, which is well engraved and is in a satisfactory state of preservation, was at once realised as it is bilingual, written in Greek and Aramaic. The second line of the Greek text was found to begin with the royal name *Piodasses*, easily recognised as the Greek transcription of *Piyadasi*. The Italian and French epigraphists were soon at work on the record and, after preliminary notices in the newspapers, the discovery of the new epigraph of Asoka Piyadasi was announced to the scientific world on the 20th June by Prof. Louis Robert in a communication to the French Académie des Inscriptions. It was also noticed in an article (in English) by Dr. Scerrato in the *East and West*, Rome, Vol. IX, Parts 1-2, March-June 1958, pp. 1-6, with illustrations. The inscription has since been published with text and translation simultaneously in Italian in the *Serie Orientale Roma*, Vol. XXI,[2] and in French in the *Journal Asiatique*.[3] Prof. E. Lamotte of Louvain also published his own commentary in the Addenda to his great work on the history of Buddhism just ready to issue from the press at that time.[4]

The discovery was **not an unexpected one.** As Dr. Scerrato points out,[5] Alfred Foucher, in 1942, emphasized how strange the absence of any Greek inscription was in a region like ancient Gandhāra, where Greek culture is so strongly witnessed by many evidences.[6] Since the publication of Foucher's work, several fragmentary inscriptions in Greek characters have, indeed, been discovered in the excavations at Surkh Kotal in Bactria ; but, with the exception of one broken line

[1] [We are indebted to the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan for the illustrations excepting the eye-copy of the Greek inscription. Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article in Sanskrit expressions.—Ed.]

[2] *Un Editto Bilingue Greco-Aramaico di Asoka : La prima iscrizione Greca Scoperta in Afghanistan*, Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Rome, 1958, 35 pages with 2 Plates (introduction by Dr. U. Scerrato ; preface by Prof. G. Tucci ; transcript, translation and notes by Prof. G. Pugliese Carratelli for the Greek text, and by Prof. G. Levi della Vida for the Aramaic text).

[3] 'Une bilinque gréco-araméenne d'Asoka' in *Journ. As.*, 1958, No. 1, pp. 1-48, with 5 Plates (introduction and edition of the Greek version by Prof. Daniel Schlumberger ; observations on the Greek inscription by Prof. L. Robert ; edition of the Aramaic inscription by Prof. A. Dupont-Sommer ; the Iranian data by Prof. E. Benveniste).

[4] *Histoire du bouddhisme indien : Des origines à l'ère śaka*, Bibl. Muséon, Vol. 43, Louvain, 1958, pp. 789-98.

[5] *Un Editto Bilingue*, etc., p. 2.

[6] *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, Mém. Deleg. franc. en Afghanistan, 1, 2, Paris, 1942, p. 385.

in a non-Greek epigraph, the language of none of them is Greek.[1] The new inscription of Asoka is the first complete record in the Greek language from Afghanistan, and its language is pure and fine Greek. Both the author of the Greek text and its engraver were fully acquainted with the Greek tradition. The latter's ability, in the opinion of Prof. Robert, was quite similar to that of the best stoneworkers of Greece in the 3rd century B.C.

The Aramaic part of the document is even more **precious.** Inscriptions in this language and script are few in number and they are mostly damaged ; but this one is complete and its interpretation receives help from the parallel Greek text. Apart from its historical importance, the epigraph is highly interesting from the philological point of view.

## GREEK TEXT[2]

1 Δέκα ἐτῶν πληρη[θέντ]ων βασιλεὺς
2 Πιοδάσσης εὐσέβεια[ν̣] ἔδειξ̣εν τοῖς ἀν-
3 θρώποις, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου εὐσεβεστέρους
4 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐποίησεν καὶ πάντα
5 εὐθηνεῖ κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν, καὶ ἀπέχεται
6 βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐμψύχων καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ
7 ἄνθρωποι καὶ ὅσοι θηρευταὶ ἢ ἁλιεῖς
8 βασιλέως πέπαυνται θηρεύοντες, καὶ
9 εἴ τινες ἀκρατεῖς, πέπαυνται τῆς ἀκρα-
10 σίας κατὰ δύναμιν, καὶ ἐνήκοοι πατρὶ
11 καὶ μητρὶ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παρὰ
12 τὰ πρότερον, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ λωϊον
13 καὶ ἄμεινον κατὰ πάντα ταῦτα
14 ποιοῦντες διάξουσιν.

1 **déka e'tō̃n plērē[thént]ōn** basileùs

2 **Piodássēs** eu'sebeia[n] e''deixen toi͂s a'n-

[1] Raoul Curiel, 'Les inscriptions de Surkh Kotal' in *Journ. As.*, 1954, 2, pp. 189-205 ; W.B. Henning, 'Surkh Kotal' in *BSOAS*, Vol. XVIII, 1956, No. 2, pp. 366-67

[2] From Prof. Schlumberger's transcript.

GRAECO-ARAMAIC INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA NEAR KANDAHAR—PLATE I

The Inscribed Rock

A



B



(from Photographs)

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# GRAECO-ARAMAIC INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA NEAR KANDAHAR—PLATE I

The Inscribed Rock

A



B



(from Photographs)

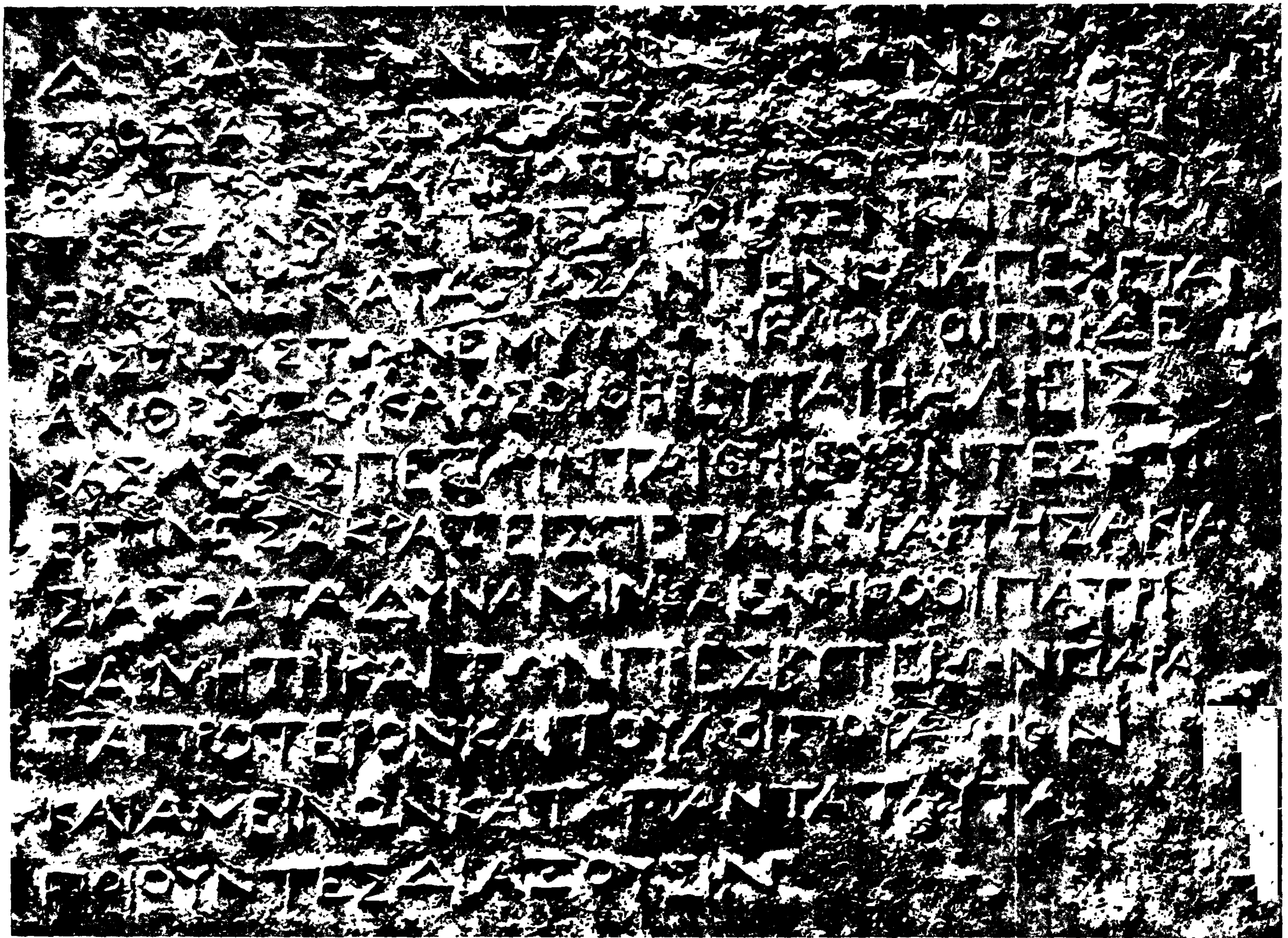
# EYE-COPIES

## Greek Inscription

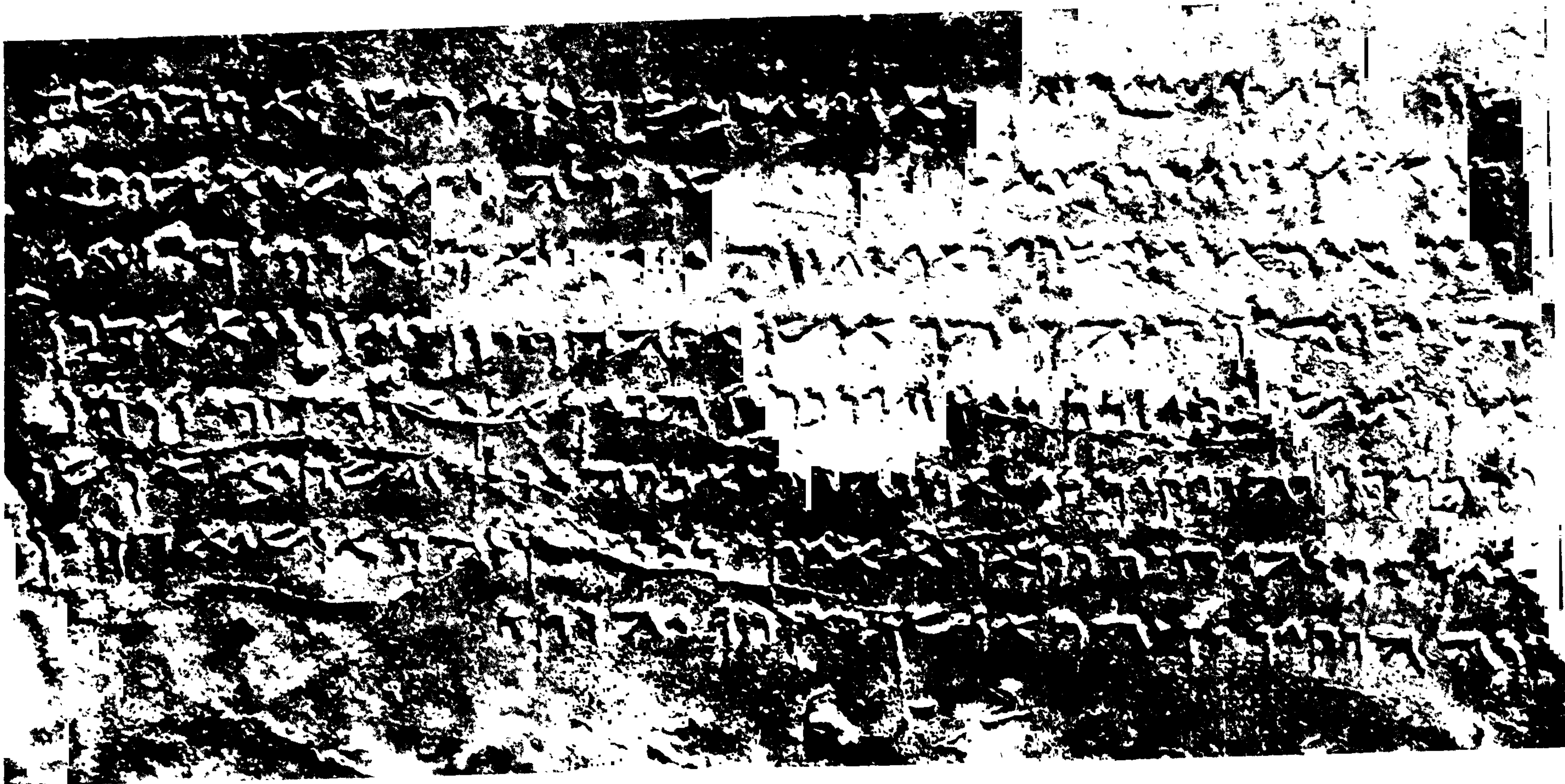
ΔΕ[.]ΑΞΤΩΝΠΛΗΡΗ[...]ΩΝΒΑΣΙ[.]ΕΥΣ
ΠΙΟΔΑΣΣ[.]ΙΣΕΥΣΕ[.]ΕΙΑ[.]ΕΔ[...]ΕΝΤΟΙ[..]Ν
ΘΡΩΠΟΙΣ[.]ΑΙΑΠΟΤΟΥΤΟΥΕΥΣΕΒΕΣΤΕΡΟΥΣ
ΤΟΥΣΑΝΘ[.]ΩΠΟΥΣΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝΚΑΙΠΑΝΤΑ
ΕΥΘΗΝΕΙΚΑΤΑΠΑΣΑΝΓΗΝΚΑΙΑΠΕΧΕΤΑΙ
ΒΑΣ[.]ΛΕΥΣΤΩΝΕΜΨΥΧΩΝΚΑΙΟΙΛΟΙΠΟΙΔΕ
ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΚΑΙΟΣΟΙΘΗΡΕΥΤΑΙΗΑΛΙΕΙΣ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΠΕΠΑΥΝΤΑΙΘΗΡΕΥΟΝΤΕΣ[.]ΑΙ
ΕΙΤΙΝΕΣΑΚΡΑΤΕΙΣΠΕΠΑΥΝΤΑΙΤΗΣΑΚΡΑ
ΣΙΑΣΚΑΤΑΔΥΝΑΜΙΝΚΑΙΕΝΗΚΟΟΙΠΑΤΡΙ
ΚΑΙΜΗΤΡΙΚΑΙΤΩΝΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΩΝΠΑΡΑ
ΤΑΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΥΛΟΙΠΟΥΛ[.]ΩΙΟΝ
ΚΑΙΑΜΕΙΝΟΝΚΑΤΑΠΑΝΤΑΤΑΥΤΑ
ΠΟΙΟΥΝΤΕΣΔΙΑΞΟΥΣΙΝ

## Aramaic Inscription

A. Greek Inscription



B. Aramaic Inscription



3 thrṓpois, kaì 'apò toútou eu'sebestérous
4 toùs a'nthrṓpous e'poísen kaì pánta
5 eu'thēneĩ katà pãsan gẽn, kaì a'pékhetai
6 basileùs tõn e'mpsúkhōn kaì oi' loipoì dè
7 ántinōpoi kaì 'ó on thēreutaì 'ē a'lieĩs
8 basiléōs pépauntai thēreúontes, kaì
9 e'í tines a'krateĩs, pépauntai tẽs a'kra-
10 sías katà dúnamin, kaì e'nékooi patrì
11 kaì metrì kai tõn presbutérōn parà
12 tà prótēron, kaì toũ loipoũ lõion
13 kaì á'meinon katà pánta taũta
14 poioũntes diáxousin.

TRANSLATION[1]

**Ten years** having elapsed (*from his installation*), King **Piodásses** has shown mankind (*the way to*) Piety. And since then he has rendered mankind more pious, and everything is thriving on the whole earth. And the King abstains from animals (i.e. meat), and all men including the King's huntsmen and fishermen have stopped hunting. And those who could not control themselves have ceased to do so as far as they could. And (*having become*) obedient to father and mother and to the elders, contrary to what happened before, they will, henceforward, by thus acting, lead a better and in every way more profitable life.

ARAMAIC TEXT[2]

1 שנן ־ פתיתו עביד זי מראן פרידרש מלכא קשיטא מהקשט
2 מן אדין זעיר מרעא לכלהם אנשן וכלהם אדושיא הובד
3 ובכל ארקא ראמשתי ואף זי זנה במאכלא למראן מלכא זעיר
4 קטלן זנה למחזה כלהם אנשן אתהחסינן אזי נוניא אחדן
5 אלך אנשן פתיזבת כנם זי פרבסת הוין אלך אתהחסינן מן
6 פרבסתי והופתיסתי לאמוהי ולאבוהי ולמזישתיא אנשן
7 איך אסרהי חלקותא ולא איתי דינא לכלהם אנשיא חסין
8 זנה הותיר לכלהם אנשן ואוסף יהותר

1 <u>sh</u>nn **10 ptytw** 'byd zy mr'n **Prydr<u>sh</u>** mlk' q<u>sh</u>yt' mhq<u>sh</u>t
2 mn 'dyn z'yr mr'' lkllım 'n<u>sh</u>n wkllım 'dw<u>sh</u>y' hwbd

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[1] From Prof. Schlumberger's French translation. The interpretations of the two texts, respectively by Prof. Pugliese Carratelli and Prof. Levi della Vida, are given in an English translation in an appendix to *Un Editto Bilingue*, etc., pp. 33-34.

[2] From Prof. Dupont-Sommer's transcript.

3 wbkl 'rq' r'ms̲h̲ty w'p zy znh bm'kl' lmr'n mlk' z'yr

4 qṭln znh lmḥzh klhm 'ns̲h̲n 'thḥsynn 'zy nwny' ḥdn

5 'lk 'ns̲h̲n ptyzbt knm zy prbst hwyn 'lk 'thḥsynn mn

6 prbsty whwptysty l'mwhy wl'bwhy wlmzys̲h̲ty' 'ns̲h̲n

7 'yk 'srhy ḥlqwt' wl 'yty dyn' lklhm' 'ns̲h̲y' ḥsyn

8 znh hwtyr lklhm 'ns̲h̲n w'wsp yhwrt.

## TRANSLATION[1]

(Line 1) **Ten years** having elapsed (?), it happened (?) that our Lord **Priyadarśi,** the King, became the institutor of Truth.

(Line 2) Since then, evil diminished among all men, and all misfortunes (?) he caused to disappear :

(Line 3) and upon all the earth (*there are*) peace (*and*) joy. And further more, (*there is*) this about food : for our Lord, the King,

(Line 4) a few (*animals*) are killed ; seeing this, all the men ceased (*killing animals*), even (?) those who catch fish (i.e. the fishermen) ;

(Line 5) these men are subject to prohibition. Similarly, those who were without restraint have ceased

(Line 6) to be without restraint. And (*there reigns*) obedience to one's mother and to one's father and to old people

(Line 7) according to the obligations set on every one by fortune. And there is no Judgement for all pious men.

(Line 8) This (i.e. the practice of the Law) has been profitable for all men and shall be still profitable.

Both the Greek and Aramaic texts are clearly free translations of some instruction on *Dhamma* sent from Pāṭaliputra to the local authorities on behalf of the king. They are not word-for-word translations of any of the edicts of Asoka so far discovered. As Prof. Lamotte has pointed out,[2] they belong to the class of texts referred to in Rock Edict XIV as *saṁkhitena lekhāpitā*, 'caused to be written concisely'. But they truly preserve the aims of Asoka's *Dhamma-lipis* and are close to Rock Edicts I and IV.

The dating in the Greek version of the record refers to **expired years** and, according to the analogy of the dates in the Prakrit inscriptions of Asoka, the reckoning started from his *abhiseka.* The fact that the date in the Greek text under study unquestionably refers to expired and not current years is very important. The dates of Asoka's inscriptions do not indicate whether the years are current or expired. They are generally supposed to refer to expired years, though some scholars

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[1] From Prof. Dupont-Sommer's French translation.

[2] Op. cit., p. 794.

have supported the contrary opinion. As in Pillar Edict V Asoka says : "Until (*I had been*) anointed 26 years, in this period, the release of prisoners was ordered by me 25 (*times*)," it has been surmised that the years were current ones.[1] Dr. P. H. L. Eggermont, the author of the most elaborate study of the chronology of Asoka, has also adopted the same view.[2] Nevertheless the argument is by no means conclusive, since Asoka does not say whether he decided to release prisoners once every year from the very beginning of his reign and he may not have begun to do so before his conversion to Buddhism after the conquest of Kaliṅga. Moreover, such adjectival expressions as *dasa-vasābhisito* qualifying *rājā* (cf. Rock Edict VIII) ought to be understood as 'being anointed ten years and not 'nine complete years and one part of a year' which would mean 'the tenth year since his anointment'. In any case, we have, in the explicit statement of the Greek epigraph under study, a very strong testimony against the interpretation of the years referred to in Asoka's Prakrit inscriptions as current ones.

Greek *EUSEBEIA*, eu'sebeia 'piety', and Aramaic *qshyt*', 'truth', are evidently tentative renderings of the more comprehensive Prakrit word *dhaṁma* (Sanskrit *dharma*), or, according to the spelling of the north-western edicts, *dhrama*, which is the right Order to be devotedly sought for.

The Aramaic name of the king is restored by Prof. Levi della Vida as *Priyadarś* and by Prof. Dupont-Sommer as *Priyadarśi*. In the defective Aramaic writing, the reading of the text is *prydrsh*. But, in the Indo-Aramaic or Kharoshṭhī system of writing which is much more precise than the Aramaic owing to the influence of the phonetic system of the Brāhmī,[3] the spelling is *priyadraśi*, or *priyadraśin* or *priadraśi*,[4] and we have to prefer the restoration *Priyadraśi*. *Priyadarśin* is the correct corresponding form in Sanskrit.

Like Rock Edict IV, the bilingual inscription is **an announcement of a new and more prosperous era resulting from the establishment of the same new behaviour** : cessation of killing living beings and obedience to mother, father and elders. The corresponding passage in Rock Edict IV in the Shahbazgarhi version runs as follows : *anaraṁbho praṇanaṁ avihisa bhutanaṁ ñatinaṁ saṁpaṭipati Bramaṇa-Śramaṇana saṁpaṭipati mata-pitushu vudhanaṁ sruśrusha*, 'not killing animals, not injuring living beings, good behaviour towards relatives, good behaviour towards the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas, obedience to mother and father and elders'. In the Graeco-Aramaic inscription, the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas are not mentioned, since they were not inhabiting the land of the Greeks as Asoka himself has pointed out in Rock Edict XIII. The good behaviour towards relatives is naturally included in the general prescriptions.

Generally, Greek AKRASIA, *a'krasia* means 'intemperance', as translated by Carratelli who surmises that the original referred to *saṁyama*. He is supported by Lamotte who draws our attention to Rock Edict IX : *praṇaṇaṁ sa[ṁ*]yamo*, 'refraining from (*the eating of*) animals', and thinks of 'abstinence' or 'sobriety'. The meaning may be more comprehensive, like 'self-control', after the interpretation of Schlumberger and Robert, which would also tally with the idea of *saṁyama*. In Rock Edict XIII, Asoka declares that he wanted 'for all living beings absence of injury, control, equanimous conduct' (Shahbazgarhi : *sava-bhutana akshati sa[ṁ]yamaṁ samachariyaṁ*). And immediately afterwards, he refers to the *dhrama-vijayo*, 'victory through the good Order', won by

[1] Cf. R. K. Mookerji, *Asoka*, London, 1928, p. 184.

[2] *The Chronology of the Reign of Asoka Moriya*, Leiden, 1956, p. 64. According to Prof. Lamotte (op. cit., p. 236), in the chronological data of the Singhalese chronicles, the years are current and not expired. He refers to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, XX, 1-6, where they are clearly current and this is confirmed by the *Vaṁsatthapakāsinī* commenting upon the passage in question. But the way the years are indicated is quite different in this text (*aṭṭhārasamhi vassamhi Dhammāsokassa ... tato dvādasame vasse*, 'in the eighteenth year ... in the twelfth year') from that of Asoka's inscriptions (cf. *duvadaśa-vasha-abhisitena*).

[3] Cf. J. Filliozat in Charles Fossey's *Notices sur les caractères étrangers*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 2nd ed., 1948, p. 236 ; L. Renou and J. Filliozat *L'Inde classique : Manuel des études indiennes*, Tome II, Paris, 1953, p. 669.

[4] Both the *i*-stem and the *in*-stem are in use as we have in the genitive case *priyadraśisa* and *priyadraśine*.

him in his own states, in the countries ruled by the Greek kings, in the South, and 'similarly here, in the royal estates, among the Yona-Kambojas', etc. (*evam=eva hida raja-vishavaspi Yona-Kaṁboyeshu*, etc.). The land of the Yona-Kambojas is clearly the region where the Graeco-Aramaic inscription expressing the same ideal has been actually discovered.

The Aramaic part of the inscription does not help us in ascertaining the exact meaning of *a'krasía*, since the corresponding word *prbsty* appears to have been borrowed from an Iranian **frabasti*, hitherto unattested.[1] But the statement in the same part that 'a few' animals were killed for the sake of the king, and the reference in both the texts to the cessation of the killing of living beings, are quite in accordance with the data of Rock Edict I, in which Asoka says that only three animals instead of many were killed in his kitchen for the preparation of curry and that these too would not be killed afterwards.

There is difference of opinion among the translators as regards the Greek passage PARA TA PROTERON KAI TOU LOIPOU, *parà tà próteron kaì toũ loipoũ* which Carratelli translates: 'as compared with the past, also in the future', while Schlumberger and Robert have: 'contrary to what happened before, they will henceforward ...' Tucci[2] thinks of a parallel to *hida-lokiko paralokiko* and translates: 'during the past and for the remaining', that is to say, during this life considered as antecedent (the proper meaning of *próteros* being 'the first [of two]' and, with reference to time, 'antecedent', and hence 'past') and the further state after death. Lamotte agrees with this last interpretation and refers to the Separate Kaliṅga Edict in which Asoka emphasizes his aim to ensure happiness for everybody in this world and in the other.

The difficulty arises from the ambiguous value of the Greek word *para*. Amongst its multifarious meanings, we have 'contrariwise' and 'during'. *Loipos* means 'which is remaining' either with reference to a thing or to a duration. But, as we have pointed out, the bilingual inscription under study is close to Rock Edict IV, which does not allude to a contrast between this world and the other, but insists on the same between the situation in the past, when violence and inobedience prevailed, and the new era of non-violence and obedience which resulted from the activities of the king. This contrast is the main idea of the edict from its very beginning, and the passage, which we have quoted above as a close parallel to the Greek text, runs immediatly before this statement: *yadiśaṁ bahuhi vashaśatehi na bhuta-pruve tadiśe aja vaḍhite Devanaṁpriyasa Priyadraśisa raño dhraṁm-anuśastiya anaraṁbho prananaṁ*, etc., 'what during many centuries formerly was not existing, has grown up today thanks to the *dhrama* instruction of King Devanaṁpriya Priyadraśi: not killing animals,' etc.

With the interpretation of *parà tà próteron* as 'contrariwise', referring to the past time when obedience was not observed, the parallel with the main idea of Rock Edict IV is quite complete. The only difference is in the order of the two terms of contrast. Rock Edict IV puts first the past and the Greek inscription first the new era; but the ideas are identical.[3] The words *kaì toũ loipoũ* begin[4] the last passage which announces a better way of life just as Rock Edict IV adds: *eta añaṁ cha bahu-vidhaṁ dhrama-charaṇaṁ vaḍhitaṁ vaḍhiśaticha*, 'in this and in many other ways this conduct according to the *Dhrama* has grown up and will grow up'.

The general concordance of the Greek inscription with Rock Edict IV has to be examined from the point of view of date. This edict was promulgated when Asoka was anointed twelve years.

[1] Cf. E. Benveniste in *Journ. As.*, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

[2] *Un editto*, etc., p. vi.

[3] Rock Edict IV gives in addition an enumeration of what was shown to the people on the occasion of the proclamation of the new era. Cf. 'Les festivités du Dhamma chez Asoka' in *Journ. As.*, 1957, pp. 1-9.

[4] Prof. Robert (op. cit., p. 12) has pointed out that all the sentences of the Greek text are connected by means of *kai*, 'and'. That is a good example of the so-called '*kai*-style' in Greek.

The fact is referred to in Pillar Edict VI in which Asoka recollects his action after twenty-six years from his anointment (cf. *duvādasa-vasa-abhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpitā lokasā hita-sukhāye*, 'being anointed twelve years, I have caused to be engraved a *dhamma*-inscription for the welfare and happiness of the world'). Since the bilingual inscription is dated, as we have seen, ten years after the anointment, it cannot be a translation of Rock Edict IV; but as it has a very close relation with the ideas of the latter, we are sure that Asoka had already undertaken his action two years before the promulgation of the said edict which he finally considered as fundamental.

On the other hand, the date given in Rock Edict VIII for Asoka's start for Sambodhi is exactly the same as the date of our bilingual inscription i.e. when he was anointed ten years. That was the time following the increase of his zeal which took place one year after his conversion. Evidently, since this conversion, consequent on the conquest of Kalinga, he had not completely renounced his old habits, some animals being still killed for his meals, as is mentioned in Rock Edict I and in the Aramaic part of our inscription. The first fruits of the increase of his zeal were the complete cessation of killing, the beginning of the propaganda for the new era, and his great pilgrimage. Subsequently, when he was anointed twelve years, he issued the edict which became Rock Edict IV when the series of Rock Edicts were collected, and he directed his officers (*yuta*, *rajuka* and *pradesika*) to go about with this edict (*dhammanusasti*) every five years (Rock Edict III). When he was anointed thirteen years, he created the ***Dhamma-mahamatras*** (Rock Edict V).

We now see exactly the place of the bilingual inscription in the succession of the deeds of Asoka. It belongs to the very beginning of his endeavour to propagate a more profitable life throughout his empire. This action was not specifically Buddhistic. There is no trace of a Buddhistic bias in the prescriptions either in the Greek text or in Rock Edict IV. The Aramaic text was accommodated to the Semitic creeds as is evidenced by the statement about the end of this text: "And there is no Judgment for all pious men." This is in full harmony with the instructions of Asoka. A Buddhist *upāsaka* himself and recommending Buddhist texts for the study even of Buddhist monks and nuns (cf. the Bhabra Edict), he nevertheless took care of all other sects (cf. Rock Edict XII), and his *mahamatras* were commanded to ensure the prosperity of all sects (cf. Pillar Edict VII). Piety for the Greeks, Truth for the Aramaic-speaking people, the *Dhamma* was the right Order for every society.

From the **historical** point of view, also the Graeco-Aramaic inscription is significant. The place of its discovery is in all probability the region of the ancient site of Alexandria of Arachosia where, according to Strabo (XV, 2, 9), Alexander had established Greek colonies and which was transferred by Seleukos Nikator to Chandragupta Maurya, the grandfather of Asoka. Now we know that Greek culture was well preserved in the said country under Mauryan rule till the days of Asoka and that the Arachosian province was still in the possession of that king. The Yonas or Greeks, who were different from those under the Greek kings and inhabited the territories lying within the empire of Asoka (cf. Rock Edicts V and XIII), are now located. The inscription was engraved for the sake of the Yonas who were Asoka's subjects.

These Yonas are mentioned in Asoka's edicts in association with the Kambojas or Kambojas who were probably Iranian autochthons of the region where the Greek colonies were established. Prof. Benveniste has surmised that the Aramaic part of the bilingual inscription was meant for their use. The language, it is true, is Aramaic and not Iranian: but it contains several words borrowed from the Iranian language as was usual throughout the whole Achaemenid empire. For about two centuries, the administrative language in the ancient provinces of the Achaemenid empire conquered by Alexander had been Aramaic, in spite of the fact that the empire, and in this region the people, were Iranian. It was normally preserved in subsequent times and, we see now, also under the Indian domination.

From the **philological** point of view, the importance of the Aramaic part of our epigraph lies in the fact that it will surely help the interpretation of the two already known Aramaic inscriptions related with Asoka, i.e. those from Taxila and Pul-i-Darunteh.[1]

Thus the bilingual inscription deserves the close attention of scholars and raises the hope of new finds in the Kandahar region.

[1] See the bibliography in Lamotte's *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*, p. 791 ; on the Taxila inscription, cf. also G. M. Bongard-Levin in *Sovetskoye Vostokovedenie*, 1956, 1, and Radhakrishna Choudhary, 'Asoka and the Taxila Inscription' in *ABORI*, Vol. XXXIX, 1958, pp. 127-32.

# No. 2—BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 15.5.1959)

About the end of the year 1957, I visited the Archaeological Museum at **Mathurā** and copied two inscriptions which were stated to have been recently discovered. These two epigraphs were noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1957-58, Nos. B 591 and 594. An inaccurate transcript of the first of these two records appeared in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 20th Session, 1957, p. 68. About a year later, I received an impression of another inscription discovered at **Mathurā** in the year 1958, from the Curator of the Mathurā Museum. It was likewise noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1958-59, No. B 788. Of the three inscriptions, the first and third are clearly **fragmentary,** while the nature of the second is difficult to determine. As the third record (i.e. No. B 788 of 1958-59) is considerably earlier than the second (i.e. No. B 594 of 1957-58), the former has been treated below as No. 2 and the latter as No. 3.[1]

## 1. Inscription[2] of Kanishka's Reign, Year 4

The inscription is engraved on the **pedestal** of a broken image. There are only two lines of writing. The inscribed area covers about 15½ inches in length and a little over 1 inch in height. Individual *aksharas* are about ¼ inch or slightly more in height, though a few letters including conjuncts and consonants endowed with vowel marks are bigger in size. The end of both the lines of writing is broken away along with the right-hand side of the inscribed stone.

The **characters** belong to the Brāhmī alphabet as used in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa age. Interesting from the palaeographical point of view are the letters *m* and *h* which are of the types generally styled 'Eastern Gupta', although *s* is of the so-called 'Western Gupta' variety. The early variety of *m* and the 'Western type' of *h* have, however, also been used ; cf. *mahā°* in line 2. The curve attached to the right of the lower part of the vertical of initial *ā* ends near the end of the lower left limb of the letter. This form of initial *ā* (cf. *ācha°* in line 2) is more common in the inscriptions of the Gupta age than those of the Kushāṇa period. Of initial vowels, only *a*, *ā* and *e* occur in the inscription, while, among numerical symbols, only 1 and 4 have been used in line 1.

The **language** of the epigraph is Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit. As regards **orthography,** there are some cases of the reduplication of *m* and *v* following *r* and one case of the similar reduplication of *dh* followed by *y*. The record was engraved in the **4th year of Kanishka,** i.e. the 4th regnal year of the Kushāṇa king Kanishka I who is now usually believed to have ascended the throne in 78 A.D. The exact date is quoted as *h[e] 1 d[i] 1*, i.e. the first day of the first month of winter, probably corresponding to Mārgaśīrsha-badi 1. The date of the inscription thus seems to fall in the year **81-82 A.D.**

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[1] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

[2] This is No. B 591 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1957-58.

The **purpose** of the epigraph is to record the installation of an object, the name of which has been lost at the end of line 1, although there is little doubt that it was a Buddhist image on the pedestal of which the inscription was incised.

The name of the person responsible for the installation is likewise lost. But he is stated to have been related to a *Sāddhyavihāri* of the Buddhist monk named Dharmanandin who was a *Dharma-kathika*. The expression *dharma-kathika* (Pāli *dhamma-kathiko*) means 'a preacher', while *sāddhyavihāri* stands for Pāli *saddhivihāri* (Sanskrit *sārdhaṁ-vihārin*) and means 'one's fellow priest living at the same monastery' in Pali and 'a fellow student' in Buddhist Sanskrit.

The installation of what was no doubt a Buddhist image was made on the *vedī* of (i.e. built by) *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* **Hummiyaka** at the *Sakka-vihāra* or the Śakra or Śākya monastery. The word *vedī* in the present context seems to mean a raised platform. The name Hummiyaka no doubt suggests the person's foreign origin. He seems to have been a *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (i.e. a commander of forces or a military governor) in the service of the Kushāṇa king Kanishka I.

The concluding sentence of the record, which is fragmentary was apparently similar to one generally found in the dedicatory inscriptions of the Mahāyāna Buddhists. The intention was to state that the donation of the gift (no doubt referring to the installation of the Buddhist image in question) was expected to benefit the donor's parents, teachers and others. Many inscriptions specify in this context the benefit as *anuttara-jñān-āvāpti* (i.e. attainment of the supreme knowledge) or *hita- sukha* (i.e. welfare and happiness) of the persons indicated.[1]

## TEXT [2]

1 Siddham[3] [||*] mah[ā]rājasya **Kaṇ[ishkas]ya [saṁ] 4 h[e] 1 [di] 1** [|*] etasyaṁ purvvāyaṁ bhiksho[r]=Dha[r]mmanand[is]ya dha[r]mma-[kathi]kasya sāddhyavihārisya [bha][4]......

2 pratishṭhāpayati mahādaṇḍan[ā]yaka-Hummiyaka-v[e]dyāṁ[5] Sakka[6]-vihāre [*|] anena deyadharmma-parityāgena mātā-pitṛiṇāṁ ācha[7] ............................ [||*]

### 2. Inscription[8] of Year 92

The inscription consists of four lines of writing covering an area about 9½ inches in length and 4 inches in height. Excepting *a*, *k*, *r*, etc., and conjuncts as well as consonants endowed with vowel marks, individual letters are a little more than ½ inch in height. The right-hand side of the inscribed stone is broken away, though it is difficult to say whether some letters at the end of the lines are lost. This is because the inscription can be somehow interpreted as it is.

The **characters** are similar to those of the epigraph edited above. But there is no instance of the use of *m* and *h* of the 'Eastern Gupta' type. The symbols for 1, 2, 5 and 90 occur in the epigraph. As regards **language** and **orthography** also, the epigraph closely resembles the other inscription, though Prakrit influence is more considerable in it and there is no case of the reduplication of a

[1] Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 250, text line 3 ; p. 262, text line 2 ; below, p. 11, text line 4, etc.

[2] From impressions.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] The intended word seems to have been *bhikshusya=bhikshoḥ*. A number of letters are lost at the end of the line.

[5] The *anusvāra* sign is engraved to the right of the *akshara dyā*.

[6] The *akshara sa* had been originally omitted and was later engraved below the line between *dyāṁ* and *kka*.

[7] The intended word is *āchariya* (Sanskrit *āchārya*). A number of letters are lost at the end of the line.

[8] This is No. B 788 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1958-59.

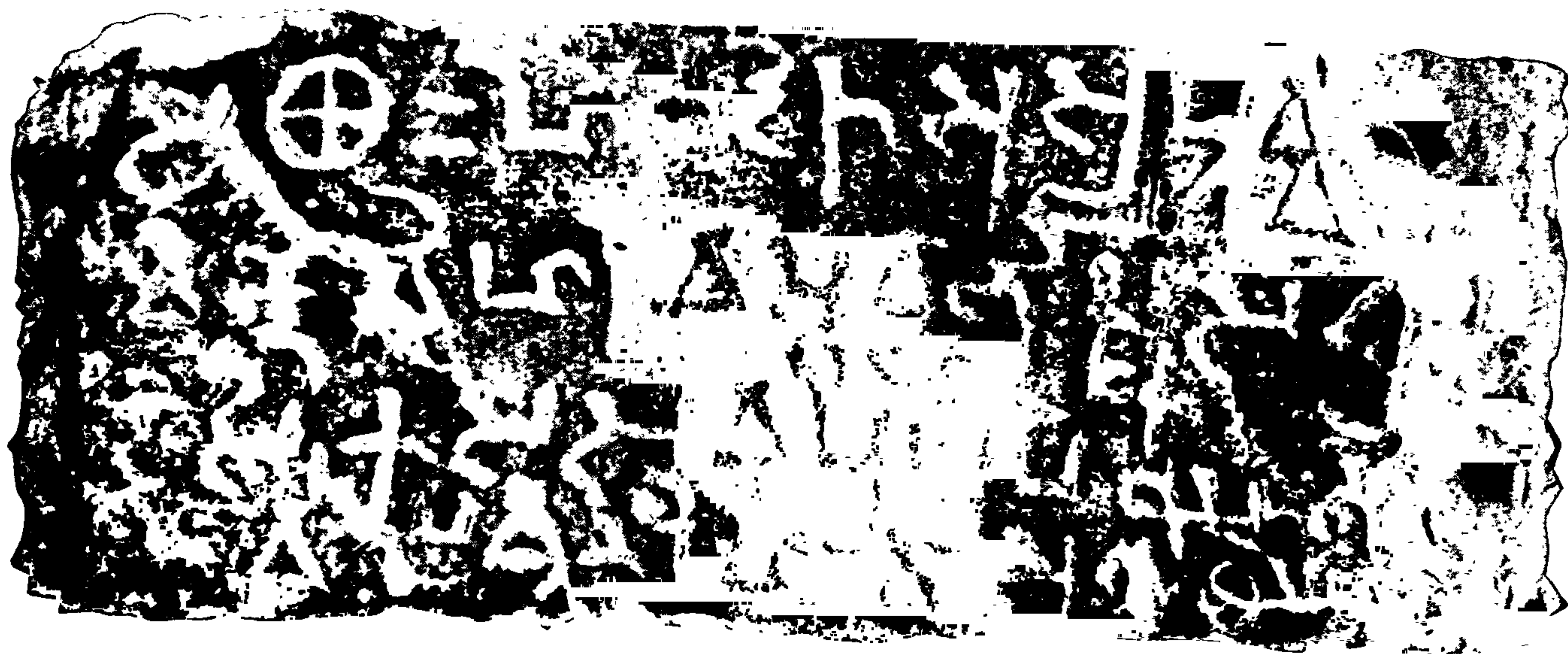
# BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA

## 1. Inscription of Kanishka's Reign, Year 4



Scale: One-half

## 2. Inscription of Year 92



(from a Photograph)

INSCRIPTION OF NRIPAMITRA



Scale : One-half

consonant followed by *y*. The **date** is quoted as *he 1 di* 5 (i.e. the 5th day of the first month of winter, i.e. probably Mārgaśīrsha-badi 5) in the **year 92** apparently of the Kanishka era (usually identified with the Śaka era of 78 A.D.) and possibly corresponding to **170–71 A.D.**

If it is believed that no letters are lost at the end of the lines of writing, the **object** of the inscription is to record the erection of a Stūpa of the Buddhist monk Grāmadesika (literally, 'one who preaches in the villages') who was a resident of the Buddhist monastery called *Veṇḍa-vihāra* apparently situated at Mathurā. In such a case, the person (or persons) responsible for the construction of the Stūpa is not mentioned in the inscription. In the present context, the word *stūpa* mean a memorial structure enshrining the relics of the monk in question. Otherwise, the structure was built mainly out of the amounts collected by the monk.

TEXT[1]

1 **Sa[ṁ] 90 2 he 1 di 5** asya pūrvva[ve]

2 Veṇḍa-viha(hā)re va(vā)stavya-bhikshusa Grā[ma]-

3 desikasa sthuva pra[ti*]shthāpā(pa)yati [sa]-[2]

4 rva-sav[v]a(ttvā)na[ṁ] hita-su[khā]ye |[*]

### 3. Inscription of Nṛipamitra[3]

The inscription, incised on the **pedestal** of a broken image, was found in Dudhwala's well near the city of **Mathurā.** It consists of four lines of writing, which cover an area about 7 inches long and about 2½ inches in height. Lines 3 and 4 are really engraved at the beginning and end of the same line. Individual letters, excluding conjuncts, etc., are about ½ inch in height. Apparently no line of writing has broken away from the top of the inscribed slab ; but about one-third of the writing of lines 1-2 has completely peeled off from the middle.

The **characters** are Brāhmī of about the 5th century A.D. They may be compared with the alphabet of the Kushāṇa epigraphs from Mathurā, including the two inscriptions edited above, as well as the two Mathurā inscriptions of the time of Chandragupta II, one of which is fragmentary while the other is dated in the Gupta year 61 (380 A.D.).[4] Although many letters including *m*, *y* and *s* as found in our record are also noticed in both the groups of Mathurā epigraphs referred to above, there are a few palaeographical peculiarities of the inscription under study, to which attention may be drawn. Our inscription exhibits three types of the medial *i* sign, viz. (1) that formed by a curve at the top of a consonant, the left end of the former not coming down much below the top *mātrā* of the latter (cf. *°r=di* in line 4) ; (2) that in which the left end of the said curve comes down below the bottom line of the consonant (cf. *dhi* and *hi* in line 2 ; *ri* in line 3) ; and (3) that in which the left end of the curve is drawn inwards to very near its root at the top of the consonant (cf. *kshi* in line 1, *yi* and *mi* in line 2, etc.). In the Brāhmī inscriptions of the age of the Kushāṇas of Kanishka's house, the left end of the curve of the medial *i* sign lies generally above the line of the top

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[1] From an impression.

[2] On the impression, this letter looks more like *a*. If it is really so, the word intended here was apparently *achariya* (Sanksrit *āchārya*) and we have to presume that a number of letters have broken away from the end of this line as well as from that of lines 1-2.

[3] This is No. B 594 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58. The stone bears the acquisition No. 4378.

[4] See *CII*, Vol. III, Plate III A ; above, Vol. XXI, Plate facing p. 8.

*mātrā* and this fact shows that our inscription exhibiting three varieties of a more developed sign of medial *i* has to be assigned to a much later date. The first two types of this sign are noticed in both the Mathurā inscriptions of Chandragupta II, referred to above, particularly in the fragmentary one. The third variety of the sign, which is ornamental, is found, often along with the other two varieties, in records like the Mehrauli posthumous pillar inscription[1] of Chandra (i.e. Chandragupta II), the Shorkot inscription[2] of 402 A.D., and the Mandasor pillar inscriptions[3] of Yaśodharman, one of which is dated in 532 A.D. Similarly, the signs for medial *u* in *rtu* (line 1) and medial *ṛi* in *nṛi* (once in line 1 and twice in line 2) used in the record are also generally found in inscriptions later than those of the Kushāṇas. But the letter *ch, j, n, p, s*, etc., as used in our epigraph, are not generally expected in records much later than the 5th century A.D. On palaeographical grounds therefore the inscription can be roughly assigned to a date about **the close of the 4th or in the 5th century A.D.**

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. There are two stanzas (one in *Āryā* and the other in the *Upajāti* metre) with a prose endorsement at the end. As regards **orthography,** there is no case of the reduplication of a consonant in conjunction with *r*, though *dh* followed by *y* has been reduplicated in line 3. The inscription bears **no date.**

The first line of the epigraph contains a stanza apparently in the *Āryā* metre, of which the major part of the second and nearly the whole of the third feet are lost. Another difficulty is that the last two syllables of the first foot and the four extant syllables at the beginning of the second foot appear to contain some errors as they do not yield any sense as they are. But the first foot speaks of one **Nṛipamitra-bhartṛi** in the sixth case-ending, while the last foot seems to mention a person named Udāka or Udoka also in the sixth case-ending. The latter is called *sad-dharma-ruchi* referring to his devotion to 'the true faith' probably meaning Buddhism. The name Nṛipamitra-bhartṛi is interesting since the word *bhartṛi* suffixed to it is undoubtedly the same as Prakrit *bhaṭṭāra* derived from Sanskrit *bhartṛi* (actually from the plural form *bhartāraḥ*) but later adopted as a Sanskrit word. Gradually the word *bhaṭṭāraka* (derived from *bhaṭṭāra*) and later the expression *paramabhaṭṭāraka* became popular in the sense of 'a king' and was often used with reference to a monarch.[4] The word *bhaṭṭāraka* was sometimes also suffixed to the names of kings and princes, *e.g.* Arthapati-bhaṭṭāraka, Pṛithivīvigraha-bhaṭṭāraka, Lokavigraha-bhaṭṭāraka, Maṇchyaṇṇa-bhaṭṭāraka, etc.[5] There is little doubt that Nṛipamitra-bhartṛi is the same as Nṛipamitra-bhaṭṭāraka and, as will be seen below, this Nṛipamitra was a king apparently of the Mathurā region. The verse in question therefore seems to speak of a pious work of a Buddhist named Udāka or Udoka who was most probably an officer or subordinate of **king Nṛipamitra.** The pious work was no doubt the installation of the image, on the pedestal of which the inscription under study was engraved.

The second verse is in the *Upajāti* metre, of which the major part of the second foot and the beginning of the third are lost. The first foot obviously refers to the pious work of Udāka or Udoka (i.e. the installation of an image by him), mentioned in verse 1, and states that it was caused to be made by Nṛipamitra-bhartṛi (i.e. Nṛipamitra-bhaṭṭāraka), while the latter half of the stanza prays for the welfare of 'that king of kings' (*tasya nṛip-ādhipasya*) in this world and in the next. This 'king of kings' is no doubt the same as Nṛipamitra-bhartṛi mentioned earlier in the same stanza

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[1] *CII*, Vol. III, Plate XXI A.

[2] Above, Vol. XVI, Plate facing p. 15.

[3] *CII*, Vol. III, Plates XXI B and C and XXII.

[4] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 162, text line 3 ; p. 283, text line 1 ; p. 325, text line 7; p. 344, text line 13 ; etc. ; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 16, text line 8 ; p. 334, text line 12 ; etc.

[5] Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 16, text line 2 ; p. 84, text lines 3-4 ; p. 331, text lines 3-4 ; Vol. XVII, p. 336 text line 11.

as well as in verse 1. Thus the installation of a Buddhist image by Udāka or Udoka seems to have been done on behalf and for the merit of king Nṛipamitra.

The prose endorsement at the end seems to state that the stanzas were the **composition of Dinna.** Thus the fragmentary inscription not only mentions a hitherto unknown king of the Mathurā region, by name Nṛipamitra, and his Buddhist subordinate or officer named Udāka or Udoka, but also reveals the name of Dinna who may have been a poet at the said king's court. Poet Dinna's name, which is a Prakrit word standing for Sanskrit *datta*, 'given', is not known from any other early source.

The question now arises as to who king Nṛipamitra was and when exactly he ruled over the Mathurā region. The earliest Gupta inscriptions at Mathurā belong to the time of Chandragupta II (376-413 A.D.) though the area seems to have been annexed to the Gupta empire by his father Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) sometime about the middle of the 4th century A.D. Since the hold of the Guptas on the Mathurā region appears to have continued at least down to the latter half of the 5th century A.D., Nṛipamitra, who apparently did not belong to the Gupta family, would have flourished either about the middle of the 4th century or about the close of the 5th. Since Gupta rule in the said region appears to have been overthrown by the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa, who ascended the throne sometime after 484 A.D.,[1] and his son Mihirakula, who was defeated by king Yaśodharman of Mandasor before c. 532 A.D.,[2] and since the palaeography of the inscription under study appears to be earlier than the middle of the 6th century, it may be tempting to assign king Nṛipamitra of the Mathurā region to a date about the middle of the 4th century. As it is usually believed that the Guptas conquered the Mathurā region from the Nāgas, it is in that case not impossible to think that Nṛipamitra belonged to the Nāga lineage. But names ending in the word *mitra* are not known to have been popular with the Nāgas. It has, moreover, to be admitted that the medial *i* marks in the inscription appear to be somewhat later than the middle of the 4th century A.D. We have therefore to think of the possibility of Nṛipamitra having flourished in the Mathurā region about the close of the 5th century as a semi-independent feudatory of the Guptas.

## TEXT[3]

1[4] **Nṛipam[i]tra-bhartu**[s*]=tesha[5] praksh[i]ṇānu[6]......... [|*]......mas=sad-dharma-ruch[e]r=Udā[kas]ya [||*][7]

2 Yaktā(t=kā)rayitva (tvā) **Nṛipamitra-bhartrā** prāpa ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [|*] — — ⏑ — t=tasya nṛip-ādhipasya hitaṁ para-

3 tr=eha cha saṁvidaddhyā[t] [||*][8]

4 [9]kṛitir=Dinnasya [||*]

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[1] Mātṛivishṇu was ruling at Eraṇ as a feudatory of Budhagupta in 484 A.D. while his successor Dhanyavishṇu was a feudatory of Toramāṇa in the latter's first regnal year. Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 326-27, and pp. 396-97.

[2] The inscription referring to Yaśodharman's victory over Mihirakula does not bear any date. But one of Yaśodharman's epigraphs is dated in 532 AD. Cf. ibid., p. 395, verse 6; pp. 386 ff.

[3] From impressions.

[4] It is possible to conjecture that a *Siddham* symbol was engraved at the beginning of the line.

[5] The intended word may be *toshah*.

[6] The intended reading and the meaning of the word are difficult to determine. Can it be *prakshīṇ-ānu*? ?

[7] The metre of the stanza appears to be *Āryā*. The reading of the last four syllables may be *°r=Udokasya* also.

[8] The metre of the stanza is *Upajāti*.

[9] The following letters are engraved about the end of line 3.

## No. 3—BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION FROM KAUSAMBI

(*1 Plate*)

A. GHOSH, NEW DELHI

(*Received on 29.1.1959*)

The inscription, edited here for the first time at the suggestion of the Government Epigraphist for India and with the consent of Shri G.R. Sharma, Director, Allahabad University Kauśāmbī Expedition, was discovered on the 24th December 1950 at **Kosam**[1] (lat. 25° 20′ N. ; long. 81° 22½′ E.) in the Allahabad District, Uttar Pradesh, in the course of the extensive excavation of the site, being conducted by the University of Allahabad since 1949. The ruins of Kosam, it is now well known, represent the ancient city of Kauśāmbī. Apart from the facts known before,[2] the results of the present excavation, including the discovery of the record under study, have yielded enough evidence to confirm the identification.

Shri Sharma informs me that the **inscribed slab** was discovered lying on a floor at a distance of 36 feet 8 inches to the west of the eastern boundary-wall of an excavated monastic complex, 32 feet to the east of the eastern site of the Main Stūpa and 11 feet to the south of the southern wall of the Main Chaitya, the whole complex being situated within the fortifications of the city, near its south-eastern corner.

The **inscription** is neatly engraved in a horizontal compartment on a sculptural slab of reddish sandstone (which, Shri Sharma says, is not of the Mathurā but of the Central Indian variety), 2½ inch thick, now broken at the top and right-hand side. Its extant base and maximum height each measure 1 foot 10 inches. Like other slabs of its kind, it was, in all likelihood, square in shape, and, to judge from the available fragment, bore at the centre a pair of foot-marks in relief, two lines of inscription (at least the first of them running from edge to edge) at their bottom and floral designs of sorts and dwarf human figures, of which a fragment consisting of the left portion of a person holding a fan-like object under his left arm now exists. The partly preserved foot-mark bears a spoked wheel on its sole, a *svastika* symbol on each of its little toes and three symbols, including what may be called a handled and spouted vase, on its great toe. If the missing parts of the slab are conjecturally restored[3] on the basis of the extant portion, it would be about 3 feet 2 inches square. It is difficult to say whether, in addition to the two lines of the inscription now available on the toe-side of the foot-marks, there existed two more lines representing the beginning of the epigraph on the heel-side as well.

The extant part of the inscription consists of two lines, the right portion of both of which has broken away, and the restored drawing will show that roughly one half of the inscription (i.e. the left half) is now available. The epigraph is written in **Brāhmī characters of about the first century A. D.** Its **language** is Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit. As regards **orthography**, the use of *sh* in *Ghoshit-ārāme* and *ś* in *śilā* in line 2 is noteworthy.

As indicated above, it is not possible to say whether the first part of the inscription containing the name of a ruler and a year of his reign or of an era is now lost. But the date of the epigraph can be determined, on palaeographic considerations, by comparing its characters with

[1] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

[2] D. R. Sahni in *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 689-98.

[3] See Plate C.

those of other inscriptions of comparable chronological and geographical horizons, i.e. those closely preceding and following the beginning of the Christian era, to which epoch the inscription has to be assigned, and belonging to the Gaṅgā-Yamunā *doāb*, in which Kauśāmbī (Kosam) is situated.

A comparison with the inscriptions of Āshāḍhasena[1] of the second half of the first century B.C.,[2] found at Pabhosā 6 miles to the west of Kosam, would suggest that the date of our inscription is later, the characters of the latter exhibiting more pronounced serifs and a more squattish shape—a characteristic of the Kushāṇa script. Out of similar considerations, the present record may be assigned to a date later than that of the Kosam inscription of Gotiputa.[3] Attention may be drawn to the following **palaeographical peculiarities** of the inscription under study: the extremities of the left limbs of *a* curve inwards and are not oblique straight lines; *y* has its legs turning inwards and not pointing vertically upwards; *r* has the shape of a hook; and the left leg of *l* is an oblique line from the right to the left.

The characters of our inscription resemble those of the Mathurā inscriptions of Śoḍāsa or Śoṁḍāsa[4] (first quarter of the first century A.D.[5]) and more closely those of the early Kushāṇas of Kanishka's house.[6] It may be roughly assigned to a date about the **latter half of the first century A. D.**

This dating is not inconsistent with the **stratigraphic evidence** derived out of the excavation. Shri G. R. Sharma informs me: "The excavation of the area shows eighteen Sub-periods, of which the earliest two antedated the Northern Black Polished Ware, the next seven were contemporary with that Ware and the last nine were later than it. The penultimate Sub-period is associated with the seals of Toramāṇa and Hūṇarāja, and possibly also with the coins of Toramāṇa. The average duration of a Sub-period at the site thus works out to be about eighty years,[7] and as the floor on which the inscription was discovered belongs to the thirteenth Sub-period (from bottom upwards), it has to be dated c. 200 A.D. As however inscriptions and images were retained in the monastery for long periods, this date should be taken as the upper limit of the date of the inscription and not the date of its engraving."

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[1] Above, Vol. II, pp. 240-43.

[2] N. G. Majumdar (J. Marshall and A. Foucher, *The Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. I, p. 271, note 6) places Bahasatimitra, whose nephew Āshāḍhasena was, in c. 50-25 B.C. Other dates recently proposed for Bahasatimitra are not inconsistent with this (cf. D. C. Sircar in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 174). I hope nobody still proposes a much earlier date for him on his supposed identity with Pushyamitra Śuṅga.

[3] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 159 and Plate.

[4] A. Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep.*, Vol. XX, 1885, p. 49 and Plate V; G. Buhler, above, Vol. II, p. 195 and Plates; R P. Chanda, *Archaeology and Vaishnava Tradition* (*MASI*, No. 5), p. 170 and Plate XXVI b.

[5] Like the date of all other rulers of this period, the date of Śoḍāsa is uncertain. R. P. Chanda observed, 'No one has assigned Śoḍāsa to a later epoch than the first century A.D.'. The latest tendency, following Sten Konow (*CII*, Vol. II, Part I, p. XXXIV), is to refer the year 72 of his Mathurā inscription to the era of 57 B. C.; cf. Sircar in op. cit., p. 126, etc.

[6] Within this group should be included those on early Kushāṇa Buddha or Bodhisattva statues, which, though found at places far away from Mathurā, were manufactured (and probably inscribed as well) in the workshops of Mathurā out of local sandstone and in the local art-idiom. They are: the Kosam inscription of the year 2 (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 212 and Plate), the Sārnāth inscription of the year 3 (ibid., Vol VIII, p. 176 and Plate) and the Set-Mahet (Saheth-Maheth or Śrāvasti) inscription of the year 19 (ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 181), all belonging to the reign of Kanishka and referring either to the monk Bala and the nun Buddhamitrā or to either of them.

[7] In saying this, Shri Sharma evidently has in his mind something like the following: The occupation on the site lasted for about fourteen centuries, beginning roughly with 800 B.C., i.e. two Sub-periods before the advent of the Northern Black Polished Ware in c. 600 B.C. (B. B. Lal in *Ancient India*, Nos. 10-11, p. 23) and ending roughly with 600 A.D., i.e. one Sub-period after Toramāṇa, c. 500 A.D. The duration of one Sub-period thus works out to about 80 (1400÷18) years.

The inscription, in its mutilated form, mentions a monk named Phagula, a disciple of the reverend Dhara, and states that somebody connected with Phagula caused the *śilā* or stone (no doubt the sculptured and inscribed slab bearing the inscription under study) to be made and apparently installed it at the residence of the **Buddha** (*Budh-āvāsa*) in the **Ghoshit-ārāma.**

The Ghoshit-ārāma was a well-known Buddhist establishment at Kauśāmbī, where the Buddha is stated to have stayed on many occasions. The *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* says that it was built for the Buddha's residence by Ghoshaka, the treasurer of king Udayana of Kauśāmbī,[1] the other contemporary Buddhist establishments at Kauśāmbī known to Pāli literature being those built by Kukkuṭa[2] and Pāvārika,[3] two colleagues of Ghoshaka, and the Badarikārāma.[4]

It is also noteworthy that according to the inscription the stone slab was apparently installed at the residence of the Buddha, or, at any rate, what was believed at that time to have been the place where the Buddha had lived. It may be recalled that another Kosam inscription, the exact findspot of which is unknown, refers to the promenade (*chaṁkamo*) of the Buddha.[5] All these tend to show that the Buddha's visit to and stay at Kauśāmbī may not, after all, have been a myth, as has sometimes been thought.[6] In any case, this inscription, together with a few others subsequently found in the excavation of the same area, proves that, at least in the first century A.D., the Buddhist establishment, the ruins of which have now been laid bare by excavation, was known as the Ghoshit-ārāma and, besides, contained a spot believed to have been the Buddha's residence.

## TEXT[7]

1 Bhayaṁtasa Dharasa aṁtevāsisa bhikhusa Phagulasa .........

2 **Budh-āvāse Ghoshit-ārāme** sava-Budhānāṁ pujāye śilā kā[ritā][8]......[||*]

## TRANSLATION

(*This*) slab has been caused to be made ......of the monk Phagula, the disciple of the reverend Dhara, at the residence of the **Buddha** in the **Ghoshit-ārāma** for the worship of all the Buddhas.

[1] G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Vol. I, p. 828, s.v. *Ghosaka-seṭṭhi.*

[2] Ibid., p. 612, s.v. *Kukkuṭa.*

[3] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 194, s.v. *Pāvārika.*

[4] Ibid., p. 263, s.v. *Badarikārāma.*

[5] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 212.

[6] Cf. E. J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha*, 3rd ed., 1949, p. 115, note 2.

[7] From the photograph of the stone slab and an impression of the inscription kindly supplied by Shri G. R. Sharma

[8] Only the lower part of the *akshara ri* exists, and *tā* can be confidently restored. It is permissible to conjecture that some such words as *patiṭhāpitā cha* have broken away after *kāritā.*

BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION FROM KAUSAMBI

A

B

C

0 4 8 12 INCHES

(from Photographs)

# No. 4—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA[1]

*(1 Plate)*

D. C. SIRCAR AND K. G. KRISHNAN, OOTACAMUND

*(Received on 23.2.1959)*

Recent excavations[2] at **Nāgārjunikoṇḍa** in Andhra Pradesh have brought to light several inscriptions belonging to the period when kings of the Ikshvāku family were ruling over the area. The two inscriptions edited here throw considerable light on the political and religious history of the period. They carry the genealogy of the Ikshvākus further by bringing to light two more members of the family and also reveal their religious persuasion.

### 1. Inscription of the time of Ehavala Chantamūla, Year 16

This epigraph[3] is engraved on a four-faced pillar excavated from a site where originally a temple was standing. As known from the record under study, this temple belonged to the god **Mahādeva** or Śiva called Pushpabhadrasvāmin.

The inscription consists of 11 lines of writing and occupies a space measuring about 27″ long and 21·5″ wide. The lines of writing, except lines 1, 2 and 8, extend upto the right end of the fourth face of the pillar. The engraver appears to have taken care to see that words are not split up at the end of the line and this is the reason why the said three lines are shorter in length. The average height of a letter is ½ inch excluding the elongated vowel-marks often added to the top or bottom. The engraving of the record is neat and the preservation of the writing satisfactory.

The **characters** are Brāhmī of the third or fourth century A.D. and are very much the same as found in the other records of the dynasty, which were discovered at the same place and have been edited in this journal.[4] The following palaeographical peculiarities of the inscription may, however, be noticed. The difference between the letters *da* and *ḍa* is not very considerable, while *ku* and *kū* are written in two ways. *Ku* is usually written by adding a small curved stroke at the right of the vertical of *k* about its middle (line 8) and *kū* by adding two such strokes (lines 4 and 8). But sometimes *ku* is written by curving the lower end of the vertical towards the right (line 8 and 10) and *kū* by adding a stroke to the right above the lower curve of *ku* (line 5). While generally the sign for *anusvāra* is placed on the top of the letter, in one case it has been placed to the right of a letter (see *Chāṁtamūla* in line 7). The last line seems to have been engraved by a different hand at a slightly later date.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. Expressions such as *siddhaṁ* for *siddham* and *namo bhagavate Mahādevasya Pushpabhadrasvāminaḥ* in line 1, *vājarīyā°* in line 3 and *bhagavato* (for *bhagavataḥ*) in line 10 betray Prakrit influence on the orthography and language. It is also interesting to note that the inscription makes no attempt to Sanskritise the Prakritic name Chantamūla. The word *stambha* has been spelt as *stamba*. The consonant *t* is reduplicated before *r* only in some cases, while *j*, *g*, *t*, etc., following *r*, have been reduplicated. The name of the king has been uniformly spelt as Ehavala though the spellings Ehuvula and Ehuvala are known from some other records.[5] There are a few cases of wrong *sandhi*.

[1] The present fashion is to spell the name as *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* instead of *Nāgārjunikoṇḍa*. Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

[2] See *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1955-56, pp. 23 ff.; 1956-57, pp. 35 ff.; 1957-58, pp. 5 ff.

[3] *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, No. B 4.

[4] See, e.g., above, Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff.

[5] See above, Vol. XX, p. 24; Vol. XXI, p. 62.

The inscription commences with the expression *siddhaṁ* followed by an invocation to the god Mahādeva Pushpabhadrasvāmin. Then the date of the record is given in the regnal reckoning of Vāsishṭhīputra **Ehavala Chantamūla** as the **5th day of the second fortnight of the summer season in the year 16** (expressed in symbols). The record next proceeds to introduce *Mahārājakumāra Mahāsenāpati* **Hāritīputra Vīrapurushadatta** who is stated to have caused the construction of a shrine (*devakula*) for *Bhagavat* Pushpabhadrasvāmin and the erection of a flagstaff (*dhvaja-stambha*) apparently in front of the shrine. He is further stated to have created a permanent endowment of the village of Puḍokeḍaṁ, no doubt for the maintenance of the temple.

Prince Vīrapurushadatta is introduced in relation to both his paternal and maternal lines. He is represented as the great-grandson of *Mahārāja* Vāsishṭhīputra Chantamūla who is described, as in other Ikshvāku records, with reference to his munificence and also to his performance of the *agnishṭoma*, *vājapeya*, *aśvamedha* and *bahusuvarṇaka* sacrifices and is also stated to have acquired the glory of victory in battles by his own valour. His grandfather *Mahārāja* Māṭharīputra Vīrapurushadatta is next barely mentioned, while his father *Mahārāja* Ehavala Chantamūla, in whose reign the record was engraved, is then introduced as an equal to the epic heroes Sagara, Dilīpa, Ambarīsha, Yudhishṭhira and Rāma. Then *Mahādevī* Kupaṇaśrī, the queen of Ehavala Chantamūla and the mother of prince Vīrapurushadatta, is introduced as the granddaughter of *Mahātalavara* Skandagopa of the Pushyakandīya clan and the daughter of *Mahātalavara* Khaṁdahāla, while her maternal grandfather and uncle are stated to have been Sesebamāgūruka and Utara-mahātalavara (i. e. *Mahātalavara* Uttara) respectively. The expression *Sesebamāgūruka* apparently contains a personal name and an epithet, though it is difficult to determine them precisely. A passage in lines 9-10 saying that the said temple was the fruit of the merit of both the mother and the son suggests that prince Vīrapurushadatta's mother Kupaṇaśrī was associated with her son in the construction of the temple. The last line of the inscription seems to suggest that two persons Kaṅkaphala and Kaṅkachandra were appointed priests of the temple.

Prince Vīrapurushadatta is called *Mahārājakumāra* and *Mahāsenāpati*, the second epithet indicating his position as the commander of his father's forces. He was apparently named after his grandfather who bore the metronymic Māṭharīputra. The male relations of queen Kupaṇaśrī, except Sesebamāgūruka whose status remains obscure, were *Mahātalavaras*. In this connection it may be recalled that most of the princesses of the royal household mentioned in the inscriptions of Māṭharīputra Vīrapurushadatta were wives of *Mahālatavaras* of different clans. Prince Vīrapurushadatta's metronymic Hāritīputra suggests that the paternal family of Kupaṇaśrī belonged to the Hārīta *gōtra*.[1]

The ancestry of Prince Vīrapurushadatta is indicated below in a tabular form :

*Ikshvāku family*

Vāsishṭhīputra Chantamūla
|
Māṭharīputra Vīrapurushadatta
|
Vāsishṭhīputra Ehavala Chantamūla=Kupaṇaśrī
|
Hāritīputra Vīrapurushadatta

*Pushyakandīya family*

*Mahātalavara* Skandagopa                Sesebamāgūruka
|                                                  |
*Mahātalavara* Khaṁdahāla=daughter          Uttara-mahātalavara

[1] The wife's paternal *gotra* was not changed to that of her husband in certain forms of ancient Indian marriage. See *Proc. IHC*, 1945, pp. 48 ff.

It is well known that all the ladies of the royal household of the Ikshvāku family had leanings towards the Buddhist faith. But Chantamūla I, who performed a number of Vedic sacrifices, was apparently not a Buddhist while the religious persuasion of his son Vīrapurushadatta and grandson Chantamūla II is unknown. The suggestion that they were followers of the Brahmanical faith is possibly supported by the present epigraph recording the construction of a temple for the god Śiva by a son of Chantamūla II. This is the first direct proof of the Śaivite leanings of the Ikshvāku family. Another Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription[1] records the construction of a temple for Sarva (Śiva) by Eliśrī, called a *Talavara-vara* (probably the same as *Mahātalavara*) and said to be a devotee of the god Kārttikeya, in the 11th regnal year of Ehavala Chantamūla. But Eliśrī, no doubt a subordinate of the Ikshvāku king, does not appear to have belonged to his master's family.

The only geographical name mentioned in this record is the village of Puḍokeḍaṁ which is not identifiable.

## TEXT[2]

1 Siddhaṁ(ddham) ||[3] Namo bhagavate **Mahādevasya** Puppa(shpa)bhaddrasvāminaḥ[4] [|*] **Mahārājasya** Vāsishṭhī-puttrasya

2 śry-**E[5]havala- Chaṁtamūlasya saṁva 10 6 gi pa 2 diva 5** [|*] rājño Vāsishṭhīputrasya agnishṭo[6]ma-

3 vājave(pe)y-āśvamedha-bahusuvarṇṇaka-yājinaḥ naika-hiraṁṇya-koṭi-pradātuḥ go-śatasa-hasra-hala-śatasahasra-pradātu[ḥ]

4 eva-vīryy-ārjjita-vijaya-kīrtteḥ Ikshvākūṇāṁ śrī-**Chaṁtamūlasya** prapautreṇā(ṇa) mahā-rājya(ja)sya **Māṭharīputtrasya** Ikshvākūnāṁ(ṇāṁ) śrī-**Vīrapurushadattasya**

5 pauttreṇa mahārājasya Sagara-Dilīp-Āṁbarīsha-Yudhishṭhira-[t]ulva-dharmma-vijayasya Rāmasy=eva sarvva-jan-ābhirāmasya Ikshvākūnāṁ(ṇām)

6 śry-Ī(śry-**E)havala-Chaṁtamūlasya** puttreṇa Pushyakaṁdīyānām mahātalavarasya Skaṁdagopasya naptryāḥ mahātalavarasya

7 Khaṁdahālasya duhituḥ Sesebamāgūruka-dauhitryāḥ Utara-mahātalavara-bhāgineyyāḥ rājñaḥ śry-Ehavala-Chaṁtamūlasya

8 mahishyāḥ mahādevyāḥ Kupaṇaśryāḥ(śriyāḥ) puttreṇa mahārājakumāre[ṇa] mahāsenāpatinā Hāritīputreṇa Ikshvākūṇāṁ

9 śrī-**Vīrapurushadattena** mahārājasya mahādevyā gottrasya cha [v]ijaya-vaijayike āyur-vvarddhane dvayor=api cha mātā-putrayo[ḥ*]

10 dharmma-phalaṁ bhagavato(taḥ) Pushpabhadrasvāminaḥ devakulaṁ kāritaṁ dhvaja-stamba(bha)ś=cha pratishṭhāpitaḥ grāmaś=cha Puḍokeḍaṁ(ḍam) akshaya-ni(nī)vı

[1] Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 147 ff.

[2] From impressions.

[3] The double *daṇḍa* is followed by a slanting curved stroke.

[4] Read *Mahādevāya Pushpabhadrasvāmine*.

[5] The additional mark above the letter may be ignored or the vowel-mark may be regarded as an imperfect sign for medial *ai*.

[6] There is an unnecessary *visarga* sign after the letter *shṭo*.

11 dattaḥ [||*]
12 [1]śrī-Ka[ṁ]kaphala[ḥ*] Kaṁkachaṁdraś=cha bho 2 (?)[2]

## 2. Inscription of the time of Ruḍapurisadata, Year 11

This epigraph[3] is engraved on a pillar which is reported to have been discovered at Site No. 13 and is now preserved in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Museum. The pillar bears a sculpture executed in bas-relief above the inscription. The sculpture which is somewhat defaced seems to depict a lady seated on a high stool with an attending lady standing nearby. The seated lady's feet are resting on a small pedestal and there is a small seated female figure by the side of the stool.[4]

The *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1955-56, p. 24, states, " On the *chayakhambha* is carved the scene of Prajapati Gotami, the foster-mother of Buddha, holding Buddha (as child) in a scarf. Below it was an inscription which acquaints us with the word *chayakhambha* in a manner that brings out the idea that it is a recapitulative pillar or an epitaph. Besides recording a complete genealogy of the Ikshvaku kings (Chantamula, Virapurushadatta, Ehavala Chantamula and Rudrapurushadatta) who bear the Kshatrapa tendentious title *svami*, it established the relationship of a great Ikshvaku queen (Mahadevi) in whose memory one Srivarman of the Brihatphalayana *gotra* raised the epitaph (*chayakhamba*)." At p. 23 of the same work, we are told, " The inscriptions discovered in the course of excavation gave the name of a new king of the Ikshvaku dynasty, viz. Rudrapurushadatta, besides king Srivarman of the Brihatphalayana *gotra*." Unfortunately the statements are not all quite accurate.

The inscription consists of 9 lines of writing. The characters are the same as in the other epigraphs edited above. The form of initial *i* in line 5 is interesting as the left and upper curved strokes have been joined together. The form of medial *ū* in *kū* in line 5 is interesting as the length is indicated by a curved stroke attached to the right arm of *k* in *ku* from above. The form of the letter *ḍ* in line 1 is slightly different from that of the same letter in line 5. The language of the record is Prakrit. As regards orthography, the words *ekkāra* for Sanskrit *ekādaśa* and *pattiya* for Sanskrit *patnyāḥ* are interesting. Reduplication of consonants, not usually noticed in early Prakrit inscriptions, is exhibited by the record under study as well as by some other epigraphs of Ehavala Chantamūla's time.[5]

The inscription is dated on the eighth day of the first fortnight of the spring season in the 11th regnal year[6] of *Mahārāja* Ruḍapurisadata and records the erection of the *chhāyā-khaṁbha* (*chhāyā-stambha*) of the deceased queen Vaṁmabhaṭā (Varmabhaṭā), evidently the pillar on which the record under study is engraved. The expression *chhāyā-stambha* means a *stambha* or pillar adorned with a *chhāyā* or image. The use of the word *chhāyā* in this sense is known from records like the Śrīkūrmam inscription[7] of 1353 A.D., according to which the Gaṅga king Bhānu III dedicated to the god in the Śrīkūrmam temple a *chhāyā* each of his father Narasiṁha III and his step-mother Gaṅgāmbikā. The images in this case are stated to have each held perpetual lamps in their hands. Such lamps in the hands of images are called *chhāyā-dīpa* in epigraphs like

[1] The following passage is engraved in slightly later characters below the beginning of the second half of the previous line.

[2] The contraction *bho* seems to stand for a word like *bhogikau* or *bhojakau*. The first part of the two personal names may possibly be *kāka* also. The form of the *akshara* read *pha* in the first name is not regular for the period and may be also regarded as an irregularly shaped *pā*.

[3] *A. R. Ep.*, 1956-57, No. B 26.

[4] *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1955-56, p. 24 and Plate XXIX A.

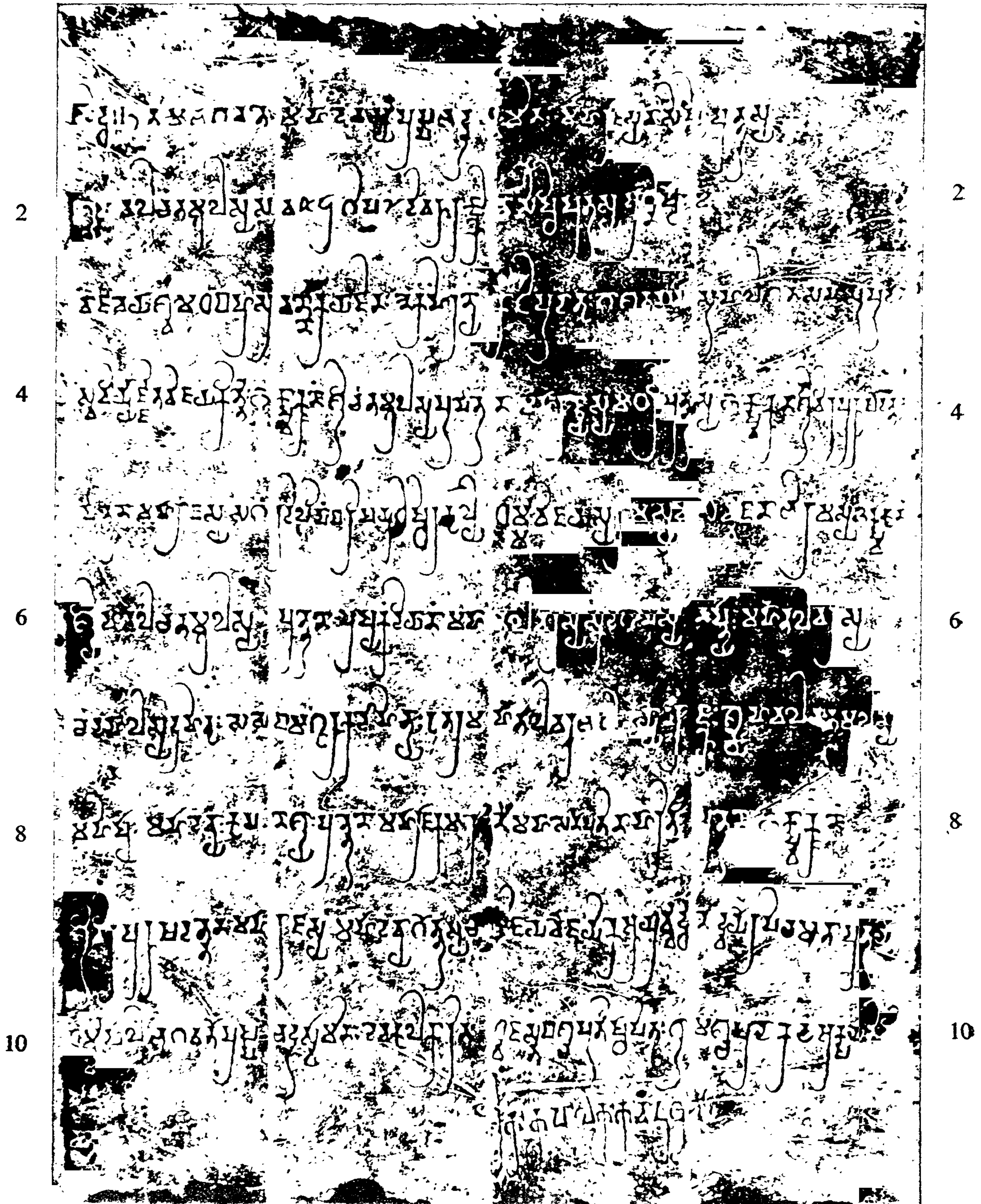
[5] Cf. above, Vol. XXI, p. 62.

[6] The date is given both in words and figures. It may really be the date of the queen's death.

[7] *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1205.

## TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA

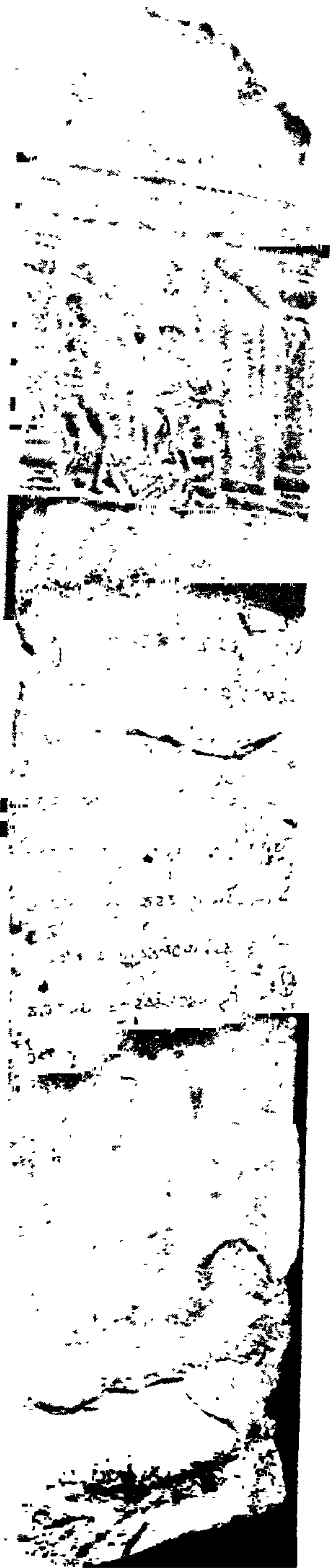
### 1. Inscription of the time of Ehavala Chantamula, Year 16



(from Photographs)

# 2. INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF RUDRAPURISADATA, YEAR 11

A



B

the Puri inscription of the time of Anantavarman Chodaganga edited above.[1] In this connection it is interesting to note that the stone pillar on which our inscription is engraved bears certain figures to which reference has been made above. As we have seen, the scene depicted is that of a seated lady attended by two females. This lady seems to be no other than the deceased queen Varmabhaṭā. She has a head-dress; but her locks are not tied in a knot. She wears an upper garment covering her bust and a long scarf covers her right shoulder and upper right arm and also her left forearm. The queen appears to be dressed like a foreign lady which she really was as we shall see below. Her extended right hand seems to hold a *darpaṇa*. The sculpture thus depicts a toilet scene.

Varmabhaṭā is described as the mother of the said king, as the wife of *Mahārāja* **Ehavala Chantamūla**, as the daughter-in-law of *Mahārāja* Vīrapurshadatta and as granddaughter-in-law of *Mahārāja* Chantamūla. She is further stated to have belonged to the Bahapala (i.e. Bṛihatphala or Bṛihatphalāyana) *gotra* and to have been the daughter of a *Mahākhatapa* (*Mahākshatrapa*).[2] Thus the record supplies us with a second instance of the relations of the Iskhvāku family of the Krishna-Guntur region with that of the Śaka *Mahākshatrapas* of Western India, the first being that of Māṭharīputra Vīrapurushadatta's marriage with *Mahādevī* Rudradhara-bhaṭārikā described as the *Ujanikā-mahāra[ja*]-balikā* (*Ujjayinikā-mahārāja-bālikā*, i.e. daughter of the *Mahārāja* of Ujjayinī) known from an inscription[3] from the same place. The discovery of a big hoard of the coins of the Śaka rulers at Pēṭlūripālem in the Guntur District is also interesting to note in this connection.[4] The presence of Śakas at the Ikshvāku capital is also indicated by the epigraphic and sculptural records discovered at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.[5] Though the identity of the *Mahākshatrapa* who was the father of queen Vaṁmabhaṭā is not disclosed, a very interesting information supplied for the first time by the inscription under study is that the Śaka *Mahākshatrapas* of Western India claimed to have belonged to the Bṛihatphala or Bṛihatphalāyana *gotra*. While the Hinduization of these Śakas is clearly indicated by the records of Ṛishabhadatta and Rudradāman, the Śakas in general were regarded in ancient India either as clean Śūdras or as degraded Kshatriyas.[6]

Ruḍapurisadata, whose mother Varmabhaṭā is stated to have been and in whose 11th regnal year the record is dated, is described as a *Vāsishṭhīputra*. The paternal *gotra* of the king's mother was therefore Vasishṭha. It is thus clear that the Śaka princess Varmabhaṭā was a step-mother of the king and not his real mother.

King Ruḍapurisadata (Sanskrit *Rudrapurushadatta*[7]) of this record is no doubt the same as Ruḷapurisadata in whose fourth regnal year the Gurzala Brāhmī inscription[8] is dated. It may be noted that Gurzala is only a few miles to the east of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. The palaeography and provenance of the two epigraphs and the similarity of the two names appear to establish the identity of Ruḍapurisadata of our epigraph and Ruḷapurisadata of the Gurzala inscription. The use of *ḍa* and *ḷa* for the same sound in these records may be the result of an attempt to render the

[1] Cf. Vol. XXIII, pp. 181 ff.

[2] There is really no mention of a king named Śrīvarman of the Bahaphala *gotra* as reported in the *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, referred to above.

[3] Above, Vol. XX, pp. 4-5; p. 19 (B 5).

[4] Cf. *A.R.Ep.*, 1956-57, pp. 21 ff., 126 ff.

[5] For an inscription mentioning a Saka, cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 37; for sculptural representation of a Śaka, see *Mem. ASI*, No. 53, Plate X,c.

[6] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 121-22, 181, 185. The reference does not appear to be to the queen's husband's *gotra*.

[7] Sanskrit *rudra* may be both *rudda* and *rudda* in Prakrit.

[8] Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 123. The correct reading of the king's name is *Ruḷa°* and not *Rula°* as read by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

Sanskrit name Rudrapurushadatta in Prakrit under Dravidian linguistic influence. In that case, we may think that *rudra* became *rūḍa* through the intermediate form *ruḍḍa* and *rūḻa* through the intermediate form *ruḻḻa*. But the possibility of *ruḍa* being a modified form of a Dravidian *ruḻa* cannot be regarded as out of question.

## TEXT[1]

1 Mahārājasa asamedha-[yā]jisa aneka-hiraṁna-koḍi-go-sa-

2 **tasahasa**-hala-satasahasa-padāyisa svāmi-siri-**Chaṁtam[ū]lasa**

3 **pasun[h]āya** mahārājasa [svām]i-[s]i[r]i-**Vīrapuri[sadatasa]**

4 suṁnhāya mah[ā]rājasa [svāmi]-S[i]ri-**Ehavala-Chaṁtamūlasa**

5 pattīya raño Vāsiṭhīputtasa Ikhākūnaṁ siri-**Ruḍa-**

6 **purisadatasa** mātūya mahādevīya mahākhatapa-dhūtūya Ba[ha]-

7 phala-sagotāya siri-Vaṁmabhaṭāya **saṁvachharaṁ ekkāraṁ 10 1**

8 **vāsā-pakhaṁ pathamaṁ 1 divasaṁ aṭhamaṁ 8** saga-gatāya chhāya-

9 **khaṁ[bho]** ||[2]

[1] From impressions.

[2] The full-stop is indicated here by a curve slanting towards the lower right and having a dot above and another dot below its beginning. This may be compared to the punctuation indicated by a horizontal stroke with a dot above and another below, as found in the copper-plate grants of the Śarabhapura kings. See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 157, note 9; p. 158, note 1.

## No. 5 TARACHANDI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF PRATAPADHAVALA, V.S. 1225

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 28.1.1959*)

The inscription is engraved on a smoothed space on what may be regarded as the back wall of an open cavern to the proper left of the representation of the goddess **Tārāchaṇḍī** on the rock in a locality of the same name about 3 miles to the south of Sasarām or Sahasrām in the Shahabad District of Bihar. For the protection of the writing, the Department of Archæology, Government of India, has closed the opening of the cavern by a front wall leaving an entrance at the left end. There are only six lines of writing which covers an area about $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length and about $1\frac{1}{4}$ feet in height. Line 6 is small and contains only twelve *aksharas* followed by a mark of punctuation. Individual letters are in average a little above two inches high. The preservation of the writing is satisfactory. But, owing to the presence of a long block of stone lying in front of the left half of the epigraph, the letters of the last line, which covers a space about one foot in length beneath the beginning of line 4, cannot be clearly seen. It is also difficult to take a satisfactory impression of the letters of this line.

The inscription under study was discovered by Francis Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton) in 1812-13 while he was conducting the survey of the District of Shahabad. His note on the contents of the epigraph was based on his Pandit's fantastic reading and strange interpretation.[1] H. T. Colebrooke noticed the inscription with an English translation about a decade after its discovery[2] while F. E. Hall's transcript and translation of the record were published in 1860.[3] Unfortunately epigraphic studies were then at the initial stage. Neither of the two scholars had any opportunity of examining the original record and, while Colebrooke seems to have received an impression of it from the collection of Buchanan Hamilton, Hall appears to have depended on its transcript prepared for him by his Pandit.[4] As a result, the transcript published by Hall has several errors while the translations of both Colebrooke and Hall contain many inaccuracies. The year of the date is given by Colebrooke as Saṁvat 1229 or 1173 A.D. but by Hall as Saṁvat 1225. Kielhorn was therefore not in a position to determine as to which of the readings is correct,[5] since no facsimile of the record was ever published. A locality called Suvarṇahala or Svarṇahala is mentioned in the epigraph twice in the expressions *Suvarṇṇahala-ja* (i.e. born at Suvarṇahala) in line 1 and *Svarṇṇahalīya* (i.e. belonging to Svarṇahala) in line 4. But Colebrooke read the expressions as *suvalluhalaja* and *suvalluhanīya* respectively, while Hall read them respectively as *su-daṇḍa-hala-ja* and *su-daṇḍa-halīya*, the first being explained by him as 'sprung from men of goodly staves and ploughs' and the second as '[sundry] folk of goodly staves and ploughs'. In elucidation of his interpretation, Hall added that the people in question were taunted by hinting that they were

[1] Pratāpadhavala of the inscription was supposed to have been the father of king Vijayachandra of Kanauj. Buchanan Hamilton's note was referred to by Colebrooke in his paper mentioned below. His report on the Shahabad District has now been published by the Bihar Research Society, Patna.

[2] See Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II, pp. 289-96. The paper was read at a public meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 4th December 1824.

[3] See *JAOS*, Vol. VI, 1860, pp. 538, 547-49. The paper was written two years earlier. Cf. 'Saugor, February 1858' at the end of the article in op. cit., p. 549.

[4] Cf. op. cit., pp. 290-91.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 184, No. 143; above, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 22, No. 153.

mere rustics and husbandmen and that they lacked the appropriate 'literature' of the Brāhmaṇas. The name of another village called Vaḍayilā (or Baḍayilā) mentioned in the inscription in line 4 was read by Colebrooke as Badayitā and by Hall as Baḍapilā. Though the alphabet of the record does not distinguish clearly between *p* and *y*, the reading must be Vaḍayilā or Baḍayilā, since the locality is undoubtedly identical with the present village of Barailā lying about 10 miles towards the west of Tārāchaṇḍī, the findspot of the epigraph. There are also some other errors in the published transcript of the record. Moreover, neither Colebrooke nor Hall attempted to identify the three villages mentioned in the inscription. For these reasons, I edit the record in the following pages from inked impressions prepared under my supervision in January 1959.[1]

The **characters** of the record are Nāgarī of the twelfth century A.D. and closely resemble those of the contemporary Gāhaḍavāla epigraphs.[2] As indicated above, there is no clear distinction between *p* and *y*, while *b* is indicated by the sign for *v*. Of initial vowels, we have *i* (line 5) and *u* (line 2). The **language** is Sanskrit and the inscription is written in both prose and verse. The **orthography** also resembles that of the contemporary inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavālas. Some consonants following *r* have been reduplicated. Final *m* has sometimes been wrongly changed to *anusvāra*. *Utkōchya* in line 2 has been spelt with final *t* without combining *t* and *k* into a conjunct. Both *anusvāra* and class nasals have been used side by side. Influence of local pronunciation is noticed in the spelling of the name Śatrughna in the last line. The **date** of the epigraph is given as **Wednesday, Jyēshṭha-vadi 3, V.S. 1225**. The details agree with the **16th April 1169 A.D.**[3]

The inscription begins with a symbol for *Siddham* which is followed in lines 1-3 by two stanzas in the *Vasantatilaka* metre. The auspicious word *svasti* stands at the beginning of the first verse as a part of it as in so many other records.[4] The contents of these verses, which have to be read together as a *yugmaka*, are given in prose in lines 3 ff. with some additional details. In these stanzas, a ruler[5] named **Pratāpadhavala** is represented as informing his descendants (*vaṁśa*)[6] to the effect that the Brāhmaṇas (cf. *vipraiḥ*) of Suvarṇahala obtained from one Dēū, who was a servant of the king of **Gādhinagara** (i.e. modern Kanauj), a *ku-tāmra* by fraud after having bribed [him], that no reliance should be made in the said grant or the Brāhmaṇas and that not even an iota of land in the villages near about **Kalahaṇḍi**[7] really belonged to the above Brāhmaṇas. The word *tāmra* in the expression *ku-tāmra* has been used in the sense of a *tāmra-śāsana* or copper-plate grant[8] and *ku-tāmra* may mean 'a forged document.'[9] It will be seen that in the above analysis we have taken the passage *grāmēshv=amīshu Kalahaṇḍi-samīpagēshu* in the third foot

[1] On the basis of Colebrooke's transcript and translation, H. C. Ray says that the inscription 'announces as forged a grant of the villages of Kalahaṇḍī and Baḍapilā by the *Kānyakubjādhipati* Vijayachandra, which is said to have been executed in the favour of certain Brāhmaṇas living in villages adjoining Kalahaṇḍī' (*DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 534). As will be seen below from our analysis, this is not quite accurate. But Ray rightly observed that 'the record ought to be re-edited' (loc. cit., note 3).

[2] See, e.g., above, Vol. IV, pp. 97 ff. and Plates.

[3] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 340; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 184, No. 143.

[4] See, e.g., above, Vol. XXIX, p. 87, text line 1.

[5] Cf. the word *dēvaḥ* in the second foot of verse 1.

[6] Cf. the expression *ātma-vaṁś-ōdbhavānām* in the prose part in line 3.

[7] The name is spelt as *Kalahaṇḍī* in the prose part in line 3. The change seems to have been made in the verse for the sake of the metre.

[8] Cf. *JRAS*, 1952, p. 4.

[9] The word *ku* really means 'bad'. But cf. expressions like *ku-jñāna* (imperfect or defective knowledge), *ku-daṇḍa* (unjust punishment), etc. *Ku* here means the same thing as *kūṭa* (false, untrue or deceitful). The forged document referred to here has been recently discovered and will be published in a future issue of this journal.

of verse 1 with reference to *bhūmitalam* in the last foot of verse 2. Although this involves the defect called *dūr-ānvaya*, the interpretation seems to be the only satisfactory one. As already indicated above, the two stanzas form a *yugmaka* and have to be read together.

In the prose section, *Mahānāyaka* **Pratāpadhavala**, the lord of **Jāpila**, is represented as making a statement regarding the actual facts to his descendants, such as sons, grandsons and others, to the effect that the people (*lōka*)[1] of **Svarṇahala** secured a *ku-tāmra* or forged grant in respect of the villages of **Kalahaṇḍī** and **Vaḍayilā** (or Baḍayilā) from Dēū, a servant of king **Vijayachandra**, the lord of **Kanyakubja** (modern Kanauj), after having bribed [Dēū], that no reliance should be made in the said grant, that the [said] Brāhmaṇas (*dvijāḥ*) were greedy people (*lampaṭāḥ*), that not even an iota of land belonged to them (i.e. the Brāhmaṇas) and that they (i.e. the king's descendants) should know this fact and collect and enjoy whatever was due [from the two villages] as *bhāga* (i.e. the king's share of the produce in the village fields) and *bhōga* (i.e. the periodical offerings payable by the villagers to the king). The last line of the epigraph shows that the original of the document, now found engraved on the rock, was signed by *Mahārājaputra* Śatrughna who was apparently a son of Pratāpadhavala, even though the latter is called a *Mahānāyaka* in our record and, as will be seen below, a *Nāyaka* in his other epigraphs known to us.[2]

The chief named Pratāpadhavala, styled as *Mahānāyaka* and also as *Mahārāja* indirectly, had his capital at Jāpila which is the modern Japlā (also called Japlā-Dināra), a railway station on the Gomoh-Dehri-on-Sone line of the Eastern Railway, 25 miles from Dehri-on-Sone. The old city, on which the township of Husainābād was built in the late medieval period, lies about 2 miles from the Sone and commands a good view of the Rohtāsgarh plateau on the other side of the river. The Pargana, to which it belongs and which is named after it, lies in the extreme north of the Palamau District of Bihar. Japlā occurs in Shāh Jahān's time among the Parganas forming the Jāgīr of the commander of Rohtāsgarh and is also mentioned in Todar Mall's rent-roll in the *Ain-i-Akbarī*.[3]

It is possible to think that Pratāpadhavala was a feudatory of the Gāhaḍavāla monarch Vijayachandra (c. 1155-70 A.D.) of Kanyakubja (Kanauj) although there is no indication on this point in his records including the one under study. We have elsewhere[4] suggested that the Pāla king Gōvindapāla was ousted from the Gayā region and probably also killed by the Gāhaḍavālas shortly after his 4th regnal year roughly corresponding to 1165 A.D. while there is epigraphic evidence indicating the inclusion of the said area in the dominions of Gāhaḍavāla Jayachchandra (c. 1170-93 A.D.), son and successor of Vijayachandra. It is difficult to determine whether Dēū was the governor of the district around Tārāchaṇḍī under Gāhaḍavāla Vijayachandra and under what circumstances the said district came into the possession of Pratāpadhavala.

Pratāpadhavala apparently ruled over the northern areas of the Palamau District together with the Sasarām-Rohtāsgarh region of the Shahabad District and probably also the contiguous portion of the Gaya District of Bihar. Besides the present inscription from Tārāchaṇḍī near Sasarām, several other epigraphs of the same ruler have been found in the Rohtāsgarh area. These are the Tutlā or Tutrāhī falls inscription[5] dated V.S. 1214, Jyēshṭha-vadi 4, Saturday (19th April 1158 A.D.), the Phulwariya inscription[6] dated V.S. 1225, Vaiśākha-vadi 12, Thursday (27th March

[1] They are called *vipra* in line 1 and *dvija* in line 5.

[2] The Tutrāhī or Tutlā falls inscription is said to mention Śatrughna as one of the sons of Pratāpadhavala whom the Bandhughāṭ epigraph is believed to describe as a *mahā-nṛipati*. See Colebrooke, op. cit., pp. 291 and 293.

[3] See L.S.S. O Malley, *Palamau* (Bengal District Gazetteers), pp. 154-55.

[4] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 142-43; *JBRS*, Vol. XLI, Part 2, pp. 9-10.

[5] Bhandarkar's List, No. 299.

[6] Ibid., No. 338. The name is sometimes spelt as *Phulwari*

1169 A.D.) and the Tilothu inscription[1] bearing no date. Pratāpadhavala is called a *Nāyaka* (ruler) of Jāpila in these records. The name of the family to which he belonged is given as Khayaravāla and it has been supposed that he was really a scion of the aboriginal tribe known as Kharwār which is one of the three principal tribes living in the Palamau District.[2]

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, we have already indicated the location of Gādhinagara or Kanyakubja (also spelt in literary works as Kānyakubja and Kanyākubja), Jāpila and Vaḍayilā (or Baḍayilā). Suvarṇahala or Svarṇahala appears to be the modern village Sūnahar about 3½ miles from Barailā (Vaḍayilā or Baḍayilā of the record) and about 10 miles from Tārāchaṇḍī where the inscription is found. Kalahaṇḍi or Kalahaṇḍī seems to be no other than modern Karvandiyā which is a station on the Eastern Railway, 6 miles from Dehri-on-Sone and 3 miles from Tārāchaṇḍī. The distance between Karvandiyā (ancient Kalahaṇḍi or Kalahaṇḍī) and Barailā (ancient Vaḍayilā or Baḍayilā) the two villages secured by fraud by the Brāhmaṇas of Sūnahar (ancient Suvarṇahala or Svarṇahala) near Barailā, is about 15 miles. The reason why the inscription was engraved at Tārāchaṇḍī seems to be that its findspot was not only near one of the two villages fraudulently secured by the Brāhmaṇas but was also within or near the headquarters of the district in which all the three villages, viz. Kalahaṇḍi (Kalahaṇḍī), Vaḍayilā (Baḍayilā) and Suvarṇahala (Svarṇahala), were situated. Koṭāghāṭ, about ½ mile from the Tārāchaṇḍī temple, seems to have been a township in the early medieval period and may represent the heart of the headquarters of the district in question.

TEXT[3]

[Metres : verses 1-2 *Vasantatilakā*.]

1 Siddham[4] [||*] Svasty=udgata-prathita-kīrtti-dharaḥ samantād=dēvaḥ **Pratāpadhavalō** vadati sva-vaṁśaṁ(śam) | grāmēshv=amīshu Kalahaṁḍi[5]-samīpagēshu vipraiḥ **Suvarṇṇahalajair**[6]=iha chhadmanā[7] yat | [1*]

2 Utkōchya **Gādhinagar**-ādhipa-dāsa-Dēū-hastāt=ku-tāmvra(mra)m=imakaṁ pragṛihītam=āstē[8] n=ātra pratīti-vishayaḥ paritō vidhēyaḥ[9] śū(sū)chy[10]-agra-bhēdyam=api bhūmitala[ṁ]

3 na tēshām || [2*] **Saṁvat 1225 Jyēshṭha-vadi 3 Vu(Bu)dhē** |[11] **Jāpil**-ādhipati-mahānāyaka-śrī-Pratāpadhavaladēva-charaṇāḥ |[11] ātma-vaṁś-ōdbhavānāṁ putra-pautr-ādīnāṁ[12] svarūpaṁ kathayanti |

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[1] Ibid., No. 1759. The name is sometimes spelt as *Tilōtha*.

[2] Cf. above, Vol. IV, p. 311, note 10; O'Malley, op. cit., p. 17. The other two tribes are the Orāons and the Cheros.

[3] From impressions.

[4] Expressed by a symbol which is not noticed in Hall's transcript.

[5] The name is spelt as °*haṁḍī* in line 4.

[6] Hall's transcript has *su-daṇḍa*°. The name is spelt as *Svarṇṇa*° in line 4.

[7] *Chhadmānā* was originally engraved.

[8] Hall's transcript has °*asti*. For the following *daṇḍa*, two *daṇḍas* had been originally engraved, but the second of them was later struck off.

[9] *Pratīti-vishaya* may mean 'a transaction based on the belief'. But better read *pratīti-vishayāḥ paritō vidhēyāḥ* as the reference seems to be to the Brāhmaṇas. The word *paritaḥ* 'everywhere', should have to be taken with *grāmēshu* [*bhūmitalaṁ na*]

[10] Hall's transcript has *sūchy-a*°.

[11] The *daṇḍa* which is not indicated in Hall's transcript is really unnecessary.

[12] I.e. °*vān putra-pautrādīn*.

TARACHANDI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF PRATAPADHAVALA, V.S 1225

Left Half

(from Photographs)

Right Half

4 yad=ētat Svarṇṇahalīya[1]-lōkaiḥ **Kanyakuvjā**(bj-ā)[2]dhipa-śrī-**Vijayachaṁdra**-bhūpa dāsa-Dēü-rpārśvāt[3] utkōchaṁ datvā(ttvā) Kalahaṁḍī-Vaḍayilā[4]-grāmayōḥ ku-tāmvra-(mra)m=ānī[ta]ṁ chhadmanā |[5] tatra pratītir=na kāryā [|*]

5 sarvvathā[6] lampaṭā amī dvijāḥ | śū(sū)chy-agra[7]-bhēdy=āpi bhūmirda(r=nna)[8] rta(tē)-shāṁ[9]=asti | iti jñātvā bhāga[10]-bhai(bhō)g[11]-ādikaṁ grahīshyatha vilapsyatha ch=ēti |'

6 **Mahārājaputra-śrī-Satrughanasya**[12] : ||[13]

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[1] The name is spelt as *Svarṇṇa°* in line 1. Hall's transcript has *su-daṇḍa-halīya.*

[2] Hall's transcript has *Kānya°.*

[3] Read *pārśvāt* which is found in Hall's transcript.

[4] The intended name may be *Baḍayilā.* Hall's transcript has *Baḍayilā.*

[5] The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

[6] Hall's transcript has *sarvathā.*

[7] Hall's transcript has *sūchy-a°.*

[8] Hall's transcript has *°r=na.*

[9] Hall's transcript has *tēshā°.*

[10] Hall's transcript has *svāmi. Bhāga-bhōga* is commonly found in royal charters.

[11] Hall's transcript has *bhōg°.*

[12] Read *Śatrughnasya.* Hall's transcript has *Mahārāja-putraś=cha* ; but he admits that the reading is incomplete. The transcript consulted by Colebrooke was more reliable at this place.

[13] The double *daṇḍa* is preceded by a *visarga*-like sign which is part of the mark of punctuation.

# No. 6—MALLAR PLATES OF JAYARAJA, YEAR 9

(*1 Plate*)

G. BHATTACHARYA, OOTACAMUND, AND M. SIVAYYA, BILASPUR

(*Received on 3.3.1959*)

This set of **three** copper plates, which is being published here for the first time, was discovered along with three others at the village of **Mallār** in the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh. Of the other three charters which are also being published in the pages of this journal, one was issued by **Jayarāja** in his 5th regnal year while two belong to Pravararāja and Vyāghrarāja.[1]

The plates have rounded corners and measure approximately 6 inches by 3·2 inches each. They have each a square hole about the middle of the left margin for the seal-ring to pass through. The three plates altogether contain 26 lines of writing, the inner sides of the first and third plates and both sides of the second having each 6 lines and the second side of the third plate 2 lines only. The **seal** resembles that attached to the king's other charters[2] and the legend represents Jayarāja as the son of Prasanna (i.e. Prasannamātra) and the vanquisher of his enemies by his valour. The three plates together weigh 47 *tolas* and the seal with the ring 39 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the 'box-headed' alphabet and the **language** of the record is anskrit. Excepting the five imprecatory and benedictory verses, the whole charter is written in prose, the style being the same as in the other two charters of Jayarāja and those of his descendants. There is some difference in the formation of medial *ī* in the present record and in the other epigraphs of Jayarāja. While in the other inscriptions it is formed by inserting a dot in the circular sign indicating medial *ī*, in our grant it is usually made with a small vertical stroke joined to the bottom inside the circular sign (cf. *nī* and *sī* in °*vilāsinī-sī*° in line 2). But the *medial ī* in *śrī* (in line 4 is slightly different as here we find a small hook turned to the left instead of the vertical stroke. The *upadhmānīya* and *jihvāmūlīya* occur in lines 3, 15 and 20. The sign for *anusvāra* has been indicated by a small horizontal stroke on the top of a letter and that for *visarga* with two small horizontal strokes placed one above the other. Punctuation is also indicated by a similar stroke, either single or double (cf. lines 16, 20, 21, 23). The numerical figures for 9 and 5 have been used in the record. As regards **orthography**, the reduplication of consonants with the superscript and subscript *r* is often noticed. There are several cases of wrong *sandhi*.

An **interesting feature** of the record is that the lower part of the first side (from lines 9 ff.) and the entire second side of the second plate and the inner side of the third plate are written on erasures, traces of the earlier writing being clear in many places. Line 10 stops abruptly about the middle of the obverse of the plate and line 11 begins at a considerable distance from the left margin and the original writing in the intervening space is beaten in. The names of the two donees of the present charter in lines 9-10 are both written on an erasure. It is clear that the grant was originally made in favour of several donees, that their names were beaten in at a later date and that the names of the two donees were re-engraved in the space thus created. That the number of donees was originally more than two is also clear from the passage °*nāmi(m=a)tisrishṭakō*, referring to the donees in the sixth case-ending plural, at the end of the gap in line 11. This fact,

[1] See above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 155 ff.; below, pp. 47 ff., 53 ff.

[2] These are the Āraṅg and Mallār plates both issued in the 5th regnal year of Jayarāja. See *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 19 ff. and Plates; above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 155 ff. and Plates.

however, does not clearly explain why the writing of all the lines upto line 23 was also beaten in and re-engraved. Possibly a re-engraved passage was re-erased in lines 10-11.

The **object** of the grant, issued by king **Jayarāja** from **Śarabhapura**, is to register the gift of the village **Mōkkēppikā** situated in **Nagarōttara-paṭṭa** by Vatsa to two Brāhmaṇas named Mahēśvarasvāmin and Rudrasvāmin, both belonging to the Bahvṛicha *śākhā* and the Bhārgava *gōtra*. Rudrasvāmin is further described as *Śabara-bhōgika* which suggests either that he hailed from an administrative division (*bhōga*) called Śabara or that he was the *jāgīrdār* enjoying a locality called Śabara.

It is stated that Vatsa made the grant (*atisṛishṭaka*) and that the creation of the rent-free holding was ratified (*anumōdita*) by the king. Vatsa has been called *haḍappagrāha* which is no doubt the same as *haḍappaggāhamatya* as read by Dr. D. C. Sircar in the Kanukollu plates [1] of the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman I. Dr. Sircar takes it to stand for Sanskrit *hṛita-pragrāh-āmātya*, i.e. an officer in charge of the seizure of stolen goods and draws our attention to the *yukta* in charge of *pranashṭ-ādhigata-dravya* as known from the *Manusmriti* and to the police officer mentioned as *Chaurōddharaṇika* in later inscriptions. Vatsa was thus an officer in king Jayarāja's service. The householders of the gift village were asked to pay the usual dues to the donees and the future kings were requested to protect the grant. The charter was issued on the **5th day of the month of Jyēshṭha in the year 9** of Jayarāja's reign. The plates were engraved by Achalasiṁha who was also the engraver of Jayarāja's other charters.

The **importance** of the charter, issued in the king's 9th regnal year, lies in the fact that it offers the latest date of his reign so far known, his other charters being issued in his 5th regnal year. The rule of Jayarāja lasting for about 9 years may be assigned to **the middle of the sixth century.**[2]

Of the **geographical** names, Śarabhapura, the early capital of the family, has been tentatively located near modern Sirpur, the ancient Śrīpura which was the later capital of the family, in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh.[3] The discovery of most of the charters issued from Śarabhapura near about Sirpur has lent colour to this view. The fact, however, that two different persons were responsible for engraving the charters of Sudēvarāja issued from Śarabhapura and Śrīpura[3] may go against it. Of Nagarōttara-paṭṭa and Mōkkēppikā, the first was probably a district situated to the north of the capital city of Śarabhapura. They remind us of the names of modern Nargoda and Mopka, both about 10 miles from Bilaspur. Śabarabhōga likewise reminds us of Seorinarayan or Śavarīnārāyaṇa, supposed to indicate the existence of Śabaras (Śavaras) in the area.

## TEXT[4]

*First Plate*

1 Svasti [|*] **Śarabhapurāt** dvi(vi)kkram-ōpanata-sāmaṁ(ma)nta-makuṭa[5]-chūḍē(ḍā)maṇi-prabhā-

2 prasēk-āmbu-dhauta[6]-pāda-yugalō ripu-vilāsinī-sīmaṁ(ma)nt-ōddharaṇa-hētu-

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[1] Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 6, note 9.

[2] See, above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 156.

[3] See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 104. Cf. the Sirpur (above Vol. XXXI, pp. 103 ff.) and the **Kauvatal** (ibid., pp. 314 ff.) plates of Sudēvarāja, both issued in his 7th regnal year.

[4] From impressions.

[5] The word does not occur in the text of the other grants of Jayarāja.

[6] The other grants of Jayarāja have °*āmbubhir=dhauta*.

3 r=vvasu-vasudhā-gō-pradaḥ=paramabhāgavatō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātaḥ(ta)-

4 ś=śrī-**Mahā-Jayarāja[ḥ]** **Nagarōttara-paṭṭi(ṭṭī)ya-Mōkkēppikāyā[ṁ]** prativāsi-kuṭumbi-

5 nas=samājñāpayaty[1]=astu vō viditaṁ |[2] yath=āsmābhir=ayaṁ grāmas=Tṛi(s=Tri)daśaya-(pa)ti-

6 sadana-sukha-pratishṭhākarō yāvad=ravi-śaśi-tārā-kiraṇa-pratihata-ghōrāṁ(r-ā)ndha-

*Second Plate, First Side*

7 kāraṁ jagad=avatishṭhatē tāvad=upabhōgyas=sa-nidhis=s-ōpanidhir=a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvē-śya[ḥ*]

8 sa[r*]vva-kara-visarjjitō[3] mātā-pittrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛidhya(ddhy-a)rttha[ṁ*][4] haḍappagrāha[5]-[Va]-

9 [6]tsēna bahvṛicha-Bhārggava-sagōtra-Mahēśvarasvāmi[7] [|][8] ēva[ṁ*] Śabara-bhōgika-bavṛi-(hvṛi)-

10 cha-Bhārggava-Rudrasvāmi[9] ..................................................

11 .................. .................................... nām=itisṛishṭakō[10]

12 bhūtvā tāmbra(mra)-śāsanēn=āsmābhir=ana(nu)mōditas[11]=te yūyam=ēvam=upala-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

13 bhy=aishāṁ[12]=ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyā bhūtvā yath-ōchitaṁ bhōga-bhāgam=upanaya-

14 ntē(nta)s=sukhaṁ prativatsyatha [|*] bhavishyataś=cha bhūmipān=anudarśayati [|*]

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[1] The engraver first wrote *samājñāpayati* and then corrected it to *samājñāpayaty=a°*. Jayarāja's other grants have *samājñāpayati*.

[2] The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[3] Jayarāja's other grants have the name of the donee after this.

[4] Jayarāja's other grants have *°ābhivṛiddhayē.*

[5] Read *hṛitapragrāha.*

[6] From this line upto line 23 the whole text is written on an erasure.

[7] Read *°svāmī.*

[8] The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[9] After this, the space is blank with traces of the previous writing.

[10] The intended reading is *°nām=atisrishṭakō.* But read *Rudrasvāmī tābhyām=atisṛishṭakaḥ.* Omit *bhūtvā.*

[11] The *visarga*-like sign after this seems to belong to the original writing.

[12] Read *°bhya tābhyām°.*

*i*

*ii, a*

*ii, b*

Scale : Four-fifths

*iii. b*

SEAL



(from a Photograph)

15 Dānād=viśishṭam=anupālanajaṁ purāṇā |[1] dharmmēshu niśchita-dhiyaḥ=pravadaṁ-

16 nti[2] dharmma[ṁ](rmmam) | tasmā[d*]=dvijāya su-viśuddha-kula-śrutāya |[1] dattā[ṁ*] bhuvaṁ bha-

17 vatu vō matir=ēva gōptu[m*] |[|*] tad=bhavadbhir=apy=ēshā da[tti*]r=anupālayitavyā | Vyāsa-

18 gītā[ṁ*]ś=ch=ātra ślōkān=udāharanti[3] [|*] Agnēr=apatyaṁ prathamaṁ suvarṇṇaṁ bhūr=vvai-

*Third Plate, First Side*

19 shṇavī s[ū]ryya-sutāś=cha gāvaḥ [|*] dattās=trayas=tēna bhavaṁ(va)nti lōkāḥ[4]

20 yaḥ=kāñchanaṁ gāṁ cha mahī[ṁ] cha dadyāḥ(dyāt) || Shashti-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōda-

21 ti bhūmidaḥ [|*] āchchhēttā ch=ānumaṁttā(ntā) cha tāny=ēva narakē vasē[t*] || Bahu-bhi-

22 r=vvasudhā dattā rājabhis=Sagarādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[s*]=

23 tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [|]

24 mahītma(m=ma)himatāñ=chhrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam=iti ||

*Third Plate, Second Side*

25 sva-mukh-ājñayā utkīrṇṇaṁ Achalasiṅghēna[5] | pravarddhamāna-vijaya-

26 **saṁvvatsara[ḥ*] 9 Jyēshṭha-di[6] 5** ||[7]

SEAL

**Prasaṁ(sa)nna**-tanayasy=ēdaṁ vikkram-ōtkhāta-vidvishaḥ [|*]
śrīmatō **Jayarājasya** śāsana[ṁ*] ripu-śāsanaṁ(nam ||)

---

[1] The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[2] Read *pravadanti*. Owing to the existence of a partially beaten in subscript *y* below *d*, th word looks like *pravadyaṁnti*.

[3] There is a sign after this, which no doubt belongs to the original writing.

[4] Read *lōka*. There are faint traces of two letters after this, which belong to the original writing.

[5] Read *utkīrṇṇam=Achalasiṁhēna*.

[6] *Di* stands for *divasaḥ*.[6]

[7] The end of the writing is indicated by six vertical strokes followed by a horizontal stroke.

# No. 7--DHARWAR PLATES OF THE TIME OF SIMHANA

*(2 Plates)*

D. C. SIRCAR AND S. SANKARANARAYANAN, OOTACAMUND

*(Received on 28.3.1958)*

The **set** of copper plates, published in the following pages, was acquired by the Government Epigraphist for India during the year 1925-26.[1] It consists of 3 plates each measuring about 18¾ inches by 5½ inches with the rims slightly raised all round in order to protect the writing. They are strung together on a ring about 3¾ inches in diameter, to which is fixed a **seal** (1¾" by 2"), slightly mutilated at the top. The figure of Garuḍa in the flying posture with the hands in worshipping attitude is cut in bold relief on the countersunk surface of the seal. The inscription is engraved on the inner side of the first plate and on both the sides of the rest. The set weighs 205 *tolas*. There are altogether 89 lines of writing, 20 on the first plate, 21 each on the obverse and reverse of the second plate, and 22 and 5 respectively on the first and second sides of the third plate.

The inscription is engraved in the Southern Nāgarī **characters** of the 13th century A.D. The **language** is Sanskrit (with the exception of a Kannaḍa endorsement in lines 85-86)[2] and is written in a mixture of poetry and prose. The palaeography and **orthography** resemble those of records like the Haraḷahaḷḷi plates[3] of the time of Siṁhaṇa, the king during whose reign the present charter was also issued, and the Tasgaon plates[4] of Kṛishṇa. The initial forms of the vowels *i* and *ē* occurring in lines 73, 75, 77, 84 and 89 are interesting. *B* has been distinguished from *v* by the insertion of a dot inside the loop of the latter. In two place names in lines 29 and 30, the letter *ṟ* of the South Indian alphabets has been indicated by *rr*. There are a few cases of *ddh* being represented by *dhdh* (cf. lines 66, 84) and of the use of the sign of medial *u* as the mark indicating a final consonant (cf. lines 4, 26, 28). *Jihvāmūlīya* seems to have been indicated by *s* in line 3 and *sh* in line 4. Final *n* has sometimes been changed to *anusvāra* (cf. lines 2, 6, 25), while often *ṇṇ* has been preceded by an unnecessary *anusvāra* (cf. lines 25, 41, 49, 51-53, 60-61, 64-65, 74). Among orthographical errors, *ś* for *s* and *b* for *v* have been written in a number of cases.

The **date** of the record is quoted in lines 39-41 as the **Śaka year 1173, Plavaṅga, Jyēshṭha-paurṇamāsī, Thursday, lunar eclipse.** This is **irregular.** The cyclic year Plavaṅga corresponded to Śaka 1169 and not to Śaka 1173 which, moreover, falls after the end of Siṁhaṇa's reign.[5] In Śaka 1169=Plavaṅga, a lunar eclipse occurred on the full-moon day of Āshāḍha (not Jyēshṭha), which corresponds to Wednesday (not Thursday), the **19th June 1247 A.D.**[6] This date falls within the period of Yādava Siṁhaṇa's reign. The **object** of the inscription is to record

[1] See *A.R.Ep.*, 1925-26, No. A 4 ; paragraph 5 (p. 94).

[2] Cf. also the Kannaḍa case-endings suffixed to a few words in lines 29, 30 and 31.

[3] *JBBRAS*, Vol. XV, pp. 386 ff. and Plates.

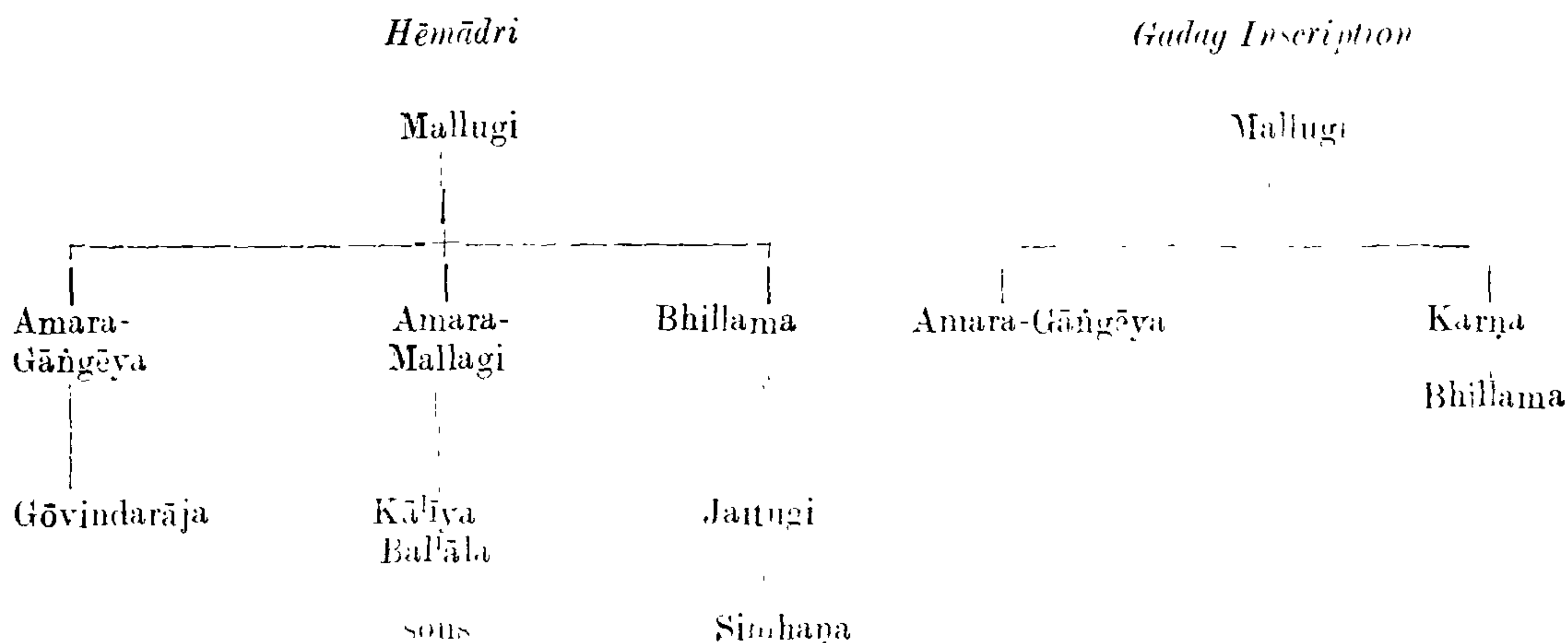
[4] Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 210 ff. and Plates.

[5] Fleet assigned Siṁhaṇa's rule to the period between 1210 and 1247 A.D. (cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 519, 522, 526). The initial year is uncertain, different inscriptions suggesting about a dozen different dates ranging between 1197 98 and 1216-17 A.D. See B. K. No. 68 of 1928-29, dated in the regnal year 45, Subhakṛit, Dvitīya-Bhādrapada ba. 15, Friday, solar eclipse, corresponding to the 26th September 1242 A.D., and B. K. No. 1 of 1934-35, dated in the 18th regnal year, Vijaya, Phālguna śu. 5 (sic. 6), Monday, corresponding to the 6th February 1234 A.D. This abnormal phenomenon probably refers to the various stages in Siṁhaṇa's struggle for empire, though some of the dates may be due to confusion.

[6] The eclipse took place in the latter part of the night of Wednesday. The grant, made on the occasion of the eclipse, might have been actually registered on the next day, i.e. Thursday.

the grant of 180 *nivartanas* of land distributed among a number of Brāhmaṇas, temples, etc. by Malli-śrēshṭhin, the son-in-law of Bīchirāya who was a feudatory of king Siṁhaṇa.

After the first verse[1] in praise of Varāha (i.e. the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu), the genealogy of the Yādava dynasty is briefly traced down to the ruling king (verses 2-5). It is stated that in the family (*santāna*) called **Yādava** originating from the moon, there was one **Amara-Gāṅgēya**[2] who was followed successively by : (1) **Mallugi**[3], (2) Mallugi's son **Bhillama**, (3) **Jaitugi**, known from other sources to have been the son of Bhillama, and (4) **Siṁhaṇa** who was the ruling king and is known from other sources to have been the son of Jaitugi. By placing Mallugi, father of Bhillama, immediately after Amara-Gāṅgēya,[4] our record differs from the genealogy supplied by Hēmādri's *Vratakhaṇḍa*[5] and the Gadag inscription[6] which offer the following accounts :




Our record is not specific about the relationship between Amara-Gāṅgēya and Mallugi. If it may be supposed that they were brothers, it was probably this Mallugi whom Hēmārdri calls Amara-Mallagi.[7] It is not impossible that this Mallugi or Amara-Mallagi (Mallugi II) was also known as Karṇa, the name by which the father of Bhillama is mentioned in the Gadag inscription and, since the names Karṇa and Kṛishṇa are often interchanged,[8] he has been called Kṛishṇa (I) in the Methi inscription[9] of his grandson's grandson Kṛishṇa (II).

[1] This verse has been attributed to the poet Hanumat in Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī* (Gaekwad Oriental Series No. LXXXIII), p. 29, verse 73.

[2] The name is also written as Amara-Ganga (cf. above, Vol. III, pp. 218-19).

[3] Another form of the name is Mallagi (cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 271).

[4] The Haraḷahaḷḷi plates (*JBBRAS*, Vol. XV, pp. 383 ff.; Kielhorn's Southern List, No. 360) describe Mallugi as born in the family of Amara-Gāṅgēya.

[5] *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., pp. 268 ff.

[6] Above, Vol. III, pp. 217 ff. While R.G. Bhandarkar (*Bom. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 235, note 1) condemns the Gadag inscription as spurious, Fleet (ibid., pp. 517-18) and Kielhorn (above, Vol. III, pp. 218 ff.) rely on the authority of that record.

[7] The original reading of the passage in Hēmādri's text may have been *apara-Mallagi*, 'a second Mallagi'.

[8] Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 314 and note 4.

[9] Ibid., pp. 312 ff. The suggestion that Hēmādri omitted the name of Bhillama's father Kṛishṇa or Karṇa, because he had died young and did not rule ignores the fact that Hēmādri mentions Jaitugi II who predeceased his father Siṁhaṇa and did not rule.

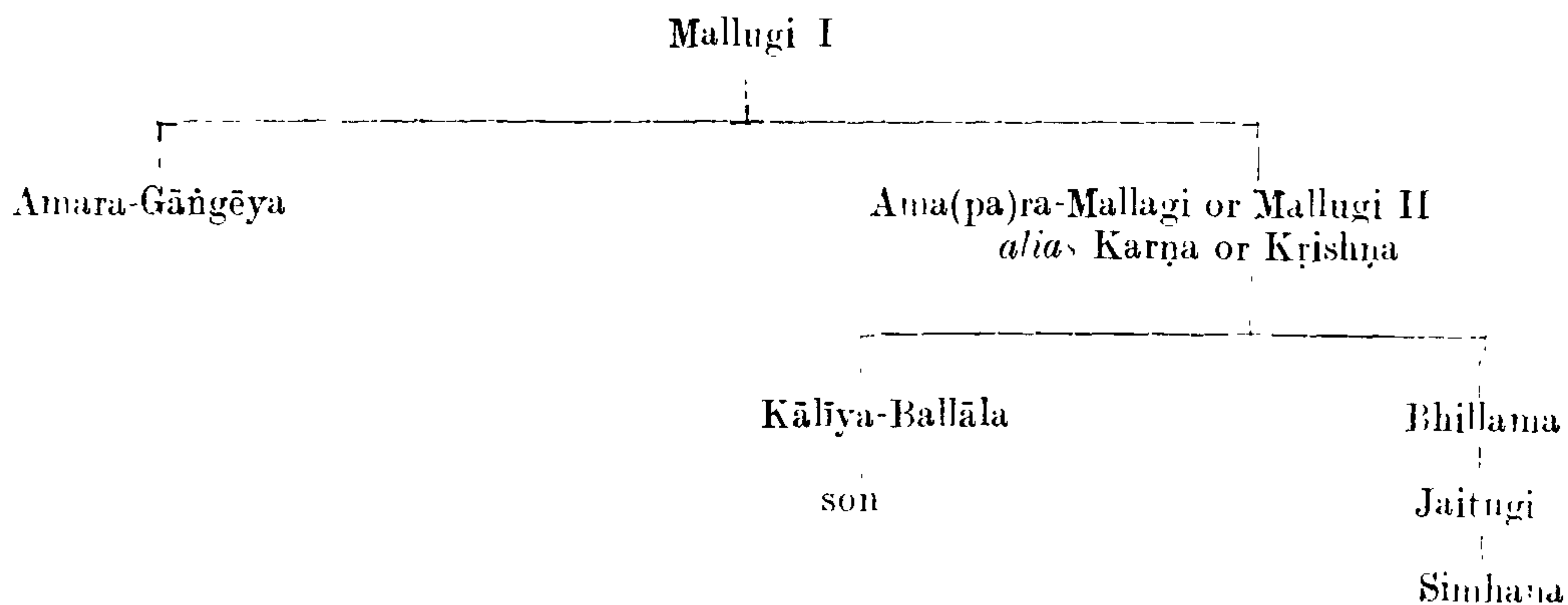
While in Hēmādri's account Bhillama figures as a son of Mallugi I, the father of Amara-Gāṅgēya and Amara-Mallagi (Mallugi II), the Gadag inscription represents him as the grandson of Mallugi I. The stanza in question in Hēmādri's *Vratakhaṇḍa* runs as follows:

*Mahīpatēs=tasya vihāya putrān=guṇ-ānuraktā Yadu-vaṁśa-lakshmīḥ |*

*śrī-Bhillamaṁ tasya tataḥ pitṛivyam=aryāja-rājad-bhujam=ājagāma*

The discrepancy between the two accounts may be reconciled if *putrān=guṇ-ānuraktā* is regarded as a copyist's error for *putraṅ=guṇ-ānuraktā*. As it is, the stanza means to say that the royal fortune of the Yādavas left the sons of Kālīya Ballāla and passed on to his paternal uncle Bhillama. But the proposed emendation would make Bhillama the paternal uncle of the son of Kālīya Ballāla and not of Kālīya Ballāla himself. This suits the context nicely. As the verse now reads, the word *tasya* occurring once in the first foot and again in the third foot would refer in both the cases to Kālīya Ballāla. This is not quite happy. With the proposed emendation, the first *tasya* would refer to Kālīya Ballāla and the second to his son.

If the above suggestions are accepted, the genealogy would stand as follows:




A passage in prose between verses 5 and 6 endows Siṁhaṇa with his usual titles, viz. *Śrīprithvīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Dvāravatīpuravarādhīśvara*, *Rāyanārāyaṇa* and *Prauḍhapratāpachakravartin*. Verse 6 then describes Bīchirāya[1] as Siṁhaṇa's viceroy (*dēśānām=adhipaḥ*). He is known to us as the donor of the Haraḷahaḷḷi plates which describe him as a viceroy of the same king in the southern provinces (*dakshiṇa-kshōṇī-rāya*)[2] and suggest that he played an important part in Siṁhaṇa's southern conquests as his other general Khōlēśvara played in his conquests in the north.[3]

In verse 8 and in the following passage in prose in lines 21-25, **Malli-**śrēshṭhin is introduced as the husband of Chikkāmbā, as the son-in-law of **Bīchi-rāya**, and as famous among the traders. It is also said that this Malli-śrēshṭhin got from Bīchi-śrēshṭhin the *ādhipatya* (probably meaning 'governorship') of **Beluvala-rājya.** It is interesting to note that he got the governorship not from the king but from his father-in-law who was apparently the governor of several districts including Beluvala-rājya. In a record dated 1248 A.D.,[4] the same Malli-śeṭṭi, represented as making a grant at the instance of his father-in-law Bīchana (i.e. Bīchi-śeṭṭi), figures as the *Sarvādhikārin*.

[1] He is referred to as Bīchi-śrēshṭhin (°śeṭṭi) in line 24 and as Vīchana, Bīcha and Bīchidēva in other records (*Bom. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 523).

[2] Cf. text lines 26 ff. It is further said that Bīchi-śeṭṭi was a son of one Chikka, the younger brother of Malla and the husband of Āmāṅganā.

[3] *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 248.

[4] *A.R. Ep.*, 1926, No. 426.

In another record[1] dated in 1251 A.D., however, *Mahāpradhāna* Chaudi-setti[2] figures as the governor of the two Beḷuvalas and such other districts as Vanavāsi-Pāṇḍyanāḍu, Hānuṅgal-Pāṇḍināḍu, Taidavāḍi, etc.

Lines 25-36 state that Malli-śrēshṭhin secured 180 *nivartanas* of land in the village of **Hērūru** situated on the western bank of the river **Vēṇṇā** in Beḷuvala-dēśa. The object was to create a *Brahmapurī*, i.e. a rent-free holding for settling Brāhmaṇas. The land was acquired from two persons named Bomma-gauṇḍa and Malla-gauṇḍa who were the original owners of the village (*grāma-mūla-svāmin*). Malli-śrēshṭhin is stated to have given four *nivartanas* of land to each of them and to have honoured and satisfied them. It appears that the land was purchased by Malli-śrēshṭhin though no such transaction is clearly indicated by the language of the document. The land measuring 180 *nivartanas* lay in the western part of the said village and was bounded by *Bād umbeyakshētra* (i.e. a plot of land belonging to the female deity Bādumbe mentioned below) in the east, the boundary of the village of **Kuṟuhaṭṭi** in the south, the locality called **Hullalegeṟe** in the west and the boundary of **Kisuvaṅgallu-grāma** in the north. It is further stated that he secured two housesites in addition to the above area. The first of these sites was situated to the west of the temple of Bādumbe, to the north of the western Jain temple, to the east of the village tank, and to the south of the temple of Mūlasthānadēva. The second housesite lay to the east of the temple of Mallēśvaradēva, to the south of the temple of Brahmadēva, to the west of the temple of Vīradēva, and to the north of Jainālayapura.

In lines 37 ff., it is said that Malli śrēshṭhin granted the above land as a rent-free holding (*sarva-namasya*) to a number of Brāhmaṇas who belonged to various *gōtras* and were well-versed in the four Vēdas and their *aṅgas*. The grant is stated to have been made in the presence of the god Svayambhūdēva of **Kundaṅguli**

The gift land measuring 180 *nivartanas* was divided into 68 shares, each consisting of 1 to 4 *nivartanas*. Among the donees, there were 56 Brāhmaṇas belonging to 11 different *gōtras*, three *gauṇḍas* (i.e. village headmen), to whom some land was given out of affection (*ishṭa-dāna*), three temples and certain public institutions. The distribution is shown in the following table :

| No. | *Donees* | *Gōtras* | *Nivartanas* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Sūrya . . . . . . . . . . . | Vasishtha | 4 |
| 2 | Nārasimha-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya . . . . . . . | Do. . . | 4 |
| 3 | Lakshmīdhara . . . . . . . . . . | Do. . | 4 |
| 4 | Sōmanātha . . . . . . . . . . | Do. . . | 4 |
| 5 | Vishṇu . . . . . . . . . . . | Do. . . | 4 |
| 6 | Habba . . . . . . . . . . . | Do. . . | 4 |
| 7 | Īśvara . . . . . . . . . . . | Do . . | 4 |
| 8 | Kēśava . . . . . . . . . . . | Do. . . | 3 |
| 9 | Mañchaṇa . . . . . . . . . . . | Do. . . | 2 |
| 10 | Nārāyana . . . . . . . . . . . | Do. . . | 2 |

[1] B. K. No. 114 of 1929-30.

[2] He may be the same as Chauṇḍi-śetti who figures as an *amātya* and as the son of Malli-śeṭṭi, a brother of Bīchaṇa, in the Chikka-Bāgēwāḍi plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 303 ff.; Kielhorn's Southern List, No. 357), dated Saturday, the 26th June, 1249 A.D.

| No. | *Donees* | *Gōtras* | *Nivartanas* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11 | Vishṇu | Vasishṭha | 2 |
| 12 | Bhattiyaṇa | Bhāradvāja | 4 |
| 13 | Mañchiyaṇa | Do. | 4 |
| 14 | Tripurāntaka | Do. | 4 |
| 15 | Janārdana | Do. | 3 |
| 16 | Chāvaṇṇa | Do. | 2 |
| 17 | Sāmidēva | Do. | 2 |
| 18 | Rāmana | Do. | 2 |
| 19 | Vishṇu | Do. | 2 |
| 20 | Brahman | Do. | 2 |
| 21 | Dēvaṇṇa | Do. | 2 |
| 22 | Rāmaṇṇa | Do. | 2 |
| 23 | Dēvaṇṇa | Gautama | 4 |
| 24 | Chāvaṇṇ | Do. | 2 |
| 25 | Lakhaṇṇa | Garga | 4 |
| 26 | Vīranna | Ātrēya | 4 |
| 27 | Mallanna | Do. | 4 |
| 28 | Brahmadēva | Do. | 4 |
| 29 | Māyidēva | Do. | 4 |
| 30 | Mādhava | Do. | 3 |
| 31 | Brahmadēva | Do. | 2 |
| 32 | Dēvaṇṇa | Do. | 2 |
| 33 | Rāmēśvara | Śrīvatsa | 2 |
| 34 | Śankara | Do. | 2 |
| 35 | Appāṇṇa | Do. | 2 |
| 36 | Dēśyaṇa | Do. | 2 |
| 37 | Kallaṇṇa | Do. | 1 |
| 38 | Nārasimha | Kāśyapa | 4 |
| 39 | Vishṇu | Do. | 4 |
| 40 | Kūchanna | Do. | 2 |
| 41 | Nārasimha | Do. | 2 |
| 42 | Nāgaṇṇa | Do. | 2 |
| 43 | Śivapriya | Do. | 2 |
| 44 | Harihara | Do. | 2 |

| No. | Donees | Gōtras | Nivartanas |
|---|---|---|---|
| 45 | Nārāyaṇa | Kāśyapa | 2 |
| 46 | Siṅgaṇṇa | Do. | 2 |
| 47 | Baladēva | Hārita | 2 |
| 48 | Nārāyaṇa | Do. | 2 |
| 49 | Sōmanātha | Do. | 2 |
| 50 | Āchaṇṇa | Kauśika | 4 |
| 51 | Chandaṇṇa | Do. | 3 |
| 52 | Sōmanātha | Vishṇuvṛiddha | 3 |
| 53 | Vishṇu | Kauṇḍinya | 2 |
| 54 | Nārāyaṇa | Do. | 2 |
| 55 | Dīpadēvaṇa | Vasishṭha | 4 |
| 56 | Mallaṇṇa[1] | Garga | 4 |
| 57 | Singa-gauṇḍa | .. | 1 |
| 58 | Śaṅka-gauṇḍa | .. | 2 |
| 59 | Malla-gauṇḍa | . | 1 |
| 60 | the god Udbhavakēśava | .. | 4 |
| 61 | the god Mūlasthānadēva | . | 1 |
| 62 | the god Pañchikēśvara[2] | .. | 2 |
| 63 | for a *sattra*[3] | .. | 2 |
| 64 | for a *khaṇḍikā*[4] | .. | 2 |
| 65 | for *bhaṭṭa-vṛitti*[5] | .. | 2 |
| 66 | for *bāla-śikshā*[6] | .. | 2 |
| 67 | for the *pitṛi-parvan*[7] | .. | 1 |
| 68 | for a tank at Hullale (i.e. Hullalegere of lines 29-30) | .. | 1 |

Verse 9 (lines 77-78) states that the grant was made by the general (*chamūpa*) Malla along with his wife Chikkāmbā and his son Saṅgama. After three of the usual imprecatory verses, the last stanza of the record says that the document was written by the learned Sūryanārasiṁha, son of Mādhavārya. Though the grant ends with the words *maṅgala[ṁ*] mahā-śrī[ḥ*]* in line 84, the

[1] Names of Nos. 55-56 are added later at the end of the charter.

[2] Two of these deities are referred to as Vāsudēva and Mahādēva in lines 73-74.

[3] *Sattra* means 'a feeding house'. For similar grants, see B.K. No. 21 of 1926-27, and No. 13 of 1936-37.

[4] *Khaṇḍikā* means 'a school'. See B.K. No. 66 of 1927-38. For grants to a *Ṛigvēda-khaṇḍikā* and a *Purāṇa-khaṇḍikā*, see B.K. No. 84 of 1927-28; B.K. No. 93 of 1936-37.

[5] It means a *vṛitti* or gift for the maintenance of a *bhaṭṭa* or teacher, i.e., for teaching. For the gift of *bhaṭṭa-vṛitti* for teaching *Nyāya*, etc., and for reciting the Purāṇas, see respectively B.K. Nos. 47 and 93 of 1936-37.

[6] It means 'education of the children', probably in the *khaṇḍikā* referred to above. B.K. No. 84 of 1927-28 also records a gift for *bāla-śikshā* in the *Ṛigvēda-khaṇḍikā* besides another gift to the same *khaṇḍika*.

[7] *Pitṛi-parvan* may mean *śrāddha* or *dāna* on each *Amāvasyā* day. A damaged inscription (B.K. No. 180 of 1932-33) seems to record a similar gift for *Vishṇu-śrāddha*.

next line contains an endorsement in Kannaḍa stating that the gift land was measured with a particular rod 48 spans in length.[1] The measuring rod is called *Bāchiriḍiga-ghalē* which is also known from other records.[2] The names of two donees (Nos. 55-56 of the tabular list) are added in lines 86-89. The distribution of the house sites is not specified in the inscription.

Among the **geographical** names occurring in the record, Kundaṅguli, whence the grant is said to have been made, occurs as Kundaṅgula in the Kundgōḷ inscription[3] of Siṁhaṇa and may be safely identified with the findspot of that inscription, viz. Kundgōḷ near Hubli in the Dharwar District of Mysore State. The well-known Beluvala-dēśa, often called Beḷvala (or Beḷvola)-300, has been identified by Fleet with the Gadag-Aṇṇigere-Kurtakōṭi-Nargund-Hūli-Kukkanūr region comprising parts of the Dharwar and Belgaum Districts and their neighbourhood.[4] Among the other names, viz. Vēṇṇā-nadī flowing by the east of Hērūru, in which the gift land was situated, and the localities called Kuṛuhaṭṭi, Hullalegeṛe and Kisuvaṅgallu which were situated respectively to the south, west and north of the gift land lying in the western part of Hērūru, the river Vēṇṇā is no doubt modern Beṇṇihaḷḷa,[5] while Kisuvaṁgallu is apparently modern Kusugal near Hubli, the same place being mentioned in the Kendūr plates[6] of Kīrtivarman II as Kisumaṅgalam and located in that record in the Veḷvola *vishaya*, i.e. the Beluvaladēśa of our record. Although the localities called Hērūru, Kuṛuhaṭṭi and Hullalegeṛe cannot be traced on the 2-inches-to-1-mile map of the Dharwar Collectorate, there is little doubt that the gift land was situated in the area lying to the south of Kusugal, to the north of Kundgōḷ, to the east of Hubli and to the west of the Beṇṇi-haḷḷa. There is a place called Haḷḷihāḷ midway between Kusugal and Kundgoḷ, though it is difficult to say whether it is the same as Hullalegeṛe of our inscription. There is also a village called Koṅkaṇa-Kurhaṭṭi about 11 miles to the south-east of Kusugal. But its situation does not appear to suit exactly that of Kuṛuhaṭṭi lying to the south of the gift land and therefore of Kisuvaṁgallu (Kusugal) according to the inscription.[7]

## TEXT[8]

[Metres: verse 1 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 2-13 *Anushṭubh*.]

*First Plate*

1 ‚ Pātu trīṇi[9] jagaṁti saṁtatam=akūpārā-[10]

2 t=samabhyudhdha(ddha)raṁ[11] dhātrīṁ Krōḍha(ḍa)[12]-kalēvaraḥ sa bha-

[1] The Haraḷahaḷḷi plates have in this context the expression *tad-dēśa-prasiddha-daṇḍēna* (text line 60).

[2] Cf. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Hn. 66.

[3] *JBISM*, Vol. XV, pt. IV, pp. 22 ff.

[4] *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 304.

[5] The Kannaḍa word *haḷḷa* means 'a small river'. That Vēṇṇā and Beṇṇi are the same is indicated by the various spellings of the name of the same river as *Krishnavēṇā*, °*bēnnā*, °*vēnnā*, °*vēṇī*, °*vēṇyā*, °*vēnvā*, etc. Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *Krishna* and *Vēṇā*; *IHQ*, Vol. XXVII, p. 225, note 52; also p. 224, note 45; above, Vol. XXX, p. 117; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 207. The name seems to have been confused with Sanskrit *vēṇi* or *vēṇī* 'a braid of hair' (cf. Trivēṇī), which means 'a river' as well in Telugu-Kannaḍa.

[6] Above, Vol. IX, p. 204.

[7] Hērūru mentioned in the Gadag inscription, probably situated in Kisukāḍ-70 and identified by Fleet with modern Bēlūr in the Bijapur District (on the ground that the ancient name of the place was Pēūr; cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, p. 519, note 1; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 271), is different from the locality of the same name mentioned in our record.

[8] From impressions.

[9] The sign for the subscript *ra* looks more like that for medial *u*.

[10] *Pō* was originally engraved

[11] Read °*raṁ*.

[12] The *Suktimuktāvalī* reads *Kōla*°.

# DHARWAR PLATES OF THE TIME OF SIMHANA—PLATE I

*i*

*ii, a*

Scale : Four-sevenths

*ii, b*

*iii, a*

3 gavān=yasy=aika-haṁṣṭrākurē[1] [|*] Kūrmaskandati[2] nālati dvi-

4 rasanaḥ patraṁt digudantinō Mērushkōśati[3] mēdinī jalaja-

5 ja[4]ti vyōm=āpi rōrambati[5] | [1*] Abhūt=tasya vaṁśē=sva vaṁśā-

6 nō **Yādav-āhvayaḥ** [|*] tasminna(smin **A)mara-Gāṁgēyō** jātō Gāṁgēya-sanni-

7 bha[ḥ*] |[| 2*] Tatas=tu **Mallugis**=tasmād=**Bhillamō** vallabhō bhuvaḥ [|*] yat-pratāp-ā-

8 nal-ālī[dha]ṁ na rōhasya(ty=a)hit-ā[ṁ*]kuraṁ(ram) | 3*] Tatō=jani mahō-vā(bā)[ṁ]uḥ(hu)r=**Jai-**

9 **[tu]giḥ Śi(Siṁ)ghaṇas**=tataḥ [|*] yan-nām=ādy āpi kathitaṁ(taṁ)=ākrāmati na

10 kāṁ diśaṁ(śam) |[| 4*] Kar-ākrānta-dharaḥ padm-ōllā-ī(sī) dushprēksha[6]-maṁḍha(**ḍa)-**
**laḥ** [|*]

11 bhūbhṛin-mauli-stha-pādō=[yaṁ*] bhāti Siṅghaṇa[7]-bhāskaraḥ [5*] svasti | *] śrī-

12 pri(pṛi)thvīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabha-

13 [ṭṭāra]ka-Dvārāvatīpuravarādhīśvara-Yādavakulakamala-

14 [kali]kāvikāsabhāskara-rāyanārāyaṇ-ēty-ā(ty-ā)di-nām-ā[va]-

15 [lī]-virājamāna-prauḍhapratāpachakravarti-śrī-**Siṁghaṇad[ēva]-**

16 vijaya-rājy-ōdayē | Vīra-śrī-Śiṁ(Siṁ)haṇa-kshmāpa-pāda-padm-ōpa-

17 [sē]vakaḥ | **Bīchirāya** iti khyātō dēśānō(nā)m=adhipō=bhavat | 6*]

18 [Sō=yaṁ] śrī-Siṁghaṇa-kshmāpa-prasāda-dhana-bhājanaṁ(nam) [|*] bhū[ri]-vi-

19 [śvaṁbharā]-bhāraṁ yō babhāra bhujē bhṛisaṁ(śam) |[| 7*] Ta[j-jā]māta jaga[t-trā]-

20 [tā] **Malli-śrēshṭhī** babhu(bhū)va yaḥ [|*] yat-puṇ(pu)ṇya-kīrtiṁ vratā[ṁ] gā-

*Second Plate, First Side*

21 yaṁti cha dig-aṁganāḥ [ 8*] Sa cha samasta-vastu-vistīrṇṇa-ratna-mau-

22 ktik-ādy-anēka-kraya-vikraya-kāri-sakala-jana-manō-na-

23 yan-ānaṁdakārī sakala-la[kshm]ī-patiḥ[8] Chikkāva(mbi)kā-pati-

24 Malli-śrēshṭhī Bīchi-śrēshṭhinaḥ sakāśād **Beluvaladēś-ā**dhipatyaṁ

25 labdhvā tasmiṁdē(smin=dē)śē **Vēṁ(Vē)ṇṇā-nadī**-paśchima-taṭa-vāsini **Herūru-**

26 **grāma(mē)** brahma-puriṁ kartuṁ tadu(tad)-grāma-mūla-svāmibhyāṁ Bomma-gau-

27 ṭa-Malla-gaiṁtābhyāṁ[9] pratyēkaṁ nivartana chatushṭayaṁ da[t*]tvā tau saṁpūjya

28 saṁtarpya tābhyāṁ sakāśāt grāmasya paśchima-digubhā(g-bhā)gē Bāduṁ-

29 bēya kshētrāt=paśchimē **Kurruhaṭṭi[10]-grāma**-sīm-ōttara-bhāgē **Hulla-**

30 **legerreyiṁ**[11] pūrva-bhāgē **Kisuvaṁgallu-grāma**-sīmā-dakshiṇa-bhāgē

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[1] Read *daṁshṭr-āṅkurē.*

[2] Read *Kūrmaḥ=kandati.*

[3] Read *dig-dantinō Mērur=kōśati.*

[4] The *akshara ja* is redundant.

[5] The *Sūktimuktāvalī* reads *lōlambati.*

[6] The Haralahalli plates read *dushprēkshya*.

[7] In the Haraḷahaḷḷi plates, the reading is *°pādō=bhūt tasmāt=Siṁghaṇa°.*

[8] Cf. *sakala-lakshmī-patiḥ* an epithet of Bīchaṇa's father Chakka in the Haralahalli plates (text line 57).

[9] Read *°gauṇḍa-Malla-gauṇḍābhyāṁ.*

[10] The correct form is *Kuruhaṭṭi.*

[11] The correct form of the name is *°gere.* The suffix *yiṁ* indicates the fifth case-ending in Kannada. Read *°geretaḥ.*

31 asī(śī)ty-uttara-nivartana-śata-saṁkhyākaṁ kshētraṁ labdhva(bdhvā) brahma-prariṁ(purī)-g[ri]-

32 ha-nirmāṇ-ārthaṁ Bāduṁbeya dēvālayāt=paśchimataḥ paśchima-Jin[ā]-

33 [la]ya(yā)d=uttarataḥ grāma-taṭākāt=pūrba(rva)taḥ Mūla[s*]thānadēv-ālayā[d*]=da-

34 ksh ṇataḥ punaś=cha brahma-pari(purī)-gṛih-ārthaṁ Mallēśvaradēv-ālayāt=[pū]-

35 rba(rva)ta[ḥ*] Brahmadērā(v-ā)layā[d*]=dakshiṇataḥ Vīradēyā(v-ā)layāt=paśchimataḥ

36 Jinālaya-purād=uttarataḥ ēvaṁ-vidhaṁ nivēśanaṁ labdhvā tat-tach-chatu-

37 r-āghāṭ-āṁtarba(rva)rti-jala-pāshāṇa-nidhi-nikshēpa-śulk-ādi-sarba(rva)-

38 tēja[ḥ*]-svāmya-sahitaṁ rājakīyair=anaṁguli-prēkshaṇīyaṁ sa-

39 rba(rva)-namaśyaṁ(syaṁ) kṛitvā **Śakād=ārabhya trisatpa(pta)tty-uttara-śat-ōttara-**

40 **śaṁ(sa)hasrē Plavaṁga-saṁvatsarē Jē(Jyē)shṭha-pai(pau)rṇṇamāsyāṁ Guru-vārē Sō-**

41 **m-ōparāgē Kuṁdaṁguli**-śrī-Svayaṁbhu(bhū)dēva-saṁ(sa)nnidhai(dhau) Rug-Yēju-[1]

*Second Plate, Second Side*

42 [ḥ]-Sām-Ātharvaṇa-vēda-vēdāṁga-pāragēbhyaḥ Ba(Va)śi(si)shṭha-

43 gōtra-Su(Sū)ryya-Nārasi[ṁ]habhaṭṭōpādhyāya-Lakshī(kshmī)dhara-Sō-

44 manātha-Vishṇu-Habb-Ēśvara-nāmabhya[ḥ] pratyēkaṁ nivartana-chatushṭa-

45 y-ātmikā vṛittiḥ Kēśvavāya nivartana-tray-āt[m]ikā | Maṁchaṁ(cha)ṇṇa-

46 Nārāyaṇa-Vishṇu-nāmabhyaḥ pratyēkaṁ nira(va)rtana-dvay-ātmikā vṛitiḥ(ttiḥ) [|*]

47 Bhāradvāja-gōtra-Bhaṭṭiyaṇa-Maṁchiyaṇa-Tripurāṁtaka-nāmabhyaḥ pratyē-

48 kaṁ nivartana-chatushṭay-ātmikā vṛittiḥ [|*] Janārdanāya ti(ni)vartana-tray-ā-

49 tmika(kā) Chāvaṁ(va)ṇṇa-Sāmidēva-Rāmaṇa-Vishṇu-Brahma-Dēvaṁ(va)ṇṇa-Rāmaṇṇa-

50 nāmabhyaḥ pratyēkaṁ nivartana-dvay-ātmikā va(vṛi)ttiḥ | Gautama-gōtra-

51 Devaṁ(va)ṇṇāya nivartana-chatushṭay-ātmikā Chāvaṁ(va)ṇṇāya nivartana-dva-

52 y-ātmīkā vṛittiḥ | Garga-gōtra-Lakhaṁ(kha)ṇṇāya nivartana-chatushṭay-ā-

53 tmika(kā) vṛittiḥ | Ātrēya-gōttra-Vīraṁ(ra)ṇṇa-Mallaṁ(lla)ṇṇa-Braṁ(Bra)hmadēva-Māyidē-

54 va-nāmabhya[ḥ*] pratyēkaṁ nivartana-chatushṭay-ātmikā vṛittiḥ | Mādhavāya

55 nivartana-tray-ātmikā B[r*]ahmadēva-Dēvaṇṇa-nāmabhā(bhyāṁ) pratyēkaṁ niva-

56 rtana-dvay-ātmikā vṛittiḥ | Śrīvatsa-gōtra-Rāmēśvarāya nivartana-

57 dvay-ātmikā Śaṁkara-[2]Appāṁ(ppā)ṇṇa-Dāśyaṇa-nāmabhya[ḥ*] pratyēkaṁ ni-

58 vartana-dvay-ātmikā vṛit[t*]iḥ Kallaṇṇāva nivartan-ātmikā

59 vṛittiḥ | Kāśyapa-gōtra-Nārasiṁha-Vishṇu-nāmabhyāṁ [pra]tyēkaṁ ni-

60 vartana-chatushṭay-ātmikā vṛittiḥ [|*] Kūchaṁ(cha)ṇṇa-Nārasiṁha-Nāgaṁ(ga)ṇṇa-

61 Śivapriya-Harihara-Nārāyaṇa-Siṁgaṁ(ga)ṇṇa-nāmabhyaḥ pratyēkaṁ

62 nivartana-dvay-ātmikā vṛittiḥ | Harita-gōtra-Baladēva-Na(Nā)rā-

[1] Read *Ṛig-Yaju*°.

[2] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

# DHARWAR PLATES OF THE TIME OF SIMHANA—PLATE II

*iii, b*

86 86

88 88

Scale : Four-sevenths

*Third Plate, First Side*

63 yaṇa-Sōmana(nā)tha-nāmabhyaḥ pratyēkaṁ nivartana-dvay-ātmi-

64 kā vṛittiḥ [|*] Kauśika-gōtra-[1]Āchaṁ(cha)ṇṇāya nivartana-chatu-

65 shṭay-ātmika(kā) Chaṁdaṁ(da)ṇṇāya nivartana-tray-ātmikā vṛittiḥ || Vi-

66 shṇuvṛidhdha(ddha)-gōtra-Sōmanāthāya nivartana-tray-ātmikā vṛittiḥ [|*] Kauṁḍi-

67 nya-gōtra-Vishṇu-Nārāyaṇa-nāmabhyaṁ(bhyāṁ) pratyēkaṁ niva[r*]tana-dvay-ātmikā

68 vṛittiḥ [|*] śrī[1]-Udbhabha[2]vakēśavadēvāya sarba(rva)-pūj-ārthaṁ nivartana-cha-

69 tushṭayaṁ śrī-M[ū]lastā(sthā)nadēvāya nivartanam=ēkaṁ satrā(ttr-ā)rthaṁ niva

70 rtana-dvayaṁ khaṁḍik-ārthaṁ nivartana-dvayaṁ bhaṭṭa-vṛityi(tty-a)rthaṁ nivartana-dva-

71 yaṁ bāla-si(si)ksh-ārthaṁ nivartana-dvayaṁ Paṁchikēśvar-ārthaṁ nivartana-dva-

72 yaṁ pitṛi-parbā(rv-ā)rthaṁ nivartanam=ēkaṁ Hullale-taṭāk-ārthaṁ nivartana-

73 m=ēkaṁ(kam) [|*] itya(ty-ē)vaṁ-bhūtēbhyō Brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ śrī-Vāsudēvāya Mahā-

74 dēvāya dharm-ārthaṁ cha sa-hiraṁ(ra)ṇṇy-ōdaka-dhārā-pūrba(rva)kaṁ tēbhya[ḥ*] sarbē-(rvē)-

75 bhya ēvaṁ-prakārēṇa vṛittīḥ prādāt [|*] ishṭa-dāna-rūpēṇa Siṁga-

76 gauṁḍa-Saṁka-gai(gauṁ)ḍābhyaṁ(bhyāṁ) pratyēkaṁ nivartana-dvayaṁ Malla-gau[ṁ*]ḍā-

77 ya nivartanam=ēkaṁ(kam) [|*] Ēvaṁ Malla-chamu(mū)pō=sau Chikkāṁbā-bhāryyayā

78 saha [|*] Saṁ[1]gamēna sva-putrēṇa prādāt=tēbhyaś=cha śāsanaṁ(nam) || [9*] Dāna-pāla-

79 nayōr=madhyē dānātsē(ch=chhrē)yō=nupālanaṁ(nam) [|*] dānāt=svargam=avāpnōti pā-

80 laṁ(la)nād=achyutaṁ padaṁ(dam) || [10*] Bahubhiḥ(bhi)rba(r=va)su[4]dhā dattā rāiabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-ādi-

81 bhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)miḥ(mis)=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [11*] Sva-dattāṁ pa-

82 ra-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasu[ṁ*]dharāṁ(rām) [|*] shashṭiṁ varusha[5]-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyā-[ṁ*] j[ā]-

83 yatē krimiḥ [|| 12*] Vēd-ārtha-vādinā Su(Sū)ryyanārasiṁhēṇa(na) dhīmatā [|*] srī-Mā-

84 dhabā(vā)ryya-putrēṇa kṛitā śāsana-padhdha(ddha)tiḥ [|| 13*] iti śubhaṁ maṁgala[ṁ*] mahā-śrī[ḥ ||*]

*Third Plate, Second Side*

85 nivartana-pramāṇa nālvatt-eṁṭu-gēṇū(ṇu) Bāchiṁ(chi)-

86 viḍiya-[gha]lē [|*] punaś=cha Vasishṭa(shṭha)-gōtra-Di-

87 [padēba(va)ṇāya] nivartana-chatushṭha(shṭa)y-ātmi-

88 [kā vṛittiḥ | Garga-gō]tra-Mallaṇṇāya niba(va)rtana-

89 cha[tu]shṭha(shṭa)ya(y-ā)tmikā vṛitriḥ(ttiḥ) | iti śubhaṁ(bham) [||*]

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[1] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[2] The *akshara bha* is superfluous.

[3] Orginally *sē* was written.

[4] Originally *mu* was engraved.

[5] Read *varsha*.

# No. 8—BODDAPADU PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA (III), SAKA 982

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 20.9.1958*)

While examining a bundle of old impressions in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, I came across a set of impressions of a copper-plate grant which was registered as C.P. No. 1 of 1925-26 in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for that year. It is stated in this Report that the record belongs to an unknown king of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty and is dated in Śaka 982. On an examination of the impression, I found that the information given in the Report was not correct and that the inscription really belongs to the Eastern Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III. In fact, it is the same as the **Boḍḍapāḍu** plates of **Vajrahasta III** published by Shri M. Somasekhara Sarma in the Telugu journal *Bhārati*, Vol. III, No. 5 (May 1926) pp. 83 ff. The inscription is edited here from the set of impressions with the kind permission of the authority mentioned above.

According to Shri Sarma's account, the plates were discovered about 50 years ago by one Appalanāyuḍu, a resident of the village of **Boḍḍapāḍu** in the Srikakulam Taluk, while reclaiming his lands for cultivation towards the east of the village. A *liṅga* was also found at a distance of a few yards from the findspot of the plates. This *liṅga* which is called Mallikēśvara by the residents of Boḍḍapāḍu may possibly represent the god Jalēśvara mentioned in the inscription.

The set consists of **five** plates, each measuring about 8·4″ by 3·3″. On the left side of each plate is a hole, about ·5″ in diameter, through which passes a circular ring, about 3·5″ in diameter. To this ring is attached a seal which is stated to contain the representation of the crescent moon, bull, goad (*aṅkuśa*), conch-shell (*śaṅkha*), fish, etc. The weight of the set is not recorded. The first and fifth plates are inscribed only on the inner side while the remaining three plates contain writing on both the sides. The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation.

The **characters** are eastern Nāgarī. They resemble those of the other charters of Vajrahasta.[1] Of initial vowels, *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u* and *ē* occur in the inscription. *Ñ* in *ñch* and *ñchh* is separated and placed to the right of the subscript. The symbol for *v* denotes *b* also. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the text is written in prose as well as verse. As regards **orthography**, it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is usually redoubled. In the introductory portion of the record in lines 1-39, the same orthographical errors are found in this as well as in other records of the king; e.g. *śalila* for *salila*, *prakshyālita* for *prakshālita*, °*ōtuṅga* for °*ōttuṅga*, etc. In a few cases, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

The record belongs to the reign of the Eastern Gaṅga king **Vajrahasta III** who ruled in 1038-70 A.D. As indicated above, the introductory portion comprising text lines 1-39 is identical with that found in the other records of this king. It may be observed that the king is introduced as *śrīmad-Anantavarmmā Vajrahastadēvaḥ* and not merely as *śrīmad-Vajrahastadēvaḥ*.[2]

The **date** of the inscription is given in line 42 as **Śaka 982**, expressed by the chronogram *kara-vasu-nidhi*, **Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti**. Besides the present grant, three other records of this king,

[1] Cf. above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 310 ff.; Vol. XXXIII, pp. 141 ff.

[2] Cf. ibid., Vol. XXXII, p. 310.

viz. Peddabammiḍi, Chikkalavalasa and Arasavalli plates[1] are dated in the same Śaka year. The English equivalent of this year would be 1060 A.D. Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti occurred in that year on Sunday, the **24th December, 1060 A.D.** which seems to be the date of our record.

Like the other charters of the king, the present grant was issued from **Kaliṅganagara** which has been identified with Mukhaliṅgam. The record states (lines 39-40 and 43) that the village of **Avarēṁga** in the **Kōluvartani** district (*vishaya*) was given as a *bhōga* to the god Jalēśvara of the same village. Lines 43-45 state that *mādara-manavarttika* was given to Ērayama, the son of Māvaya and his wife Kaṁchapā and the grandson of Ērayama of the Vaiśya family. It appears that Ērayama paid some money and received the village of Avarēṁga from the king as *mādara-manavarttika* for the creation of a *bhōga* to the god Jalēśvara. In other words Ērayama seems to be responsible for the gift of the village. The meaning of the expression *mādara-manavarttika* is not clear. *Manavarttika*, also spelt as *manavarttikā* (line 52), is not found in Sanskrit lexicons and may be the same as *manuvritti*, *manuvartti* or *manōvartti* given in Brown's Telugu-English Dictionary in the sense of 'maintenance, support or allowance'. Shri Sarma suggests that the term *mādara* may refer to the Mēdara community whose profession is making baskets, mats, etc., of bamboo splits. But this meaning does not suit here since the said community is regarded as very low in the social order whereas Ērayama is stated to have belonged to the Vaiśya or merchant community. It is possible that the term *mādara* is a mistake for *s-ādara* and the whole expression means that the king gave the village to Ērayama as a *manavarttika* with due regards Lines 52-53 inform us that a *manavarttikā* in the same village was given, apparently by Ērayama, to the *mahākshaśālin* Vallēmōja whose name appears again at the end of the record as the son of Nūṅkamōja and as the engraver of the grant.[2]

The boundaries of the village are enumerated in lines 45-51. They are: to the east—an ant-hill with a neem tree and, further on, a jungle ; to the south-east—a tamarind tree and a junction (*trikūṭa*)[3] ; to the south -a jungle and, further on, the same jungle and a junction ; in the south-west—a pit (*garttā*)[4] and a junction ; in the west--the pit called Arjuna and, further on, a mound with tamarind trees ; in the north-west--a pit with a circular stone ; [in the north]—two pits close to each other ; further on, an *arjuna* tree ; and still further, two tamarind trees ; in the north-east—an ant-hill with a neem tree ; further on, a junction near a pit.

Lines 53-55 contain two benedictory and imprecatory verses, and lines 55-57 state that the charter was written by Dāmōdara, son of *Mahākāyastha-sandhivigrahin* Māvura, and was inscribed by Vallēmōja, son of *Mahākshaśālin* Nūṅkamōja. Dāmōdara and Vallēmōja are also mentioned in the Chicacole plates of Vajrahasta III as well as in the Korni plates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga.[5] But our record gives the name of Vallēmōja's father also.

Of the **geographical names** in the record, Kaliṅganagara is well known. Kōluvartani-vishaya, in which the gift village of Avarēṁga was situated, is known from many records[6] and seems to represent the whole or part of the modern Srikakulam Taluk. Avarēṁga is to be identified with modern Avaliṅgi which is situated at a distance of only one mile to the east of Boḍḍapāḍu where the plates were discovered.

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[1] Ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 305 ff. ; Vol. XXXIII, pp. 141 ff. ; Vol. XXXII, pp. 310 ff.

[2] I am indebted to Dr. D. C. Sircar for some suggestions as regards the nature of the grant.

[3] *Trikūṭa* may mean the meeting place of three boundaries, roads, etc. Cf. *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, p. 79 and note 1.

[4] *Gartā* also means a canal or watercourse.

[5] *JAHRS*, Vol. VIII, p. 176 ; Vol. I, p. 46.

[6] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 183 ff. ; Vol. XXXI, pp. 305 ff. ; Vol. XXXIII, pp. 141 ff.

## TEXT[1]

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

33 liṅgādhipati-śrīmad-**Anantavarmmā Vajrahasta**[2]**dēvaḥ** kuśalī samast-āmātya-pramu-

39 kha-janapadān=samāhūya samā[3]jñāpayati [|*] viditam=astu bhavatāṁ(tām) || **Kōluvarttani-**

40 vi[sha][4]yē |[5] **Avarēṁg-ākhya-grāmaḥ** | chatuḥ-śī(sī)m-āvachchhinnaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sarvva-pīḍā-

41 vivarjjitam=ā-chandr-ārkka-kshiti-sama-kālaṁ yāvan[6]=mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaḥ pu-

42 ṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayō(yē) || **Kara-vasu-nidhi-Śāk-āvdē(bdē)** | **Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrā-[ntau]**

43 asmin grāma-nivāsinō(nē) || Jalēśvaradēvāya bhōgaṁ kṛijam[7] || Vēsyā[8]-gōtr-ō-

44 tpannaḥ Ērayamaḥ | tasya putraḥ | Māvayaḥ | tasya bhāryyā Kaṁchapā | tayōr=jjātāya Ērayamāya

45 mā(sā)dara-manavarttikaṁ[9] pradattaṁ(ttam) || asy=aiva grāmasya sīmānō likhyantē || pūrvvataḥ

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

46 niṁva(ba)-sahita-valmīkaḥ | parataḥ vana-chā(rā)jī | āgnēyataḥ tiṁtriṇīka-vṛiksha[ḥ*] trikū-

47 ṭṭaḥ[10] || dakshiṇataḥ vana-rājī | parataḥ sā vana-rājī trikūṭṭaḥ[10] | nairu(rṛi)tyataḥ garttā

48 trikūṭṭaḥ[10] | paśchimattaḥ(taḥ) Arjun-ākhya-garttā || parataḥ tiṁtriṇīka-[vṛi]ksha-sahita-sētu-

49 ḥ || vāyavyataḥ maṇḍal-ākāra-pāshāṇāḥ(ṇa)-sahita-garttā | [11]dvau garttau sa-

50 ṁgamēva[12] | parataḥ arjjuna-vṛikshaḥ | tat-parataḥ tiṁtriṇīka-vṛikshau dvau [|*]

51 ī(ai)śānyataḥ niṁva(ba)-sahita-valmīkaḥ | parataḥ garttā-samīpē trikūṭṭaḥ ||

52 anēna mahākshaśālayē[13] Vallēmōjāyā(ya) svarṇṇa-lōha-kārī[14] cha manavartik=āsmin grā-

53 mē pradattā || Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇā(hṇā)ti yachcha(ś=cha) bhūmiṁ prayachchhati [|*] ubhau tau puṇya-

*Fifth Plate*

54 karmmāṇau niyatauṁ(taṁ) svargga-gāminau || [14*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhū-

55 midaḥ | ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || [15*] mahākāyastha-sandhivi-

56 grahi-Māvurasya sūnunā Dāmōdarēṇa likhitaṁ(tam) || mahā-yakshaśāli[15]-Nuṁkamō-

57 ju(ja)sya sūnunā Vallēmōjēna utkīrṇṇitaṁ[16] [||*]

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[1] From impressions. Lines 1-37 are engraved on the first three plates. The text is the same as in the donor's other records. The verse *Anurayena*, etc. ends in line 36 and is followed by the passage *Kaliṅganagarāt=paramamāhēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-Triṁ(Tri)ka°* in lines 36 37.

[2] This *akshara* is written above *ha* between two small *dandas*.

[3] This *akshara* is written below the line between two small *daṇḍas* and indicated by a cross above the line.

[4] This *akshara* is damaged.

[5] This and most of the other marks of punctuation in this and the following lines are unnecessary.

[6] The word is redundant.

[7] Read *bhōgaḥ kṛitaḥ*.

[8] Read *Vaiśya*. Cf. above. Vol. XXIII, p. 73, note 6.

[9] The word is *manavarttikā* in line 52 below.

[10] Read *trikūṭṭaś=cha*.

[11] The expression *uttarataḥ* may be supplied here.

[12] Read *saṅgatau*.

[13] Read *°śālinē*.

[14] Read *kārinē*.

[15] Read *mahāksha°*.

[16] Read *utkīrṇṇam*.

# No. 9—MALLAR PLATES OF VYAGHRARAJA

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR and G. BHATTACHARYA, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 3.3.1959*)

According to a report appearing in the *Hitavāda* of Nagpur, dated the 28th August 1958, four sets of copper plates were recently discovered at the well-known village of **Mallār**, about 16 miles from Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh. Three out of the four sets, which are said to have been found by the villagers while digging for foundations, were secured by Mr. M. Sivayya, Exploration Assistant of the Department of Archaeology at Bilaspur, the fourth set being acquired for the Mahant Ghasidas Memorial Museum, Raipur, by Mr. Balchandra Jain, Assistant Curator of the said institution. The plates[1] published in the following pages represent one of the three sets secured by Mr. Sivayya. The other three inscriptions, which were discovered along with the one under study and belong to the rulers of the Śarabhapurīya dynasty, are also being published in this journal.[2]

The set consists of **three** rectangular plates with their corners rounded off and each measuring approximately 7 inches in length and 3·5 inches in height. The second plate is somewhat thicker than the others. Each plate has a round hole about the centre of the left margin for the seal-ring to pass through. The **seal** affixed to the ring (about 11·4 inches in circumference and 1·3″ in thickness) does not resemble that found with the charters of the Śarabhapurīya kings, even though, as will be seen below, the donor of our record apparently belonged to the same family. The surface of the seal, which is 1·9 inches in diameter and is much corroded, has a thick line dividing it into two halves. The section above the line exhibits three symbols, viz. the side view of a *chakra* in the left, the head of an animal (probably a lion) to front in the middle, and a conch-shell in the right. The legend below the line, written in Southern characters similar to those employed in writing the text of the document on the plates, reads *śrī-Vyāghrarājaḥ*. There is another symbol below the legend, which is difficult to identify, though it may be the head of an elephant to front. It will be seen that **Vyāghrarāja's seal** is totally unlike the seal of the Śarabhapurīya kings, which exhibits the Gajalakshmī emblem in the upper part and a legend below consisting of a stanza in the *Anushṭubh* metre written in two lines in the box-headed characters of Central India. The first and third plates of the set under study are written on the inner side only, the second plate having writing on both the sides. There are altogether twentyfour lines of writing distributed in the following way: IB—6, IIA—7, IIB—5, and IIIA—6. The sixth line on the third plate consists of a few letters only. The three plates together weigh 53 *tolas* and the seal with the ring 18 *tolas*.

As already indicated above, the **characters** of the record belong to the South Indian alphabet. On palaeographical grounds, the inscription may be assigned to the **6th century A.D.** and the characters may be compared with those of records like the Hingniberdi plates[3] of Vibhurāja, the Khanapur plates[4] of Mādhavavarman, the Argā plates[5] of Kāpālivarman, etc. The alphabet of our record is **nail-headed** and the triangular mark forming the top of the letters is of the linear or hollow type and not of the scooped-out variety. Among the three epigraphs cited above, this characteristic is noticed only in the letters on the first plate of Vibhurāja's grant. Similar nail-headed characters are also noticed in records like the Shorkot inscription of 402 A.D.[6] and the

[1] See *A.R. Ep.*, 1958-59, No. A 6.

[2] See ibid., 1958-59, Nos. A 5, 7-8; above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 155 ff. (grant of Jayarāja, year 5); also pp. 28 ff. (grant of Jayarāja, year 9) above and pp. 53 f. (grant of Pravararāja, son of Mānamātra-Durgarāja, year 3) below.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXIX, Plate facing p. 176.

[4] Ibid., Vol. XXVII, Plates between pp. 316 and 317.

[5] Ibid., Vol. XXXI, Plate facing p. 232.

[6] Ibid., Vol. XVI, Plate facing p. 15.

Malga plates[1] of Indrarāja, discovered in the Shahdol District of Madhya Pradesh. The Malga plates, assignable on palaeographical grounds to the seventh century A.D., are however written in the Northern alphabet. It is well-known that all the copper-plate grants of the royal family of Śarabhapura, to which the donor of our charter belonged, were written in the box-headed alphabet of Central India which exhibits influence of both the Northern and Southern alphabets. The record under study is thus the only epigraph of the said family of rulers, which is written in typical Southern characters of the nail-headed variety. It may be pointed out that the nail-head is not found in our record in letters like *i, j, ṇ, b* and *l*. Initial *i* is written by placing two dots below two downward curves joined together (cf. *ity=u*° in line 13). Medial *i* is written with a circle on the triangle forming the top of letters, while medial *ī* is formed with a curve added inside it. The letter *ph* has often a triangle at the lower left end, which is rather peculiar. **Numerical figures** for 40, 20, 7 and 1 have been used in line 23. The symbol for 40 may be confused with that for 4. But the fact that it is followed by the symbol for 1 shows that it is 40 and not 4.

As regards **orthography**, the reduplication of a consonant following *r* is noticed in many cases (cf. *ārjji*° in line 7, *vartta* in line 9, *Pūrvva* in line 11, °*r=vvasudhā* in line 15, *pārtthivāḥ* in line 17 and *svarggē* in line 19). The reduplication of a consonant followed by *r* is noticed in *pittrōḥ* in line 11 and *gōttra* in line 12. The vowel *ṛi* is indicated by *ri* in *Prithō* and *prithu*° in line 6 and °*vriddhayē* in line 12. Final *n* has been wrongly changed to *anusvāra* in *varttamānāṁ* and *Brāhmaṇāṁ* in line 9 and *purushāṁ* in line 10. Other instances of wrong spelling are *punya* for *puṇya* in line 11, *majyati* for *majjati* in line 22, *siṅghēna* for *siṁhēna* in lines 23-24, etc.

The **language** of the charter is Sanskrit and it is written in prose excepting the four imprecatory and benedictory verses at the end. It is interesting to note in this connection that, while the charters of the later members of the Śarabhapurīya family beginning with Jayarāja exhibit a stereotyped draft,[2] the drafting of the grant under study is quite independent from the language of those records. This problem is related to the difference between the present charter and those of the Śarabhapurīya kings in respect of the palaeography and the seal, to which reference has been made above.

The **object** of the charter is to record the grant of the village of **Kunturapadraka** situated in **Pūrva-rāshṭra** in favour of the Brāhmaṇa *Dīkshita* Agnichandrasvāmin, son of *Dīkshita* Durgasvāmin belonging to the Kāpy-Āṅgirasa *gōtra*. The donee seems to have belonged to the Kapi or Kāpya *gōtra*, with Aṅgiras or Āṅgirasa as one of its *pravaras*. The grant was made by **Vyāghrarāja** who was the younger brother (*anuja*) of the ruling king **Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka**, the son of **Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka**. That Vyāghra was issuing the order in respect of the grant to the officers of his brother who was then on the throne is clear from the passage *rājñaḥ su-mānya-rāja-purushān samājñāpayati* in lines 9-10. The charter was issued from **Prasannapura** situated on the bank of the river **Niḍilā**. The document proper ends with the quotation of a few of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas and the date which is quoted in line 23 as the **27th day of the month of Pausha in the year 41** apparently of the reign of king Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka

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[1] Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, Plate between pp. 212-13.

[2] The draft of the Pipardula and Kurud plates of the early Śarabhapurīya king Narēndra (*IHQ*, Vol. XIX, pp. 139 ff.; above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 263 ff.) is different from that of the later grants issued by Jayarāja, Sudēvarāja and Pravararāja. Whether the later draft was first used by Jaya cannot be determined in the absence of any charter issued by his father Prasanna or Prasannamātra who ruled between Narēndra and Jayarāja. For the Āraṅg (year 5) and Mallār (years 5 and 9) plates of Jaya, see *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 193-94; above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 155 ff; above, pp. 28 ff. For the Khariar (year 2), Sārangarh, Āraṅg (year 7), Sirpur (year 7), Kauvatal (year 7), and Raipur (year 10) plates of Sudēva, see above, Vol. IX, pp. 170 ff.; pp. 281 ff.; Vol. XXIII, pp. 22 ff.; Vol. XXXI, pp. 103 ff.; pp. 314 ff.; *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 197 ff. For the Thākurdiyā (year 3) and Mallār (year 3) plates of Pravara, see above, Vol. XXII, pp. 15 ff.; below, pp. 53-54.

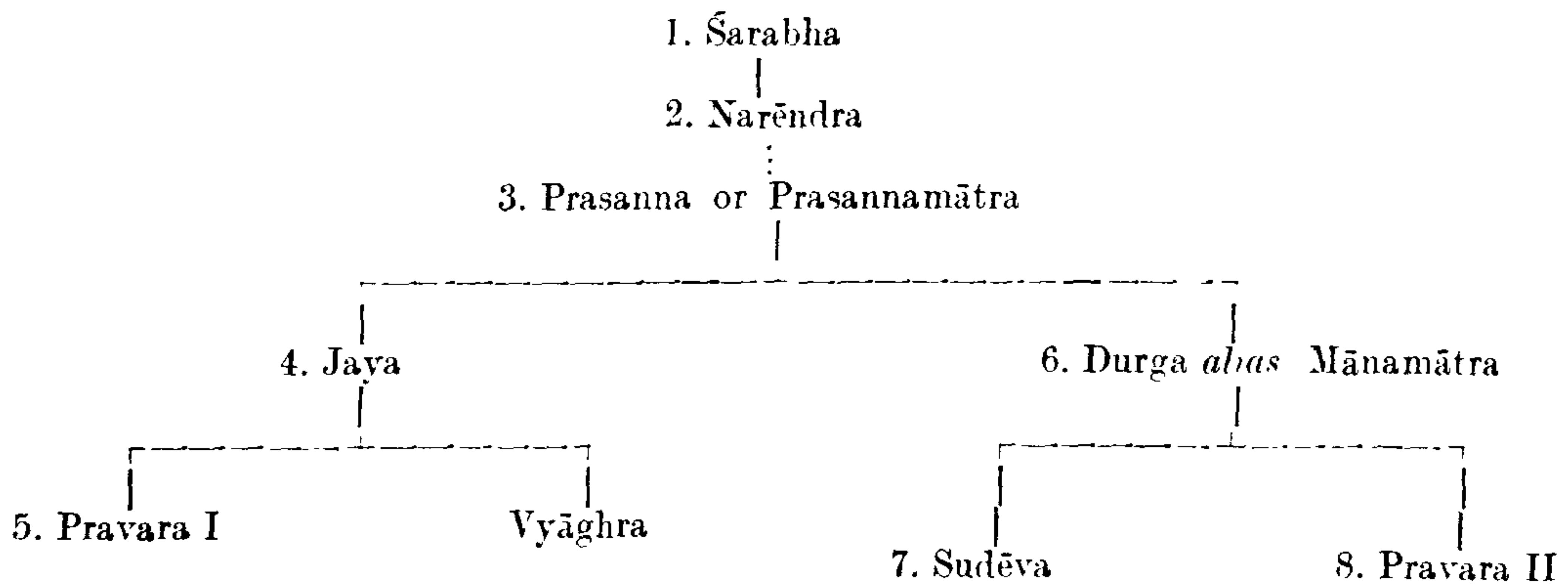
and not of the donor Vyāghrarāja. The plates were probably engraved by Jyēshṭhasiṁha whose name appears in a sentence at the end in lines 23-24.

The inscription throws **welcome light** on the history of the Śarabhapurīya dynasty and raises certain **interesting problems**. The personal and geographical names mentioned in the record are mostly known from it for the first time.

We have referred above to the difference of the epigraph under study from the charters of the Śarabhapurīya kings in respect of the seal, palaeography and style. But the grant was issued from **Prasannapura** which reminds us of king Prasanna or Prasannamātra of Śarabhapura, who was the father of Jayarāja and Mānamātra Durgarāja and the grandfather of Sudēvarāja and Pravararāja and flourished in the first half of the sixth century A.D. No other king named Prasanna is known to have ruled in the age and area in question. It is therefore very probable that the city of Prasannapura mentioned in our record was named after king Prasanna or Prasannamātra of Śarabhapura. Secondly, **Vyāghrarāja**, the donor of our charter, claims to have been the younger brother of **Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka** who was the son of **Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka**. The names of these kings, viz. Jaya and Pravara, remind us of kings Jayarāja and Pravararāja of the Śarabhapura family and indeed kings bearing such names and belonging to any other family are not known to have flourished in the age and area concerned. It is therefore very probable that king Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka of our inscription is identical with king Jayarāja of Śarabhapura. But Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka of the present record cannot be identified with the well-known Śarabhapurīya king Pravararāja who was the son of king Durgarāja or Mānamātra, the brother of Jayarāja, and was responsible for issuing the Ṭhākurdīya and Mallār plates[1] from Śrīpura in his third regnal year.[2]

Another fact that connects Vyāghrarāja with the royal house of Śarabhapura is that the land granted by the present charter was situated in the district called Pūrva-rāshṭra. It is interesting to note that the Āraṅg plates[3] of Jayarāja and the Raipur plates[4] of Sudēvarāja also record grants of land situated in the same district of Pūrva-rāshṭra.

The inscription under study therefore introduces two new names to the list of the Śarabhapurīya kings so far known. The genealogy of the Śarabhapurīyas including these two names, viz. Pravara and Vyāghra, sons of Jaya, may be tabulated as follows :




[1] See above, Vol. XXII, pp. 15 ff.; below, pp. 53-54.

[2] If Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka of our epigraph is identified with Pravararāja of the Ṭhākurdiyā and Mallār plates, we have to assume that his father was known by no less than three names, viz., Mānamātra, Durgarāja and Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka (Jayarāja). This seems to be less likely than the suggestion offered above.

[3] *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 191 ff.

[4] Ibid., pp. 195 ff.

An important question we have to consider relates to the difference of the present charter from the grants of the Śarabhapurīyas in regard to its seal, palaeography and style. If Vyāghra belonged to the Śarabhapurīya family, why should there be any marked difference in these respects ? The Southern alphabet used in the charter may of course be explained by the supposition that the donee came from the South. But this does not explain the problem of the seal. Are we to suppose that Vyāghrarāja was Jayarāja's son born of a South Indian lady and adopted the seal of the family to which his mother belonged ?

An equally interesting problem is that, while the Śarabhapura rulers do not mention the name of the family to which they belonged in any of their charters, Vyāghrarāja describes his elder brother Pravara I, son of Jaya, as having belonged to the Amarārya-kula. Is this because the Śarabhapurīya kings whose charters are known did not belong to the Amarārya family ? The expression *Amar-ārya* looks like a Brahmanical personal name and names of the same type are often met with in South Indian records.[1] It may be supposed that Jayarāja's queen who gave birth to Pravara I and Vyāghra was the daughter of a person named Amar-ārya or was born in a family of which a person of that name was believed to have been the progenitor since South Indian rulers sometimes represented themselves as belonging to the family from which their mother sprang.[2] But there is some evidence to show that **the Śarabhapurīyas belonged to the Amarārya family**. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the claim of Lōkaprakāśā, queen of Bharatabala of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa of Mēkala, to have been famous as born in the *Amaraja-kula* probably meaning a family sprung from a person named Amara.[3] It is possible that this Amara is the same as Amar-ārya of our record. Lōkaprakāśā is stated to have been born at Kōsalā probably meaning the capital of Kōsala,[4] no doubt South Kōsala in the Chhattisgarh region. In that case, Lōkaprakāśā was very probably born in the family of the Śarabhapurīya rulers of South Kosala and Amaraja-kula or Amarārya-kula was the name of the dynasty to which the Śarabhapurīyas belonged.[5]

Another question to be considered is the capacity in which Vyāghrarāja issued the charter under his own seal during the reign of his elder brother. It is not improbable that he was ruling the kingdom on behalf of his brother when the latter was temporarily incapacitated to bear the burden of government owing to illness or any other cause. In that case, Pravara I probably had his capital at Prasannapura. It is also possible to think that Vyāghra was the governor of Pūrvarāshṭra with his headquarters at Prasannapura and that his brother empowered him to issue the charter in respect of the grant he was permitted to make.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription Pūrva-rāshṭra, which is known from some other records of the Śarabhapurīyas as indicated above, literally means 'the district lying to the east [of the capital]'.[6] The district cannot be located definitely since the identification of the capital city of Śarabhapura is uncertain. It is however not improbable that both Śarabhapura and Prasannapura, whence our charter was issued, stood in the neighbourhood of Śrīpura (modern Sirpur in the Raipur District) which was the later capital of the family. The gift village of Kunturapadraka and the river called Niḍilā, on the bank of which the city of Prasannapura stood, cannot be identified.

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[1] Cf. *Suc. Sāt. L. Dec.*, p. 291.

[2] Cf. ibid., p. 316; above, Vol. XXI, pp. 173 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 141, text lines 28 ff.

[6] Cf. Apte, *Pract. Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *Kōsalā*.

[5] Cf. *The Classical Age*, p. 222.

[4] Cf. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 192, note 1.

*i*

*ii, a*

*ii, b*

*iii*



SEAL



(from a Photograph)

## TEXT[1]

*First Plate*

1 Svasti [|*] **Prasannapurād**=upavana-vana-rāji-rājitād=Apa(ma)rapura-

2 kīrtti-vijayinaḥ pravara-kāminī-nitamba-vimb-ābhighāta-

3 bhinn-āmbhasā cha srōtasvatyā **Niḍilayā** pavitrīkṛitād=**Ama-**

4 **r-āryya**-kul-āmbara-śaśinaḥ sakala-kalā-kalāpa-nilaya-

5 sya jita-tamasō jana-nayan-ōtsavasya śrī-**Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka**-sū-

6 nōḥ śrī-**Pravara-bhaṭṭārakasya** Pri(Pṛi)thōr=iva pri(pṛi)thu-nu(bhu)ja-

*Second Plate, First Side*

7 yugala-bal-ā[r*]jjit-ō[r]jita-sakala-mahīmaṇḍala-maṇḍana-

8 yaśasō Manōr=iva manujapatēr=anujaḥ śrī-**Vyāghrarājadēvō**

9 varttamānāṁ(nān) bhavishyataś=cha Brāhmaṇāṁ(ṇān) sampūjya rājñaḥ su-mānya-

10 rājapurushāṁ(shān) samājñāpayati viditam=astu vō yath=āsmābhi-

11 r=ayaṁ **Pūrvva-rāshṭrīya-Kunturapadraka-grāmō** mātā-pittrōr=ātmana-

12 ś=cha puṇyā(ṇy-ā)bhivri(vṛi)ddhayē bahvṛicha-Kāpy-Āṅgirasa-gōttra-dīkshita-**Du-**

13 rggasvāmi-sūnavē dīkshit-Āgnichandrasvāminē datta ity=u-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

14 palabhya bhavadbhir=apy=anumantavyaḥ pālayitavyaś=ch=ēti |

15 Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-ādibhi[ḥ |*] yasya

16 yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || Mā bhū-

17 d=aphala-sa(śa)ṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārtthivāḥ [|*] sva-dānā-

18 t=para-dānasya tasmāch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ|(nam ||)

*Third Plate*

19 Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmi-

20 daḥ [|*] āchhē(chchhē)ttā ch=ānumantā chā(cha) tāny=ēva narakē vasē[t] [||*]

21 Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharaṁ(rām) [|*] sva-vi-

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[1] From impressions.

22 shṭhāyaṅ=krimi[r*]=bhūtvā pitṛibhis=sa[ha*] majyata[1] [||*] iti prava[r*]ddha-

23 māna-vijava-rājya-saṁvvat 40 1[2] Pō(Pau)sha-di 20 [7] Jē(Jyē)shṭhasi[ṁ*]-

24 ṅghē(hē)na ka[r]mma sṛ(kṛi)ta[m*] [|*]

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[1] Read *majjati*.

[2] If this is taken to be a mark of punctuation, the preceding symbol may stand for 4 also. But the reading of the sign as 1 is no doubt preferable. It appears that the long rule of Pravara I explains the shortness of the reigns of the other members of the family from Jaya to Pravara II.

MGIPC—S1—2 DGA/59—25-8-61—450.

# No. 10—MALLAR PLATES OF PRAVARA II, YEAR 3

(*2 Plates*)

G. BHATTACHARYA, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 2. 3. 1959*)

This **set** of copper plates[1] was discovered along with three other grants of the Śarabhapurīyas at the village of **Mallār**, about 16 miles from Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh. The other inscriptions are already published in the pages of this journal.[2]

The set consists of **three** rectangular plates each measuring approximately 6·9 inches in length, 3·5 inches in height and ·1 inch in thickness. There is a square hole about the centre of the left margin on each plate for the seal-ring to pass through. The rims of the plates are thickened and slightly raised for the protection of the writing. The **seal** attached to the ring holding the plates together resembles that found with the Ṭhākurdiyā plates[3] issued by the donor of the charter under study. The three plates together weigh 62 *tolas* while the seal with the ring weighs 30 *tolas*. There are altogether 24 lines of writing, the inner sides of the first and third plates and the obverse of the second having each 6 lines and the reverse of the second plate and the outer side of the third respectively 5 lines and 1 line only. As in a few other inscriptions[4] of the family, the last line recording the name of the engraver is incised about the middle of the reverse of the plate.

The **characters** belong to the box-headed alphabet of Central India as found in most of the records of the Śarabhapurīya family and the **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. Excepting five of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses, the whole charter is written in prose. As regards palaeography, orthography and style, the grant closely resembles other charters of the Śarabhapurīya family, especially the Ṭhākurdīyā plates referred to above. *Upadhmānīya* has been used once in line 14. In one case, the record uses *v* for *b* (cf. line 9). The numerical figures for 3 and 2 have been used in line 23. As regards **orthography**, the reduplication of consonants following *r* is generally noticed. *Ś* has been similarly reduplicated in line 13. A number of words have been wrongly spelt, e.g. *vīkrama* and *sāmamnta* (line 1), *sīmamnt°* (line 2), *bhōgiya* (line 4), *vahvricha* (line 9), *tāmbra* and *sasuṭaḥ* (line 10), *śrī-ashuddhā°* (line 14), *shashṭī* (line 18), *singhēna* (line 24), etc. The grant was issued on the **2nd day of Pausha in the 3rd year** of the donor's reign.

This is the second charter of king **Pravara II** of the **Śarabhapurīya** family. It was issued from **Śrīpura** shortly after the issue of the same king's Ṭhākurdīyā plates dated in the month of Mārgaśīrsha of the 3rd regnal year. The **object** of the present grant is to record the gift of the village of **Mitra-grāma** situated in **Śaṅkhachakrā-bhōga** by the king to the Brāhmaṇa Śubhachandra, son of Dāmōdaragaṇa belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, for the merits of the donor's parents and of himself. The gift village was made a rent-free holding free from the entrance of the *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*. The house-holders of the village were advised to pay the king's share of the produce (*bhāga*) as well as the periodical offerings (*bhōga*) to the donee. The charter was engraved by Gōlasiṁha who was also responsible for engraving the Ṭhākurdīyā plates[5] and some charters of Sudēva, all of which were issued from Śrīpura. We do not know how Gōlasiṁha was related to Achalasiṁha and Drōṇasiṁha who are known to have engraved the charters of the family issued from Śarabhapura.

King Pravara II was the son of king Durga *alias* Mānamātra and was probably the younger brother of Sudēva. Before the recent discovery of the Mallār plates[6] of the time of Pravara I, son of Jaya, it was generally believed that, after the rule of Jaya, the Śarabhapurīya throne passed on to his younger brother Durga *alias* Mānamātra who was himself followed respectively by his

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[1] This is No. A 7 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1958-59.

[2] For the other three inscriptions, see above, pp. 28 ff. ; 47 ff. ; Vol. XXXIII, pp. 155 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 15 ff. and Plates.

[4] Cf. above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 101 ff. and Plate.

[5] Prof. Mirashi read the name incorrectly as Sōlasiṁha (above, Vol. XXII, p. 23).

[6] Above, pp. 47 ff.

two sons, Sudēva and Pravara. It now appears that Jaya was succeeded by his son Pravara I who was followed on the throne by Durga *alias* Mānamātra and the latter by his sons Sudēva and Pravara II. Pravara II, who seems to have flourished during the **second half of the sixth century** was probably the last ruler of the dynasty, after whom the throne of the Śarabhapurīyas passed on to the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of South Kōsala.[1]

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, Śrīpura is the well-known Sirpur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. The administrative division (*bhōga*) of Śaṅkha-chakrā and the village called Mitra-grāma cannot be identified.

## TEXT[2]

*First Plate*

1 Siddham[3] svasti [|*] **Śrīpurādvī**(d=vi)kram-ōpanata-sāmaṁ(ma)nta-makuṭa-chūḍāmaṇi-prabhā-

2 prasēk-āmbu-dhauta-pāda-yugalō ripu-vilāsinī-sīmaṁ(ma)nt-ōddharaṇa-hē-

3 tuvasurvvasudhā[4]-gō-pradaḥ paramabhāgavatō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānu-

4 ddhyātaś=śrī-**Mahā-Pravararājaḥ Śaṅkhachakrā**-bhōgi(gī)ya-**Mitra-grāmakē** pra-

5 tivāsina[ḥ] samājñāpayati viditam=astu vō yath=āsmābhir=ayaṁ grā-

6 maḥ Tṛi(Tri)daśapati-sadana-sukha-pratishṭhā-karō yāvad=ravi-śaśi-tārā-

*Second Plate, First Side*

7 k[i]raṇa-pratihata-ghōr-āndhakāraṁ jagad=avatishṭhatē tāvad=upabhōgyaḥ

8 sa-nidhis=s-ōpanidhir=a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśyāḥ(śyaḥ) sarvva-kā(ka)ra-visa[5]jjitaḥ mā-

9 tā-pitrōr=āt[ma]naś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē Bhāradvāja-sagōtra-vahvṛicha[6]-Dāmōda-

10 raga[ṇa]-putra-Śubhachandrasvāminē tāmbra(mra)-śāsanēn=ātisṛi(sṛi)shṭaḥ [|*]

11 tē yūyam=ēvam=upalabhy=ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēy[ā] bhūtvā yath-ōchita-bhāga-

12 bhōgam=upanayantas=s[u]kha[ṁ*] prativatsyatha [|*] bhavishyataś=[cha] bhū-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

13 mipālān=anudarśayati [|*] Dānād=viśishṭam=anupālanaja(ṁ) shu(pu)rāṇā

14 dharmmēshu niśchita-dhiyaḥ=pravadaṁtti[7] dharmma[m |*] tasmā[d*]=dvijāya su(su)-vishu-(śu)ddha-kula-

15 śrutāya dattā[ṁ] bhuvaṁ bhavatu vō matir=ēva gōptu[m*] | tad=bhavadbhir=apy=ē[shā]

16 dattir=anupālayita[vy]ā [|*] Vyāsa-gītāṁś=cha ślōkān=udāharanti [|*] A-

17 gnēr=apatyaṁ prathamaṁ suvarṇṇa[ṁ] bhūr=vvaishṇavī sūryya-sutāś=cha gāvaḥ [|*] [dattā]-

*Third Plate, First Side*

18 [s=tra]yas=tēna bhavaṁ(va)nti lōkā yaḥ kāñchanaṁ gāṁ=cha mahīṁ=cha dadyāt [||*] Sashṭī(shṭi)-

19 varsha-saṁ(sa)hasrāṇi svargē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tā-

20 ny=ēva narakē vasēt [||*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhis=Sagar-ādi-

21 bhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[s*]=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [||*] Sva-dattā[m] pa-

22 ra-[dattāṁ] vā yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [|*] mahī[ṁ*] mahi[ī]matāṁ śrēshṭha dānāch-chhrēyō=

23 nupālanam=iti || pravarddhamāna-vijaya-**saṁ[va]tu(vat) 3 Pausha-dina 2** [|*]

*Third Plate, Second Side*

24 utkīrṇṇaṁ Gōlasiṅghē(siṁhē)na [|*]

## SEAL

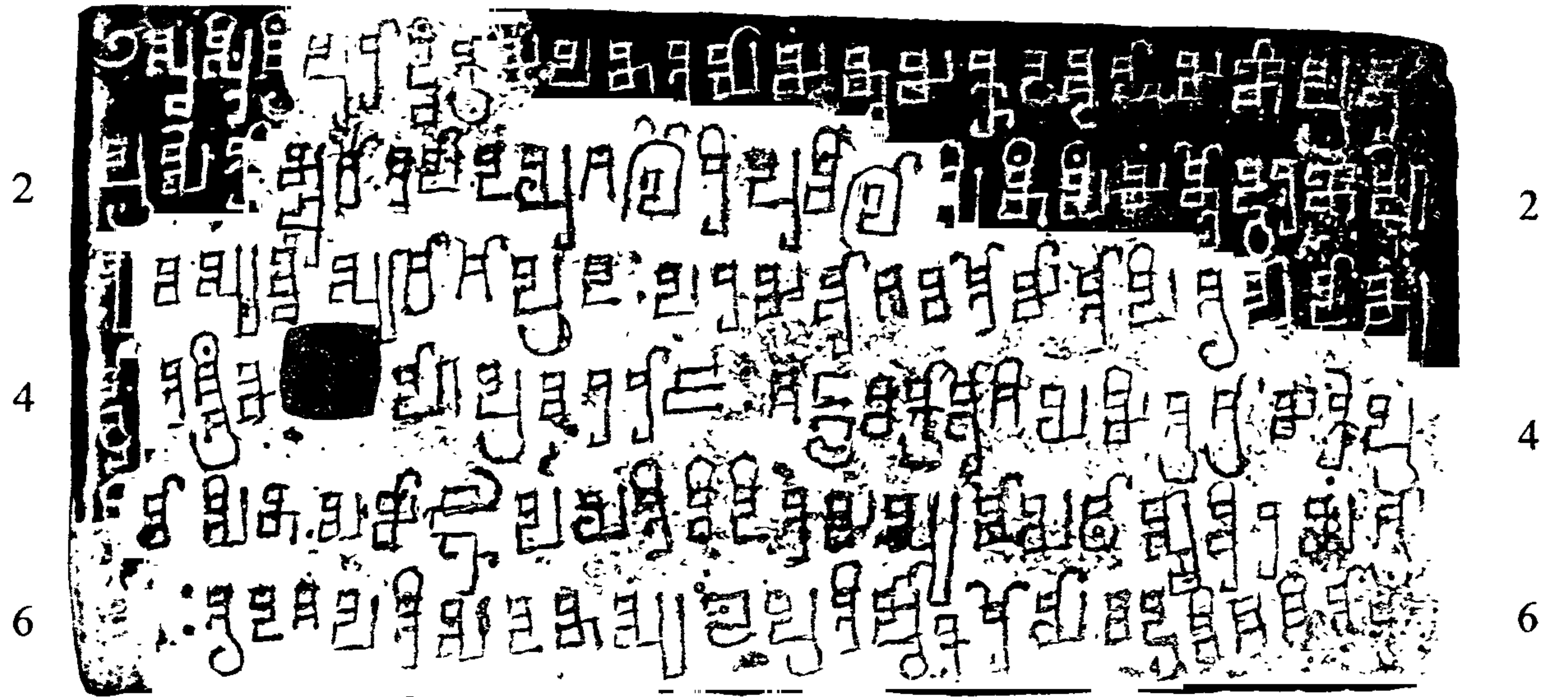
**Mānamātra**-sutasy=ēdaṁ sva-bhuj-ōpārjjita-[ksh]itē[ḥ] [|*]
śrīmat **Pravararājasya** śāsanaṁ [śat]ru-śā[sa]na[ṁ(naṁ ||)]

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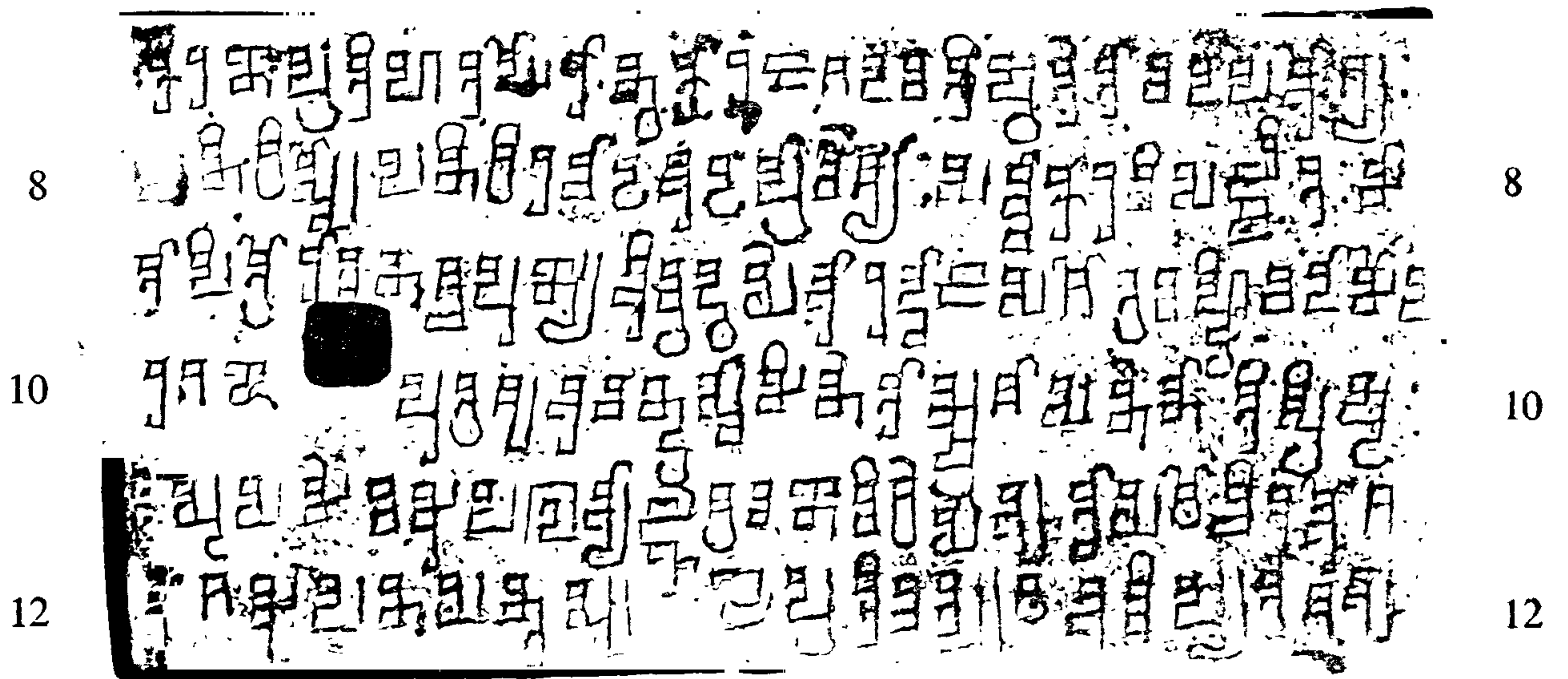
[1] Cf. *The Classical Age*, p. 220.
[2] From impressions.
[3] Expressed by symbol.
[4] Read °*tur=vvasu-vasudhā*.
[5] The subscript *m* is cut off by the hole made for the ring.
[6] Read *bahvṛicha*.
[7] Read °*danti*.

MALLAR PLATES OF PRAVARA II, YEAR 3—PLATE I

*i*



*ii, a*



**Scale : Four-fifths**

*ii, b*

*iii, a*

## MALLAR PLATES OF PRAVARA II, YEAR 3—PLATE II

*iii, b*



SEAL



(from a Photograph)

# No. 11—FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTIONS FROM CHITORGARH

*(1 Plate)*

D. C. SIRCAR AND G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

*(Received on 18.6.1959)*

The **stone slab** containing two **fragmentary** inscriptions published below was recently found while clearing debris in the fort area of **Chitorgarh** in the Udaipur Division of Rajasthan. It is now kept in the store-room of the office of an Overseer of the Western Circle of the Department of Archaeology, stationed at Chitorgarh.

The writing on the fragment of the slab consists of **two** inscriptions, called A and B in the following pages. The two records together cover an area 9 inches in height and 7 inches in breadth. Inscription B is engraved below A. The writing is broken away from the left, right and bottom sides of the stone. Thus only the central part of the lines of writing in the original records is preserved, though the concluding part of B is also completely broken away and lost. Inscription A consists of only 3 incomplete lines while B exhibits 8 such lines. The number of *aksharas* in each line of the extant part of the two epigraphs is between 16 and 21. The composition being in verse, it is easily seen that 12 and 14 *aksharas* are respectively broken away from the beginning of line 1 of A and B while 16 *aksharas* are lost at the end of the last line (i.e. line 3) of A. We have also to note that the same stanza in *Vaṁśastha* seems to be continuing from line 2 to line 3 of A and that, if calculated on this basis, the number of lost syllables at the end of the second line and at the beginning of the next in the said record would be altogether 24.

The fact that the formation of the letters in the two inscriptions is different shows that two different persons were responsible for their reproduction on the stone. The space between two lines in both the inscriptions is about half an inch while that between the two records is about one inch. As, however, will be seen below, both the records appear to record the pious activities of the same person.

The **characters** of both the records belong to the Northern Alphabet of about the **first half of the 6th century A.D.** The letters of B have been more boldly and deeply cut than those of A. The angular corners of the letters in B end in a protrusion (cf. the back of *ch* and *d* and the lower angles of *p* and *v*). The top serifs of letters are triangular in most cases in B but are straight horizontal strokes in A. The sign for medial *i* in A generally comes down to the bottom of the letters while it stops at their top in B. There is also some difference between the medial sign of *ī* in A and B. *R* has a sort of an upward stroke added to the left of its bottom in A, while in B the hanging bottom line of this and some other letters and signs has a somewhat thick and triangular end. Barring these differences, the alphabets of the two records are similar to each other and they bear remarkable resemblance to the stone inscriptions[1] of the Aulikara king Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana found at Mandasor, one of which is dated in the year 532 A. D. We may compare, for example, the letters *n* (without loop), *k*, *ch*, *ṇ*, *d*, *r* and *h* as found in the epigraphs under study and in the Mandasor inscriptions. It is particularly interesting to note that the alphabet of B is remarkably similar to that of the fragmentary (duplicate) Mandasor inscription of Yaśōdharman.[2]

[1] *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 142-58 and Plates.

[2] Ibid., Plate facing p. 150.

Inscription B exhibits medial *ā* written in two ways, viz. (1) an upward stroke as in *pā* (line 2), *yā* (line 3), *rā* (lines 3 and 4), etc., and (2) the right end of the top stroke being curved downward as in *nā* (lines 2 and 4; cf. *mā* in lines 1, 3, 4 and 6). It may also be noted that *dā* is written in both the ways (cf. lines 4 and 6).

The **language** of both the records is Sanskrit and, as already indicated above, the composition is in verse. We have fragments of three stanzas in A and of 9 in B. There is no complete verse in either of the records. In respect of **orthography** also the records resemble the Mandasor inscriptions referred to above. The consonants *t*, *j* and *y* following *r* are reduplicated (cf. line 1 of A and lines 2, 5 and 8 of B). *T* followed by *r* and *dh* followed by *y* have been likewise reduplicated respectively in *yattra* (line 1 of A) and *Maddhyamāṁ* (line 3 of B). *Anusvāra* has been changed to the guttural nasal in *vaṅśajē* (line 2 of A).

The space above the writting in A shows that no line is broken away from the top. The first verse (line 1) refers to the Supreme Spirit (cf. *paraṁ*) beyond the reach of one's conception (*dhīḥ*), mind (*manas*) and speech (*bhāratī*) and reminds us of the Upanishadic saying *na tatra chakshur=gachchhati na vāg=gachchhati na manō°*, etc.[1] There is no doubt that A began with a stanza in adoration to the Absolute Being. The real significance of the second verse (lines 2-3) cannot be guessed from the extant words although it may have contained a reference to the king during whose reign the record was incised. The first half of the third stanza (line 3) speaks of a certain Vishṇudatta described as the best among the merchants. Evidently this same Vishṇudatta is mentioned in B which, as we shall see below, seems to be a record of the pious deeds of his son. It is not impossible that the second half of the third stanza in A also referred to certain pious activities of the same person.[2]

The first stanza (line 1) in B speaks of one having the moon hidden in the matted locks which are curled and slightly tawny in colour. It is undoubtedly an invocatory verse in praise of the god Śiva. The second stanza (line 2) refers to one's protection of the earth, to which the people are stated to have been attached. It also refers to the same person's strength and the shattering of the prowess of his enemies. There is thus a clear reference here to a king during whose reign the inscription was engraved. But his name is unfortunately not traceable in the extant portion of the record. The third stanza (line 3) refers to one who was apparently a *Rājasthānīya* or governor no doubt ruling over **Daśapura** and **Madhyamā** by the order of the person mentioned in the previous stanza, i.e. of the ruling king of the country. There is little doubt that this *Rājasthānīya* was the hero of the eulogy contained in the inscription and that its **object** was to record one of his pious deeds.

Usually the family of the hero of a *praśasti* is introduced after the introduction of the reigning king. Thus the Mandasor inscription of 532 A. D., which is a more elaborate eulogy than the one under study, introduces the reigning king Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana (verses 5-9) after the *maṅgala* stanzas at the beginning and then speaks of Shashṭhidatta of the Naigama family[3] as a servant of the rulers of the dynasty to which the said king belonged. The genealogy is then traced from Shashṭhidatta to Daksha *alias* Nirdōsha, the hero of the *praśasti*, in the following way : Shashṭhidatta ; his son Varāhadāsa ; [his brother ?][4] Ravikīrti ; his three sons Bhagavaddōsha, Abhayadatta (a *Rājasthānīya* of the land bounded by the Vindhya, the Rēvā, the Pāriyātra and the Sindhu or the Arabian Sea) and Dōshakumbha ; Dōshakumbha's two sons Dharmadōsha (successor of

[1] *Kēnōpanishad*, 3.

[2] The verb *babhūva* in the Past Perfect tense used in Vishṇudatta's description may support the inference, although we cannot be quite sure about it (cf. *JUPHS*, New Series, Vol. III, 1955, pp. 91 ff.).

[3] I.e. a family of merchants (cf. Lüders' List, No. 1001). Fleet wrongly took it to be a family of Brāhmaṇas (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 156).

[4] The language is not clear as to whether Ravikīrti was the same as Varāhadāsa or the latter's brother or son.

Abhayadatta as *Rājasthānīya*) and Daksha *alias* Nirdōsha (who excavated a well in the memory of his uncle Abhayadatta in the year 532 A. D. during the reign of Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana probably at Daśapura or Mandasor where the inscription has been found). In the inscription under study, the introduction of the reigning monarch is followed by that of his governor of the Daśapura-Madhyamā region, who was the hero of the *praśasti* and whose pedigree is introduced immediately afterwards. This kind of reintroduction of the hero of a eulogy for the second time as the descendant of his ancestors is also known from other inscriptions.[1]

The fourth verse of our inscription (line 4) mentions a person named Varāha and the next stanza (i.e. the fifth verse in lines 4-5) another named Vishṇudatta who appears to have been the son of Varāha. The sixth stanza (line 5), only a few letters at the beginning of which are preserved, apparently mentioned Vishṇudatta's wife whose name is lost, while the following verse (i.e. the seventh stanza in line 6) obviously introduces the son of Vishṇudatta and his wife. The fact that the eighth verse in line 7 apparently refers to a construction (probably of a temple) in an area to the north of the temple of Manōrathasvāmin shows that Vishṇudatta's son, whose name is lost, was the hero of the eulogy under study. The last verse in line 8 continues the description of the pious act referred to in the previous stanza. The word *kīrti* used in it may refer to the person's fame in a general way or in the special sense of an object like a temple that was calculated to render the name of its builder famous.[2] It thus appears that the object of both the inscriptions under study was to record certain pious deeds (probably the building of some shrines) of Vishṇudatta's son who was the governor of Daśapura and Madhyamā under a king of the Malwa-Rajasthan region about the first half of the 6th century A. D., to which age the epigraphs have to be assigned on grounds of palaeography.

As regards **Daśapura** and Madhyamā, the reference may be to the districts around the cities of those names. Daśapura is the well-known ancient name of modern Mandasor,[3] which is about 65 miles to the south-south-east of Chitorgarh, the findspot of the present records, and which, as noted above, has yielded several inscriptions of king Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana and was no doubt the capital of the rulers of the Aulikara dynasty including the said monarch.[4] It is thus probable that Vishṇudatta's son was the governor of the metropolitan province of the Aulikara kingdom.

**Madhyamā** is evidently the same as Madhyamikā mentioned in a number of literary, epigraphic and numismatic records of ancient India. The earliest epigraphic reference to this place is found in a fragmentary Prakrit inscription from Barli[5] in the Ajmer District, Rajasthan, which speaks of a person as *Mājhimika* (Sanskrit *Mādhyamika*), 'an inhabitant of Madhyamikā.' The inscription has been assigned to a date about the end of the second or the beginning of the first century B. C. Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*, composed earlier about the first half of the 2nd century B. C., speaks of the siege of Madhyamikā by a Yavana king during the author's life time.[6] A number of coins bearing the legend *Majhamikāya Śibi-janapadasa* (Sanskrit *Madhyamikāyāḥ* or °*kāyāṁ Śibi-janapadasya*), '[the coin] of the Śibi State [struck at] Madhyamikā' or '[the coin] of the Śibi State of Madhyamikā,' were found at Nagarī, eight miles to the north of Chitorgarh, and also at Chitorgarh itself.[7] Kielhorn identified Majhamikā of the legend on these coins with Madhyamikā

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[1] Cf. the inscriptions of Gayāḍatunga (below, pp. 91 ff.).

[2] Cf. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 212, note 6.

[3] Ibid. p. 79 and note 2.

[4] See above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 205 ff.

[5] *JBRS*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 34-38.

[6] Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 107.

[7] Cf. Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins* (Ancient India), p. cxxiv ; D. R. Bhandarkar, *MASI*, No. 4, p. 122; etc.

mentioned by Patañjali and took it to be the old name of Nagarī near Chitorgarh.[1] The *Mahābhārata*, while describing Nakula's expedition in Western India, states that, after subjugating Daśārṇa, the Pāṇḍava hero conquered the Śibis, Trigartas, Ambashṭhas, Mālavas, Pañchakarpaṭas and Mādhyamakēyas.[2] These Mādhyamakēyas are no doubt the people of Madhyamikā, although the reference is probably to an age when the Śibis were not in occupation of the city. Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, composed about the first half of the 6th century,[3] places the Mādhyamikas in the central region of India.[4] This shows that Madhyamikā, i.e., modern Nagarī, continued to flourish at least till about the middle of the 6th century A. D. This is also supported by the mention of Madhyamā, i.e. Madhyamikā, in the second of the two inscriptions under study as a province under the charge of a governor under a king of Western India, who flourished about the first half of the 6th century.[5]

As indicated above, a certain Varāha is mentioned in line 4 probably as the grandfather of the hero of the eulogy, who appears to have been the governor of Daśapura and Madhyamā. As we have seen above, the Mandasor inscription of Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana, dated 532 A. D., refers to a certain Varāhadāsa of the Naigama family, who was the father or father's elder brother or grandfather of the *Rājasthānīya* Abhayadatta whose brother's son Dharmadōsha succeeded him in the governorship and was serving Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana in 532 A. D.[6] If our Varāha was identical with this Varāhadāsa,[7] the *Rājasthānīya* mentioned in the inscription under study also belonged to the same family as the *Rājasthānīyas* Abhayadatta and Dharmadōsha.[8] This is not improbable in view of the fact that official positions were often held in ancient India successively by the members of the same family.[9] The area under the rule of Abhayadatta is stated to have been, in a wide sense, bounded by the Vindhya, the Rēvā or Narmadā, the Pāriyātra or the Western Vindhyas together with the Aravali range, and the Arabian Sea, and the same region may have been indicated in the second of our inscriptions as the districts of Daśapura and Madhyamā. We cannot also ignore the exceptionally close similarity of the characters of the second of the present records, as shown above, with one of the Mandasor inscriptions of Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana. In any case, the facts discussed above would suggest that our records belong to the reign of one of the Aulikara kings, if not of Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana himself.

Inscription B seems to indicate, as suggested above, that the Aulikara viceroy of Daśapura (Mandasor) was also ruling over Madhyamā (modern Nagarī). It is of course difficult to say whether Vishṇudatta's son governed the Mandasor-Nagarī region earlier than Abhayadatta or later than Dharmadōsha, although it is better to regard him as a successor of Dharmadōsha as otherwise he may have been mentioned in the Mandasor inscription. In this connection, it may be pointed out that a certain chief named Gauri was ruling over the region of Chhōṭī-Sādṛī, near Neemuch, about 40 miles south of Nagarī, as a subordinate of Ādityavardhana who appears to have been a member of the Aulikara family of Daśapura and ruled towards the end of the 5th century A. D.[10] But his relations with the *Rājasthānīya* of the area cannot be determined.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 266. For the antiquity of Nagarī, see above, Vol. XXII, pp. 198 ff.

[2] *Sabhāparvan*, Chap. 8, verses 7-8; cf. critical ed., II, 29, 6-7.

[3] Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 208 and note 5.

[4] Chapter XIV, verse 2.

[5] In a story about Chaulukya Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.), Madhyamāpurī is located three *krōśas* away from Chitrakūṭa-durga (Jinavijaya-muni, *Kumārapālacharitrasaṁgraha*, pp. 5, 47).

[6] *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 150 ff.

[7] If Varāha of our record was identical with Varāhadāsa of the Mandasor inscription, Varāhadāsa must have been different from Ravikīrti whose sons are all mentioned in the epigraph.

[8] It may be noted that Vishṇudatta's name ending in *datta* is similar to the names of Shashṭhidatta and Abhayadatta of the Naigama family.

[9] Cf. the case of the ministers of the Datta family of South Kōsala (*IHQ*, Vol. XX, pp. 78 ff.).

[10] Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 120-32 ; Vol. XXXIII, pp. 205 ff.

A

B

Scale : Nine-tenths

It is difficult to say why two inscriptions were engraved on the same stone. It may be that the two epigraphs recorded the construction of two different shrines at the site in question by the son of Vishṇudatta on two different dates. The adoration to Śiva at the beginning of B may suggest that the epigraph recorded the construction of a Śaiva shrine. The shrines were apparently built at Chitorgarh and this fact points to the importance of the place as early as the 6th century.

There are only two **geographical** names in the second of the two inscriptions, viz. Daśapura and Madhyamā. Their location has been discussed above.

## TEXT[1]

### A

[Metres : verses 1-2 *Vaṁśastha* ; verse 3 *Anushṭubh*.]

1[2] ◡ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ◡ – na yāti dhīr=yyattra manō na bhāra[t]ī |[3] paraṁ vapu – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ◡ – ◡ – ◡ – – ◡

2 ◡ – ◡ – ◡ – [|| 1*] ◡ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ vaṅśajē[4] mahīṁ sapat[na]-nārījana-vibhra[ma] ◡ – [|*] ◡ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ –

3 ◡ – ◡ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – dyatē[5] || [2*] Babhūva vaṇijā[ṁ] śrēshṭhō **Vishṇudattō** vichaksha[ṇa][6] [|*]............................................[|| 3*]

### B

[Metres : verses 1, 7, 9 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 2 *Vaṁśastha* ; verses 3-4, 6 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 5 *Indravajrā* or *Upajāti* ; verse 8 *Upajāti*.]

1[7] – – ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – – m=āpiṅga-bhaṅgura-jaṭā-chaya-līna-chandra[m] [|*] anyach=cha dī[pta] ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – – – – ◡ – ◡

2 ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – – [|| 1*] ◡ – ◡ vīryyō ripu-vīrya-bhaṅgibhir=jjan-ānurakta-kshiti-pālanōdbha[vai][8] [|*] ◡ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ◡ – ◡ –

3 ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ◡ – [|| 2*] – [sy=ā][9]jñayā **Daśapuraṁ Maddhyamāṁ** cha guṇānvitaḥ [|*] rājasthānī[ya][10] ........................[ ||3* ]

4 ............................................ [bhū]shaṇaḥ [|*] **Varāha**-nāmā lōkē=smin=suhṛid-āmōda-va ....[11] [|| 4*] – – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – – – – ◡

[1] From impressions. This is *A. R. Ep.*, 1958-59, Nos. B 742-43.

[2] It is difficult to say whether the word *svasti* or *siddham* or the symbol for the latter was engraved here.

[3] The mark of punctuation is indicated by a horizontal stroke.

[4] Read *vaṁśajē*.

[5] The word may be restored as something like *vidyatē* or *prapadyatē*.

[6] The word is no doubt *vichakshaṇaḥ*.

[7] It is difficult to say whether the symbol for *siddham* was engraved here. It may be noticed that the number of syllables lost at the beginning of line 1 of A is 12 whereas 14 syllables are lost here.

[8] The word is apparently °*ōdbhavaiḥ*.

[9] The *aksharas* were apparently *asy=ā*° or *tasy=ā*.°

[10] The expression may have been *rājasthānīya-vṛittyā* (cf. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 154, text line 17).

[11] The intended word seems to be *varddhanaḥ*.

5 — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [|*] — — ⏑ — — **kara-savrata**[1]**tvād=vikhyāta-kīrttir**=bhuvi **Vishṇu-dattaḥ** || [5*] Asy=ābhūn=mau . . . . . . . . . . . .[2] [|*]

6 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [|| 6*] — [jī]**janat**[3]=**sutam**=udāra-guṇa[4]-prachāram=āchāra-śīlam=ana —[5] ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [|*] — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑

7 — — — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — || [7*] **Manōrathasvāmi**-gṛih-ōttarasyāṁ[6] diṅ-maṇḍan=aitad=ruchiraṁ [hy=a] — — [|*] ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ —

8 — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [|| 8*] — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — kīrttiṁ sphuṭ-ēndu-vima[lāṁ] ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑

9 — — [|| 9*] . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .[7]

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[1] There is an unnecessary mark above the letter.

[2] The reference here was apparently to Vishṇudatta's wife.

[3] The intended reading is very probably *S=ājījanat*.

[4] There is an unnecessary mark above *ṇa*.

[5] The word here may be restored as *anapēksha*. The medial *ē* sign attached to the letter following *na* is clear on the impressions.

[6] The sign of *anusvāra* has been engraved a little to the left of its proper place owing to want of space.

[7] Only the upper parts of two consecutive *aksharas* are noticed, one representing an *ā-mātrā* and the other an *anusvāra*.

# No. 12—HULGUR INSCRIPTION OF KHOTTIGA, SAKA 893

(*1 Plate*)

G. S. Gai, Ootacamund

(*Received on 26.6.1959*)

The inscription which is edited below was copied by me during the year 1944-45 in the course of my official tour in search of inscriptions. It is engraved on a stone slab in the field of Aḷḷikaṭṭi at **Hulgūr,** a village about 9 miles to the north-east of Shiggaon, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in the Dharwar District, Mysore State.[1] The writing covers an area about 2′5″ by 2′3″. There are 21 lines of writing and, except a small portion at the lower right-hand corner affecting the last four lines of the imprecatory portion, the writing is well preserved.

The **characters** are Kannaḍa-Telugu of the 10th century A. D. and are quite regular for the period. Noteworthy is the top *mātrā* (*tale-kaṭṭu*) which is rather angular.[2] Initial *i* occurs in lines 9 and 13 and initial *e* in line 2. Final *t* is met with in line 14 and final *ḷ* in lines 9, 11 and 17. In some cases, *anusvāra* has been used for the class nasals ; cf. lines 1, 3 and 8. Except the last imprecatory verse in Sanskrit, the **language** of the record is Kannaḍa and is partly in verse and partly in prose. There are six verses in the *Kanda* metre in lines 1-11 and a section in prose in lines 11-18. As regards **orthography,** the consonant following *r* is reduplicated in many cases.

Verse 1 introduces the ruling king **Khoṭṭigadēva** as the younger brother of **Kṛishṇa.** Though the dynasty to which he belonged is not stated in the record, there can be no doubt that he was the Rāshṭrakūṭa king of that name[3] who succeeded his brother Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A. D.) and ruled in 967-72 A. D. When Fleet wrote his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, only one record of Khoṭṭiga was published.[4] But now we have quite a few inscriptions belonging to his reign.[5] The present record, however, does not supply any new information, historical or chronological, with regard to the reign of Khoṭṭiga. Verse 2 refers to his title *Nityavarsha* and mentions his feudatory **Guttiya-Gaṅga,** called *Gaṅg-ādhipa*. This Guttiya-Gaṅga was no other than the Western Gaṅga chief Mārasiṁha II (963-75 A. D.) who is known to have been a feudatory of Kṛishṇa III also. Fleet suggested that the word *Guttiya* in the secondary name of the chief may refer to the town of Gutti in the Bellary District.[6] Besides Guttiya-Gaṅga, Mārasiṁha had many *birudas* like

[1] The inscription has been noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1944-45, No. F 21, and in *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 55.

[2] For this feature, cf. the Korumelli plates of the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 48 ff. and Plates).

[3] The name is Koṭṭiga here but is spelt in epigraphic records generally as Khoṭṭiga and sometimes also as Khōṭika.

[4] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 422 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 255-56.

[5] See *SII*, Vol. XI, Part I, Nos. 41-44 ; Vol. IX, Part I, Nos. 70-71 ; above Vol. XXI, pp. 260 ff.

[6] Above, Vol. V, p. 168 and note 3.

Gaṅga-Vidyādhara, Gaṅga-Kandarpa, Gaṅga-vajra, etc.[1] From verses 3-4 of our inscription we learn that this Guttiya-Gaṅga was a follower of Jaina religion and the governor of Gaṅgavāḍi-96,000, Kisukāḍu-70, Purigeṛe-300 and Beḷvola-300 and that his wife was **Aṅkabbarasi,** the daughter of **Dānapa.** That he was ruling over the territories mentioned above is also known from other records.[2] But the name of his wife Aṅkabbarasi is known for the first time from the present inscription. She is called Gaṅga-mahādēvi in line 15. The next stanza (verse 5) states that Aṅkabbarasi was governing **Pulluṅgūr.** It is not possible to identify her father Dānapa. It may, however, be pointed out that the Eastern Chālukya king Dānārṇava (970-73 A. D.), who was a contemporary of Mārasiṁha II, was also called by the names of Dānapa and Dānapēśa.[3]

The date of the record is given in verse 6 as the **Śaka year** *trika-randhr-āshṭa-śata*, i.e. **893, Śukla, Māgha śu. 11, Sunday.** The year Śukla of the Southern Cycle corresponded to Śaka 891 and not to Śaka 893. For Śukla, the details of the date are irregular. But in Śaka 893, Māgha śu. 11 commenced on Sunday, the 28th January 972 A. D., and ended the following day. **January 28 in 972 A.D** thus seems to be the date of our record.

The **object** of the inscription (lines 11-13) is to record the renewal of a grant by the daughter of Dānapa, i.e. Aṅkabbarasi, to the temple of the goddess Pulluṅgūrabbe. The gift consisted of 6 gardens, 24 *mattars* of *kisukāḍu*, ' red land ', and the cess realised on the occasion of fairs (*jātrā-mukhaṁ*). The *aruvaṇa* fixed for this gift was 24 *drammas*. The expression *aruvaṇa* occurs also in other records[4] and seems to mean a kind of tax. Thus the present grant appears to be a *kara-śāsana*. This gift, we are told in lines 13-16, was made at the request of Mārasiṅghayya of the Maṇalara family who was then the headman (*nāḷ-gāvuṇḍa*) of Purigeṛe-300 and paid the *aruvaṇa* to secure release of the incomes due to the goddess Pulluṅgūrabbe.[5] Line 16 states that the twelve *gāvuṇḍas* (village headmen) of the village should protect the gift. This is followed, in lines 16-21, by the benedictory and imprecatory passages in Kannaḍa and a verse in Sanskrit.

As indicated above, Mārasiṅghayya belonged to the Maṇalara family. The name of the family is also spelt as Maṇalera in some other records and seems to have been derived from a person called Maṇale or Maṇalera. The family is also known as Sagar-ānvaya. A certain Maṇalera of the Sagara lineage is mentioned in the Ātakūr inscription[6] as an officer under the Gaṅga prince Būtuga, the feudatory and brother-in-law of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III. We know that this Gaṅga Būtuga was the father of Guttiya-Gaṅga or Mārasiṁha II of the inscription under study. Therefore it appears that Maṇalera Mārasiṅghayya was the immediate successor, if not the son, of Maṇalera of the Ātakūr record. Another epigraph from Hulgūr[7] belonging to the Chālukya king Jayasiṁha II and dated 1038 A. D. mentions Iṛivabedaṅga Mārasiṅgadēva as a predecessor of a certain Jayakēśin of the Maṇalera family. In all probability Iṛivabedaṅga

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[1] Loc. cit.

[2] Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 255-56.

[3] *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 55.

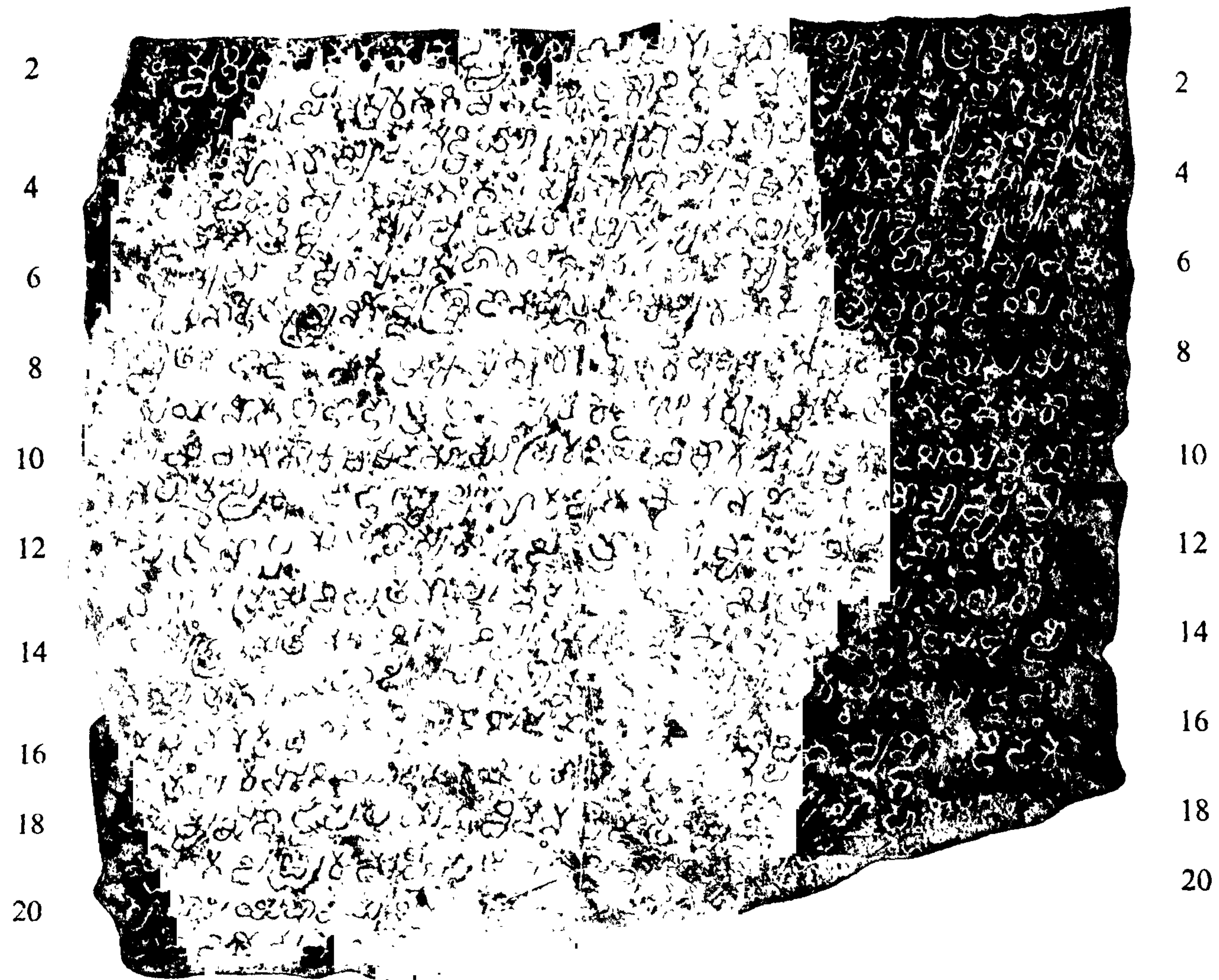
[4] Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 255-56, text line 18; *SII*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 77, text line 27.

[5] Pulluṅgūrabbe may also have been a lady to whom Mārasiṅghayya was somehow related.

[6] Above, Vol. VI, p. 54.

[7] Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 333.

# HULGUR INSCRIPTION OF KHOTTIGA, SAKA 893



Scale : One-fifth

Mārasiṅgadēva was identical with Mārasiṅghayya of the present record. Another chief named Maṇalera Gāḍiga is stated to have been the *nāḷ-gāvuṇḍa* of Purigeṟe in an undated record of Amōghavarsha from Shiggaon.[1] Mr. N. L. Rao has identified this king with Amōghavarsha IV Kakka (972-73 A. D.) and consequently Maṇalera Gāḍiga has been regarded by him as a descendant of Maṇalera of the Ātakūr record referred to above.[2] But, as I have shown elsewhere,[3] the Shiggaon inscription should be ascribed to the reign of Amōghavarsha I (814-78 A. D.) and therefore Maṇalera Gāḍiga would be a predecessor of both Maṇalera of the Ātakūr inscription and Mārasiṅghayya of the present record. It may, however, be stated that one cannot be certain about the relationship of these chiefs until definite proof is forthcoming.

The **geographical** names mentioned in the record are Gaṅgavāḍi-96,000, Kisukāḍu-70, Purigeṟe-300, Beḷvola-300 and Pulluṅgūr, the first four of which are quite well known. Pulluṅgūr is evidently the modern Hulgūr where the inscription was discovered.

TEXT[4]

1[5] Svasti nṛipēśvara-makuṭa-nyasta-pad-āṁbhōjanundhā(n=dha)rāvallabhanuṁ **trasta-ripu-**

2 **Kṛishṇan**=anujaṁ vistara-śaśi-viśada-kīrtti **Koṭṭigadēvaṁ** |[| 1*] Ene negaḷda **Nityava-**

3 **rshana** vinūta-rājy-ābhivṛiddhiyoḷ=maṇḍaḷik-āvanatthi(ta)-pa[da]-**Gaṁgādhipan**=animittaṁ(tta)-

4 parōpakāri **Guttiya-Gaṁgaṁ** |[| 2*] Parama-śrī-Jainēśvara-charaṇ-ānataṁ **Gaṁgavā-**

5 **ḍi**-toṁbhattaṟu-sāsiramuṁ **Kisukāḍ-eḷpatu(ttu) Purigeṟe-mūnūṟu Beḷvala-triśa-**

6 **tamumaṁ** |[| 3*] Dushṭaran=upasaṁhārisi śishṭaran=uchit-ā[spa]daṁgaḷiṁ pāḷisi bhūvishṭa-

7 raman=āḷe tat-prāṇēshṭe śrī-**Dānap-ātmaj-Āṁkabbarasi** || [4*] Sarvv-ābhyantara-siddhiyin=u-

8 rvvī-taḷadoḷage negaḷda **Pulluṁgūraṁ** garvvita-ripu[va]n=aḍaṁgisi parvvida jasam=e-

9 seye negaḷdaḷ=āḷutt=iḷdaḷ |[| 5*] ire | Kanda [|] **Trika-randhr-āshṭa-śataṁgaḷ Śakakā-**

10 **lam=av=āge Śukla-varshada Māghaṁ prakaṭisi Ravi-vārada su(śu)ddh-ēkādasi(śi)y=andu Dā-**

11 **nap-ātmaje** koṭṭaḷ |[| 6*] Pulluṁgūr-abbege munne naḍev=āṟu tōṇṭamuṁ vi(i)-

12 rppattanālku-mattar=kkisukāḍu jātrā-mukhamumaṁ biṭṭu māḍid=aru-

13 vaṇada-drammav=irppattanālku | idaṁ |[6] Jagadēka-mitraṁ Maṇalar-ā-

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[1] *Karnataka Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 14 ; *A. R. Ep.*, 1943-44, No. F 42.

[2] *SII*, Vol. XI, Part II, p. v.

[3] See below, Vol. XXXV, Part ii.

[4] From impressions.

[5] There is a floral design at the beginning.

[6] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

14 dityaṁ śrīmat Mārasiṁghayyaṁ **Purigeṟe-mūnūṟarkkaṁ** nāḻ-gāvuṇḍu-

15 geyyuttaṁ Gaṁga-mahādēviyargge binnapaṁ geydu **Pulluṁgu(gū)r-abbeya** puṭṭav=ādu-

16 d=ellavan=aruvaṇaṁgaṭṭhi(ṭṭi) biḍisidaṁ [|*] Kādūḍuvar=ppannirbbar=ggāvuṇḍugaḷ=idaṁ kā-

17 dātaṁ Bāraṇāsiyoḷ sāyira kavileyuṁ sāsirvvar=Bbrāhmaṇarig=ubha-

18 ya-mukhi-goṭṭa [pha]lam=akkuv=idan=aḻidātaṁ pañcha-ma[1] . . . . . . .

19 Mad-vaṁśajāḥ=para-mahīpati-vaṁśajā vā pāpā[2] . . . . . . . . . .

20 bhūpāḥ | yē pāḷayanti mama dha[rmma]m=imam sama[3] . . . . .

21 tāṁ(tō=ṁ)jaḷir=ēsha mū[4] . [|| 7*]

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[1] The remaining portion may be restored as °*hāpātakan=akkuṁ*.
[2] The rest of the line may be restored as °*d=apēta-manasō bhuvi bhāvi*°.
[3] The rest of the line may be restored as °*staṁ tēbhyō mayā virachi*°.
[4] The lost *akshara* may be restored as *rdhni*.

## No. 13—INSCRIPTION FROM MANTHANI

(*1 Plate*)

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(*Received on 11.6.1959*)

Sometime after I completed my study of the Gayā inscription[1] mentioning king Pratāparudra and his preceptor Mallikārjuna, Mr. K. H. V. Sarma, one of the Epigraphical Assistants in my office, drew my attention to a small Telugu work entitled *Vēyistambhālagudi Śāsanamu* (1934) by Kambhampāṭi Appanna Sāstri.[2] This book (pp. 52 ff.) summarises the contents of an inscription on a stone pillar lying at **Manthani,** headquarters of a Taluk of the same name in the Karimnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. The record is stated to have been published by Tiruvarangam Pāpayya Śāstri in the *Gōlakoṇḍapatrika* (Telugu), Vol. VII, No. 67, pp. 1 ff. The journal was, however, not available to me. Since the Manthani epigraph apparently mentions Mallikārjuna known from the Gayā inscription, I visited Manthani and copied the inscription in October 1958. On a careful examination of the record, it was found that many of the statements about the contents of the epigraph in Appanna Śāstri's book are wrong as they were apparently based on wrong readings and faulty interpretations of the text published by Pāpayya Śāstri. The most serious of the numerous errors of omission and commission are the statements that the hero of the inscription, who set up the pillar and whose pious activities are recorded in the epigraph, is Mallikārjuna-sūri, that he was the son of Krishṇa-nāyaka, the ruling chief of Mantrakūṭa, and that Mallu-bhaṭṭa was the priest of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati. It is of course unnecessary to deal with such mistakes in detail. I am thankful to Mr. Sarma for his help in the preparation of this paper.

The inscription is engraved on the **four faces** of a **stone pillar** now standing in a shed attached to the temple of Hanumān on the eastern bank of a big tank called Tammacheruvu. The writing is continued from the front side to the left, back and right sides. But the lower part of the pillar is broken away and lost. Consequently the writing on all the four sides are **fragmentary.** A few *aksharas* are also damaged or broken away at the beginning and end of many of the lines of writing. This fragmentary nature of the record renders the interpretation of some of its sections considerably difficult. It is also impossible to be sure about the exact number of lines broken away from the bottom of the inscription on the different faces of the pillar. But the facts that about 30 *aksharas* are certainly lost at the end of the second side and that they cannot be properly distributed in lines of 13 *aksharas* each as found in the lower lines of this face of the pillar would suggest that at least one more stanza is lost between the last verse on the second side and the first stanza on the third and that the number of lost lines of writing is more than 3 at least on the second face of the pillar.

There are **some figures** above the writing on each of the sides. Thus we have the representation of the god Gaṇēśa, of the sun and moon, of a bull and of a Śiva-liṅga respectively in the upper part of the first (i.e. front), the second (i.e. left), the third (i.e. back) and the fourth (i.e. right) sides. The areas covered by the extant writing on the said four faces are between 12 and 13 inches in breadth and between 37 and 39 inches in height. Individual *aksharas* are generally a little above

[1] Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 103 ff. Some suggestions about Mallikārjuna in that article may require modification in the light of the present record. Cf., however, p. 68, note 1; p. 74, note 7.

[2] Cf. M. Rama Rao, *The Kākatīyas of Warangal*, p 44.

one inch in height though their size on the first and second sides is slightly bigger than that on the third and fourth. There are 28 lines of writing on the first side, 27 on the second, and 33 each on the third and the fourth, the last line showing only the upper parts of the letters in most cases. On the first side, a line contains between 9 (lines 1, 6) and 13 (line 14) *aksharas*, on the second between 9 (line 2) and 14 (lines 22-23), on the third between 12 (lines 12, 15) and 18 (line 1), and on the fourth between 11 (line 3) and 16 (line 6).

The **characters** of the inscription are Southern Nāgarī of about the 12th century A.D. and closely resemble those of the Gayā inscription referred to above. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition is a mixture of prose and verse. There is a versified introduction covering the first and second faces of the pillar together with a small space at the beginning of the third and this is followed by a number of transactions delineated in prose on the third and fourth sides. Little is noteworthy in the **orthography** of the record excepting the facts that the dynastic name Kākatīya has been spelt as *Kākatīyya*,[1] and that the use of *anusvāra* for class nasal is common while that of the latter is rare. Consonants following *r* have been rarely reduplicated while there is one case of *p* being reduplicated before *r* in line 12 on the third side.

The inscription under study is a document of the *praśasti* type. Its **object** is to record several pious acts of more than a single person, although one of these persons was the hero of the *praśasti* and was apparently responsible for setting up the pillar. The inscription refers itself to the reign of the **Kākatīya** king **Gaṇapati** and the first of the transactions recorded in it is stated to have taken place in **1199 A. D.** which falls in the first regnal year of the said monarch The same transaction is associated with the rule of a chief named **Allumprōlarāja** who was Gaṇapati's governor ruling over **Chernūri-dēśa**, i.e., roughly speaking, the modern Chinnur Taluk in the Adilabad District of Andhra Pradesh. Since a different transaction recorded in our epigraph is similarly associated with the rule of the *dauhitra* (daughter's son) of the said Allumprōlarāja likewise ruling over the same Chernūri-dēśa as the viceroy of Kākatīya Gaṇapati, there is little doubt that the **inscription under study was composed and engraved a few years later than Gaṇapati's first regnal year.** In the rule of the Chernūri-dēśa, the chief Allumprolarā,a seems to have been succeeded by his daughter's son. This is also suggested by the fact that Mallikārjuna, who is represented as dead in the introductory part of the record, is stated to have accepted, with Gaṇapati's consent, a gift of land from the successor of Allumprōlarāja apparently sometime after 1199 A.D. when the latter was ruling. The inscription also refers to an earlier transaction of the time of **Rudradēva** or Pratāparudra I (c. 1163-95 A.D.).

The **contents** of the writing on the different faces of the pillar are analysed below

*First Side*

The inscription begins with an adoration in prose to **Mantrakūṭa-Gōpījanavallabha**, i.e. the god Gōpījanavallabha (literally, 'the lover of the milk-maids', i.e. Krishṇa) worshipped in a temple situated at **Mantrakūṭa.** The same deity is mentioned in the Gayā inscription and we have seen elsewhere[2] that Mantrakūṭa was another name of the locality otherwise called Manthani, Mantena or Mantenna, where the inscription under study has been discovered. As will be seen below, our record gives the name both as Mantrakūṭa and **Manthenna**, the latter in the geographical name Manthenna-kāluva (literally, 'the Manthenna canal').

[1] The unnecessary reduplication of *y* is generally noticed in certain mediaeval records of the Telugu-speaking area, e.g., the Raghudēvapuram plates of 1456 A.D. (cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 3).

[2] Ibid., p. 104.

Verse 1 is in praise of the glittering of the pearls in the hair of the mother of Gajamukha (i.e. the goddess Pārvatī, the mother of Gaṇēśa), while the next stanza (verse 2) is in adoration of the Kōla, i.e. the boar incarnation of Vishṇu.

The next three stanzas (verses 3-5) describe king **Gaṇapati** who was reigning at the city of **Oruṁgallu** (i.e. Warangal) in the **Andhra country.** As clearly stated repeatedly in the prose portion of the record that follows, the king is identical with the Kākatīya monarch of that name, who ruled in the period 1199-1260 A.D. The inscription was engraved during the reign and in the dominions of Kākatīya Gaṇapati and, as we shall see below, the first of the transactions recorded in it took place in the first regnal year of the said king and a later transaction is also specially associated with the same king's reign.

Verse 6, the latter part of which is broken away, introduces a scholar named **Añchanārya.** His relations with the persons mentioned in the stanzas on the second side of the pillar are not clear, because, as stated above, several lines of the original writing in the lower part of the first side are lost. But there is no doubt that the author of the *praśasti* introduces the hero of the eulogy with this stanza following the description of the reigning monarch. We know that there were two ways of introducing the hero of a *praśasti*. In some cases, the hero is described as a descendant of his ancestors so that the mention of his first ancestor immediately follows the reference to the reigning monarch, while in others the hero is first introduced after the ruling king and then again as the descendant of his ancestors.[1] That Añchanārya was not an ancestor of the hero of the eulogy but the hero himself is, however, clear from the fact that he is stated in the verse to have played a prominent part in the quarters of the scholars proficient in the Śruti and Smṛiti, belonging to king Gaṇapati, and was therefore a contemporary of that king. As will be seen from our analysis of the writing on the third face of the pillar, the main **object** of the inscription was to record certain pious deeds of Mañchi-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya *alias* Mañchanārya who was the priest of Kākatīya Gaṇapati. It appears that the same person has been called Añchanārya, Mañchi-bhaṭṭōpādhāya and Mañchanārya.

*Second Side*

This section begins with a stanza (verse 1) in the *Upēndravajrā* metre, the first five syllables of which are lost in the concluding part of the writing on the first side. The verse speaks of the installation of a deity described as 'accompanied by Ramā (i.e. the goddess Lakshmī)' (*Ramā-sahāyaṁ*) and as 'charming on account of the three bends [in his three limbs while standing]' (*madhuraṁ tri-bhaṅgyā*). There is no doubt that the reference is to the god Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa. As will be seen below, verse 3 of this section seems to give the name of the deity as Kṛishṇa in a passage which has a twofold meaning. The word *tri-bhaṅgi* used in this stanza is of lexical interest since it is not generally found in Sanskrit lexicons, even though it occurs in Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛishṇalīlāmṛita* or *Kṛishṇakarṇāmṛita*.[2] Brown's *Telugu-English Dictionary* rightly explains the word as the pose in which images like those of Vēṇugōpāla, 'the flute-playing Gōpāla (Kṛishṇa)', are made. He further says, "The word frequently occurs in books on sculpture and in some poems but is nowhere precisely defined." But the dictionaries of such languages as Hindī, Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, etc., generally recognise the word *tri-bhaṅga*, which is a variant of *tri-bhaṅgi*,

[1] See above, pp. 54-55; below, p. 99.

[2] Canto II, verse 101. Some manuscripts use *tri-bhanga* in place of *tri-bhaṅgi*. The stanza is quoted in Śrīkumāra's *Śilparatna*, XIII, 28 (T. Ganapati Sastri's ed., p. 129). My attention to these works was drawn by Pandit V. S. Subrahmanyam. Līlāśuka *alias* Bilvamangala flourished in the eleventh century A.D. (Kieth, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 218).

in the sense of a posture of standing with a bend in the knee, the waist and the neck, while Tribhaṅga (i.e., one standing with a bend in the three limbs referred to above) is a popular name or epithet of the god Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa in Eastern India.[1]

The second half of the same stanza speaks of a person proficient in the Vēdānta. The name of this person is lost; but there is little doubt that he was the ancestor of the hero of the *praśasti*, with whom the description of the hero's ancestry began. As our analysis of the following stanzas will show, he was apparently the grandfather of Añchanārya, the hero of the eulogy, introduced in the last verse on the first side of the pillar.

Verse 2 states that the person responsible for the installation of the deity in question also constructed a temple probably for enshrining the same god. The following stanza (verse 3) says that the said person adorned the city called **Mantrakūṭa-nagarī** (i.e. modern Manṭhani where the inscription under study has been found) with a garland of pearls, which was a row of new buildings. The expression *saudha-pāli-nava-mauktika-srajā*, 'by a garland (i.e. necklace) of pearls, which was a row of new buildings', is endowed with the epithets *sūribhir=maṇibhir=utprakāśayā* and *kṛishṇa-nāyaka-sanāthayā*. The first of the two epithets shows that the word *sraj* (literally, 'a garland') has been used in the sense of 'a necklace' since its jewels are compared with the learned men adorning the houses in the row. In the second epithet, the expression *kṛishṇa-nāyaka* seems to have a *double entendre*, viz. 'a black jewel as the central gem' (in relation to the necklace), and 'lord Kṛishṇa [in one of the buildings in the row]' (in relation to the row of buildings). The verse further suggests that the deity in question (i.e. a form of the god Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa) was installed in a temple at Mantrakūṭa or Manthani. It is not impossible that this is the deity called Mantrakūṭa-Gōpījanavallabha both in the present record at the beginning and in the Gayā inscription. Lines 23-24 on the third face of the pillar probably mention the same deity as Mantrakūṭa-Gōpīnātha.[2] It is very probable that the god was named after the person who installed him. It may thus be conjectured that the name of the person was Gōpīnātha, Gōpījanavallabha being rather too big for a personal name.[3]

Verse 4 introduces **Mallikārjuna** as the son of the person referred to in verses 1-3 of this section from the latter's wife Jakkamāmbā. The next two stanzas (verses 5-6) describe the learned Mallikārjuna as a great teacher of the Advaita philosophy. Verse 6 seems to refer to Mallikārjuna as dead, the following stanza (verse 7) stating that his younger brother **Kēśava-sūri** was still living as a reflected image of his [deceased] elder brother. These two stanzas appear to make it clear that Mallikārjuna was dead at the time the inscription was composed and engraved during the early years of reign of Kākatīya Gaṇapati. As we have elsewhere seen, the Gayā inscription represents Mallikārjuna as the preceptor of Gaṇapati's uncle Pratāparudra I (1163-95 A.D.) and records the performance of his *śrāddha* ceremony at Gayā.[4]

The last stanza (verse 8) on the second side of the pillar, the concluding part of which is broken away, refers to a scholar who was apparently another member of the same family representing the generation following that of the brothers Mallikārjuna and Kēśava, that is to say, he was a son of either of the two brothers.

*Third Side*

With the only verse at the beginning of this section, the first few letters of which are broken away with the concluding part of the second side, the introductory part of the inscription concludes,

[1] Cf. the name Tribhaṅgamurāri in Bengali and Assamese lexicons.

[2] Cf. the Gayā inscription, text line 27 (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 108).

[3] Cf. the name of his grandson Gōpāla below.

[4] Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 104.

the rest of the epigraph being details of certain transactions in prose. This stanza apparently referred to the hero of the *praśasti* and to his younger brother, the two being compared to the epic brothers Raghupati (Rāma) and Saumitri (Lakshmaṇa). The personal name of the hero of the eulogy was apparently quoted in a stanza lost with the concluding section of the writing on the second side. But we have seen that his name is given as Añchanārya in the writing on the first face of the pillar and as Mañchi-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya and Mañchanārya in the prose part of the epigraph to be discussed below. One of these names therefore must have been mentioned in the lost stanza in question. The name of his younger brother, who is described as a poet in the incomplete verse at the beginning of the third side and may have been responsible for the composition of the *praśasti* under study, seems to have been **Gōpāla.** We have seen that the latter half of the preserved portion of the writing on the second side of the pillar mentions Mallikārjuna and his younger brother Kēśava. The elder brother of the poet Gōpāla, i.e. the hero of the eulogy (Añchanārya *alias* Mañchi-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya or Mañchanārya) was, as indicated above, a son of either Kēśava or his elder brother Mallikārjuna. As, however, will be seen below, lines 14-16 of the writing on the fourth side of the pillar speak of one Gōpāla-sūri as a son of Mallikārjuna and it is not impossible that poet Gōpāla mentioned in the concluding stanza of the introductory part of our inscription is identical with Mallikārjuna's son of the same name. In that case, the hero of the *praśasti*, who was Gōpāla's elder brother, was another son of Mallikārjuna. Since, however, Rāma and Lakshmaṇa were step-brothers and not co-uterine brothers and the word *anuja* (the same as *anujanman* used in this context in our inscription) is sometimes found in the sense of 'a younger cousin',[1] the possibility of the hero of the eulogy having been a son of Kēśava-sūri is not altogether precluded. The writings on the third and fourth faces of the pillar delineate the pious deeds of the following persons: (1) Mañchi-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya *alias* Mañchanārya, (2) Mallikārjuna, (3) Mallikārjuna's younger brother Kēśava-sūri, and (4) Mallikārjuna's son Gōpāla-sūri. Unfortunately the word indicating the relations of the first with the second is lost. But the available space suggests that it was a small word like *pituḥ* and not a bigger expression like *pitṛivyasya.*

The formal part of the record begins in line 3 of the present section. The first transaction recorded here states that, with the permission of **Kākatīya Gaṇapatidēva-mahārāja, Allumprōlarāja,** the governor (*pālaka*) of **Chernūri-dēśa,** made a grant of land in favour of **Mañchi-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya** who was the priest (*purōhita*) of Gaṇapatidēva-mahārāja. As we have seen above, Mañchi-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya *alias* Añchanārya was perhaps a son of Kēśava-sūri or more probably of the latter's elder brother Mallikārjuna who is known from the Gayā inscription to have been the preceptor of Pratāparudra, i.e. Pratāparudra I or Rudra (c. 1163-95 A.D.). It is interesting to note that the title *Tribhuvana*(or *Tribhuvanī*)*vidyāchakravartin,* which is applied in the Gayā inscription to Mallikārjuna, is applied in the inscription under study to Mañchi-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya. This reminds us of the fact that the same title was often enjoyed by different scholars associated with the court of a royal family.[2]

The **object** of the grant was to enable the donee Mañchi-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya to create a village and excavate a tank and the **date** of the grant is quoted as the **Makara-saṅkrānti** in the **Siddhārthi-saṁvatsara** corresponding to the **Śaka year 1121** (given in words), i.e. the **26th December 1199 A.D.** This date falls in the first year of Kākatīya Gaṇapati's reign. The gift land, called *dēśa* no doubt in the restricted sense of 'land', is stated to have been granted at the confluence of the **Gōdāvarī** and the **Praṇītā** (i.e. modern Prāṇhitā) and was bounded on the east by **Venakeghaṇḍi,**[3] on the south by the **Gōdāvarī,** on the west by **Ayyanavrōli-taṭāka**

[1] Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 303.

[2] Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 104 and note 2; also Vol. XXXI, p. 227.

[3] In this name, the first part of which may be a mistake for *Vināyaka, ghaṇḍi* is probably the same as Telugu *gaṇḍi* meaning 'a lane'.

(literally, 'the tank of Ayyanavrōli') and on the north by **Puchchakāyalavēgili.** We have seen that Chernūri-dēśa can be roughly identified with the modern Chinnur Taluk lying to the north of the Gōdāvarī in the Adilabad District of Andhra Pradesh. The junction of the Gōdāvarī and the Prāṇhitā lies near Sironcha about 6 miles to the east of Chinnūr, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name, the distance between Chinnūr and Manthani, the headquarters of the Manthani Taluk lying to the south of the Gōdāvarī, being about 18 miles across the river. The gift land lay on the northern bank of the Gōdāvarī, though the localities mentioned as lying on its eastern, northern and western boundaries cannot be traced on the maps.

Lines 17-20 state that **Mañchanārya,** i.e. the donee Mañchi-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya, founded a village and excavated a tank in the *dēśa* or land granted to him and gave them to the Brāhmaṇas, who were residents of certain house-sites at **Mantrakūṭa,** as well as to one of his own relations. Then he also installed, apparently in the same land, a deity called Kēśava and probably another called Mahādēva (i.e. Śiva). He is further stated to have given a garden (*ārāma*) in favour of the god **Gōpījanavallabha of Mantrakūṭa.**

The above section of the inscription recording the pious deeds of the hero of the eulogy is followed by the delineation of those of other members of his family. Lines 22-23 contain a damaged sentence referring to the *dharma* (probably meaning *dharma-dāna* or *dāna-dharma*) of **Mallikārjuna-sūri.** The word indicating his relation with Mañchi-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya is lost. But, as suggested above, the most plausible restoration of the lost word would suggest that the former was the father of the latter. Most of the pious deeds specified in the section below were no doubt done by Mallikārjuna some years earlier than the date of the record since, as we have seen, he was apparently dead when the pillar was set up. The said sentence is followed by a reference to the pious deeds mentioned below as grants made in favour of the god **Mantrakūṭa-Gōpīnātha** (apparently the same as Gōpījanavallabha of Mantrakūṭa); (1) a tank at **Nāgavura** (modern Nāgāram on the Gōdāvarī, about 4 miles to the north of Manthani); (2) one *nivartana* of land at **Aṅgalūra** (modern Aṅglūr to the north-west of Manthani); (3) a plot of land producing *yāvanāla* crops at **Mānapaḍi-taṭāka** (literally 'the tank of Mānapaḍi'), the area of which may have been seven *halas*: and (4) ten plots (probably *halas*) of land at **Gāhlaruḍavura.**

The last transaction (lines 29 ff.) recorded in the section under review, the latter part of the writing being lost, refers to a piece of land which was apparently received from a governor of **Chērnūri-dēśa** with the consent of **Kākatīya Gaṇapatidēva-mahārāja.** The name of the governor was probably **Sōmēśvara** who is stated to have been the *dauhitra* (daughter's son) of **Allumprōlarāja.** As suggested above, the Kākatīya king possibly appointed the daughter's son of Allumprōlarāja the governor of Chinnur Taluk on the death of his maternal grandfather. The details about the location, etc., of the gift land, which seems to have been situated in the Chinnur Taluk, are lost with the exception of the reference to its southern boundary at the beginning of the next side. This section shows that, although Mallikārjuna was dead before the pillar was raised, he was alive during the first few years of Kākatīya Gaṇapati's reign. Otherwise it would not have been possible for him to accept a gift from the successor of the daughter's son of Allumprōlarāja who was living in 1199 A.D., with king Gaṇapati's consent. Mallikārjuna therefore outlived his disciple Pratāparudra I.[1]

*Fourth Side*

The writing on this side begins with the statement that the piece of land, which was the subject of the transaction recorded in the concluding part of the writing on the third side, was bounded on the north by **Guṇḍi-vāṅgu** (literally, 'the Guṇḍi canal or stream'). It is further said that a Śiva-liṅga was installed in the said land apparently by Mallikārjuna

[1] Cf. below, p. 71, note 7.

Next it is said that, at the time the above transaction was conducted, the person responsible for the immediately preceding transaction, i.e. Mallikārjuna, purchased from certain Brāhmaṇas the village called **Kōṭapalli** (probably the locality of the same name about 8 miles to the north of Chinnūr) and renamed it as **Mallikārjunapura** apparently after himself. There he excavated a tank and both the township of Mallikārjunapura and the tank excavated there were given to some Brāhmaṇas and to one of his relations. These Brāhmaṇas and the relative of the donee appear to be the same as those who received from Mañchi-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya a village and a tank in the Chinnur Taluk as recorded on the third side of the pillar.

The boundaries of Mallikārjunapura are given in lines 7-10 as follows: **Pōtakulu** in the east, **Kaṭṭundala** in the south, **Maddikuṇṭa-vāṅgu** in the west, and **Pregaḍapalli-vāṅgu** in the north. There the donee installed a deity called **Gaṇapatīśvara** no doubt after the reigning Kākatīya king Gaṇapati It is further stated that he installed the god **Lakshmīnārāyaṇa** at **Jonna-grāma** which may be the same as Jangāon on the Gōdāvarī (in the Sultanabad or Usmannagar Taluk) to the north-west of Guñjapaḍga (in the Manthani Taluk). A house-site for rehabilitating a Brāhmaṇa (probably the priest in charge of the worship of the god Lakshmīnārāyaṇa) was also given by him in the same village.

Lines 13-14 state that **Kēśava-sūri,** younger brother of the person involved in the previous transactions, i.e. Mallikārjuna, installed the god **Ambānārāyaṇa** apparently in the same village of Jonna-grāma. That Kēśava sūri was a younger brother of Mallikārjuna is already known from the writing on the second face of the pillar, analysed above.

The following section in lines 14 ff. states that **Gōpāla-sūri, son of Mallikārjuna,** received a plot of land at **Mantrakūṭa** from **Kākatīya Rudradēva.** Since the introductory part of the record mentions Gaṇapati as the reigning monarch, this Rudradēva can only be a predecessor of Gaṇapati. Rudradēva therefore has to be identified with Pratāparudra I (c. 1163-95 A.D.). Gōpāla-sūri is further stated to have created in the said gift land a township called **Siṁhagiripura** as well as two tanks. The township seems to have been named after the god Nṛisiṁha whom Gōpāla-sūri installed there (line 19). He also made there twenty houses for the Brāhmaṇas to whom he gave some lands in the following localities: (1) **Manthenna-kāluva** (literally, 'the Manthenna canal'), (2) **Eḍlapalli,** (3) **Vilāsavura,** (4) **Viripaṭlu,** (5) **Nallaballi,** (6) **Kāmiśeṭṭipalli,** (7) **Jaṅgavīḍu,** (8) **Guñjapaḍiga** (modern Guñjapaḍga on the Gōdāvarī to the north of Upaṭla), (9) **Nāgavura** (modern Nāgāram mentioned above), (10) **Mustāla** (modern Musthal or Mustial on the Gōdāvarī near Jangaon in the Sultanabad or Usmannagar Taluk), (11) **Uppaṭla** (modern Upaṭla near Guñjapaḍga referred to above), and (12) **Naḍikuḍa.** Gōpāla-sūri also gave some *yāvanāla* fields lying to the east of Siṁhagiripura apparently to the same Brāhmaṇas. There is no doubt that Siṁhagiripura mentioned in our inscription is the same as Siṁhādrinagarī within Mantrakūṭa, which is mentioned in the Gayā inscription as having been beautified with many buildings by Mallikārjuna sūri, father of Gōpāla-sūri of our inscription. The township of Siṁhagiripura or Siṁhādrinagarī was thus built by Gōpāla-sūri considerably before the death of his father who, as we have seen, died sometime in the early years of the reign of Gaṇapati.

A tank and a locality called **Bablitakuṇṭa** to the east of the township (i.e. Siṁhagiripura) were given to the god **Narasiṁhadēva** (i.e. Nṛisiṁha mentioned above). One *nivartana* of land at **Āvapalli** was also granted apparently to the same deity. Gōpāla further made the following donations in favour of the god **Gōpījanavallabha:** (1) two *vṛittis* or rent-free holdings at **Prōlareḍḍipalli** and **Kundavura,** (2) one *nivartana* of land at **Liṅgāla-grāma** (possibly the village of the same name in the Sultanabad or Usmannagar Taluk), and (3) eight *nivartanas* of land at the villages of **Guñjapaḍiga** (modern Guñjapaḍga referred to above), **Kosamepalli, Manthenna-kāluva**

(referred to above), and **Parchlapalli.** The last line of the extant part of the writing on the fourth side ends with the *aksharas umāma*, the reference probably being to a god called Umāmahēśvara in whose favour certain grants may have been made.

The **importance** of the inscription lies in the fact that it throws some light on the family of Mallikārjuna known from the Gayā inscription. It also gives us the names of two rulers of the Chinnur Taluk under the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati.

The location of many of the **geographical names** occurring in the inscription has already been discussed. Some of the localities mentioned cannot be traced on the maps.

## TEXT[1]

*First Side*[2]

1[3] Śrī-**Maṁtrakūṭa-Gōpījana**-

2 **vallabhāya** namaḥ | Daṁtē ni-[4]

3 [dh]āya hastaṁ jayaṁti pibataḥ

4 stanaṁ Gajamukhasya | pushka-

5 ra-vāri-tushārā mātuś=chi-

6 [ku]rēshu mauktika-vilāsāḥ ||[| 1*][5]

7 [Kō]laś=chakāsti bhuvana-traya-mū-

8 la-kaṁ(ka)la[ḥ][6] pātāla-kardamishu vā-

9 rddhi-jalēshu yasmāt | Svarṇṇādri-

10 kēsara-karālam=arāla-daṁshṭrā-[4]

11 nālaṁ mahī-valayam=utpalam=ā-

12 virāsīt || [2*][7] Asti praśasti-śā-

13 l(li) pravēśa-griham=akhila-dēśa-ratn[ā]-

14 nāṁ(nām) | Alak-ānukāri-vibhavam **Aṁ[dhra]-ma-**

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[1] From impressions. The damaged letters at the beginning and end of most of the lines, many of which are completely lost, have been conjecturally restored in square brackets.

[2] This is the front side of the pillar. There is a figure of the god Gaṇēśa above the writing.

[3] There is a *daṇḍa* at the beginning and end of this line. The second of them was meant to cover a little empty space.

[4] There is a *daṇḍa* here to cover a little empty space at the end of the line.

[5] Metre : *Gīti.*

[6] The *visarga* sign was originally omitted.

[7] Metre : *Vasantatilaka.*

15 **hī-nagaram=Ōruṁgallur**=iti || [3*][1]

16 Tatra praśāsti dharaṇīṁ bhuṅtē(ṅktē) bh[ō]-

17 gāṁś=cha **Gaṇapati[r*]**=nṛipatiḥ | a-

18 khila-nṛipa-mauli-valabhī-maṇi-

19 ki[ra]ṇa-taraṁga-raṁgita-pad-ā-

20 bjaḥ || [4*][2] Payōdhi-vēlā-raśanā-

21 [ka]lāpinīṁ vidhāya bhūmīm=a-

22 [va]rōdha-bhāminīṁ(nīm) | dukūla-śu-

23 [bhrai]r=akarōd=yaśō-[bha*]rair=ya ēsha ta-

24 [syā] javanī-tiraskriyāṁ(yām) |[| 5*][3] Tasya

25 [śrau]ta-smārta-vīthyāṁ raṁdhīti[4] cha

26 [dha]rm-āchāryakaṁ [|*][4] **Aṁchanāryyaḥ**

27 [sva-ma]himnā sarva-vidyāsu ..[5]

28 ... [|| 6*][6] ...............................[7]

29 ...............................

30 ...............................

*Second Side*[8]

1 [ma]dhuraṁ tri-bhaṁgyā mahaḥ [prati]-

2 [shṭh]āpya Ramā-sahāyaṁ(yam) | ni[j-ā]-

3 bhidhēyē nigam-āṁta-vāch[āṁ ta]-

4 [tt]ām=idaṁtā-paratām=anaishīt || [1*][9]

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[1] Metre : *Gīti*. The verse introduces the capital of the king during whose rule the *praśasti* was composed.

[2] Metre : *Gīti*. This stanza introduces the reigning monarch.

[3] Metre : *Vaṁśastha*.

[4] There seems to be a mistake here. The meaning of the word is not clear. Could the intended reading be °*vīthyā adhītī......°chāryakaḥ* ?

[5] There are two *aksharas* here, the first of which may be *tē* or *bhē*.

[6] The metre of the stanza may be *Gīti* or *Āryā*. The verse introduces the hero of the *praśasti*. The person called here Añchanārya is mentioned as Mañchi-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya and Mañchanārya respectively in line 8 and lines 17-18 on the third side.

[7] Only the traces of the upper part of some *aksharas* are visible.

[8] This is the left side of the pillar. There are the symbols of the sun and the moon above the writing.

[9] Metre : *Upēndravajrā*. This stanza forms a part of the description of the ancestry of the hero of the *praśasti* and apparently speaks of the latter's grandfather.

5 [Pr]āsādam=apy=akalpayad=ātma-ya [śō]-

6 rāśi-kalpam=ā-kalpaṁ(lpam) | yat-kanaka-

7 kalaśa-kāṁtyā saṁ[dh]y-āruṇa iva [na]-

8 bhō-ṁtarē=pi raviḥ || [2*][1] Sūribhir=maṇibhi-

9 r=utprakāśayā kṛishṇa-nāyaka-sa-

10 nāthayā [cha] yaḥ | saudha-pāli-na-

11 va-mauktika-srajā **Maṁtrakūṭa-naga-**

12 **rīm**=abhūshayat || [3*][2] Janitō **Jakkam[āṁ]-**

13 **bāyāṁ** tēna śrī-**Mallikārjunaḥ** | Kaś[y]a-

14 [pē]ṇa yath=Ādityāṁ tējasām=ākarō

15 [ra]viḥ || [4*][3] Kasya praśastir=iyatī jaga-

16 [ti yathā] Mal[l]ikārj[una]-b[u]dha[sya] |

17 [gō]shṭh[ī]shu narapatīnā[ṁ] kathayitum=ā-

18 [karṇya] kēvalaṁ śṛiṇumaḥ || [5*][4] Advaita-[vit=sa]

19 [ē]kō na kēvalaṁ Mallikārjuna-bu[dha-ta?]-

20 [nōḥ?] | tyāgē taṁ kalayaṁtaḥ sarvē=py=a[dvai]-

21 [ta-v]ādinō bhuvanē || [6*][5] Anujaś=cha **Kēśava-[sū]-**

22 **[riḥ]** karmasu dharmēshu tēsha(shu) tēshu mudā | [sva]-

23 [ya]m=ēva pratibiṁbas=tasya garīyā[n]=sama-

24 [va]rtishṭa || [7*][6] Prēmnā(mṇā) prāg=upalālan-[ārtha]-

25 [m=a?]vitur=bhūmībhujā lālitō vā— —

26 ⏑ vinīta-vāg=vi-bhavanaḥ prājyā⏑ —

27 — ⏑ nāt | pratyaṁg-ābharaṇ-ā[rtha]— ⏑

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[1] Metre : *Gīti.*

[2] Metre : *Rathōddhatā.*

[3] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[4] Metre : *Gīti.*

[5] Metre : *Gīti.*

[6] Metre : *Āryā.* Verses 4-7 speak of the father and uncle of the hero of the eulogy, although it is not clear as to which of the two, viz. Mallikārjuna and Kēśavasūri, was the father of the hero.

## INSCRIPTION FROM MANTHANI

First Side

Second Side

(from Photographs)

Third Side

Fourth Side

(from PhotograPhs)

28 ⏑ ⏑ —s=tat-tad-guṇ-ā[laṁkṛitaḥ ] — — — ⏑

29 ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑

30 —[|| 8*][1] . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [2]

31 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

*Third Side*[3]

1 lā-kallōlita-kara-pushkara-dāna-surabhita-[d]i[gaṁ]-

2 [taḥ] | Saumitrir=iva Raghupatēr=anujanm[ā][4]

3 **[Gō]p[āla]ḥ** kavir=yasya || [1*][5] sakala-drē(dē)śa-[prati]-

4 [shṭhā]pan-āchārya-**Kākatīyya(ya)-Gaṇapatidēva-[ma]-**

5 **hārāj**-ānumatyā **Chernūri-dēśa**-pālakē[na]

6 dharma-matinā **Alluprōrlrājēna**[6] **Gaṇapa[t]i-**

7 **[dē]va-mahārāja**-purōhitāya Tribhutama(vana)vid[yā]-

8 chakravarti-**Ma[ṁchi]-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyāya**[7] grā[ma]-

9 taṭāka-nirmāṇ-ārthaṁ dhārā-pūrva[kaṁ]

10 **s-aikaviṁśati-śat-ōttara-sahasrēshu va-**

11 **rtamānēshu**[8] **Sid[dh]ārtthi-saṁvatsara(rē) Makara**

12 **saṁkrāṁti-kālē Gōdāvarī-Ppraṇītā-**

13 **saṁgamē Śaka-varsh[ē]shu** dēśō dat[t]a[ḥ] [|*] [ta]sya

14 sīmāna[ḥ] pūrvatō **Venakeghaṁḍiḥ**[9] da[ksh]i-

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[1] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.* This stanza re-introduces the hero of the eulogy (i.e. Añchanārya) as the son of either of the brothers Mallikārjuna and Kēśava.

[2] Considering the fact that the few *aksharas* (four short syllables), lost from the beginning of the stanza in *Gīti* at the commencement of the third side of the pillar, are not enough to cover this line, it appears that at least one more complete stanza is lost after verse 8.

[3] This is the back side of the pillar. There is the figure of a bull above the writing.

[4] The metre suggests that there was no letter lost at the end of the line. The small space there thus appears to have been covered by an unnecessary *daṇḍa.*

[5] Metre : *Gīti.* This stanza apparently refers to the hero of the eulogy and to his younger brother who may have composed the *praśasti.*

[6] The correct form of the name is *Allumprō*(or *vrō*)*larāja.* The same name is spelt *Allumvrōlrāja* in line 30 below.

[7] The name of the same person is given as Maṁche(cha)nārya in lines 17-18 below and as Añchanārya in line 26 on the first side.

[8] The expression *Śaka-varshēshu* in line 13 should better be read here

[9] The intended reading may be *Vināyakagaṁḍiḥ.*

15 ṇatō **Gōdāvarī** paśchimataḥ **Ay[y]a-**

16 **navrōli-taṭāka** uttarataḥ **Puchchakāya[la]-**

17 **vēgiliḥ** [|*] tasmin=dēśē **Maṁche(cha)[nāryē]-**

18 ṇa[1] taṭāka-grāmau rachayitvā Br[āhma]-

19 ṇēbhyō **Ma[ṁ]trakūṭa-**vāṭikā-vāsi[bhya]-

20 ś=cha sva-kuṭuṁbāya cha[2] dattau [|*] tatra Mahā[dēva]-

21 Kēśava-pratishṭhā kṛitā [|*] **Ma[ṁ*]trakūṭa-Gō[pī]-**

22 **janavalla[bhāya** ā]rāmaś=cha datta[ḥ |*] ..[3]

23 nō **Mallikā[r*]jjuna-sūrēr**=ddharmaḥ **Maṁ[trakū]-**

24 **ṭē(ṭa)-Gōpīnāthāya Nāgavurē** [taṭā]-

25 kaṁ **Aṁgalūrē** ēkaṁ [niva]rtanaṁ **[Mā?]-**

26 **napaḍi-taṭākē** trīṇi saha[sra[4]-bhā]-

27 ga-parisarē yāvanāla-[ksh]ētraṁ sapta-[ha]-

28 lē(la)-parimita[ṁ*] **Gāhlaruḍavurē** da[śa da]-

29 ttāni[5] [|*] **Kākatīyya(ya)-Gaṇapatidē[va-ma]-**

30 **hārāj-**ānumatyā **Alluṁvrōlr[āja]-**[6]

31 dauhitrāch=**Chernūri-dēśa-**pālakāt=**[Sōmē]-**

32 **śvaradēvān=Mallikārj[una]** .. ... ..[7]

33 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ..[8]

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[1] The same person is called Mañchi-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya in line 8 above and Añchanārya in line 26 on the first side.

[2] The same persons appear to be mentioned in lines 5-6 on the fourth side of the pillar.

[3] Not more than two *aksharas* are lost at the end of the line. They may be conjecturally restored as *pituḥ*. Probably the reading was *pitunō(r=nō)*.

[4] The intended reading seems to be *tri-sahasra°*.

[5] The reference may be to *kshētrāṇi* or *halāni*.

[6] The correct form of the name is *Allumprō(or vrō)larāja*. The same name also occurs in line 6 above. See above, p. 73, note 6.

[7] Some letters are lost at the end of the line; cf. p. 68 above. It is, however, not altogether impossible that the reference here is to a brother of Mallikārjuna.

[8] Only traces of the upper part of some letters are visible.

*Fourth Side*[1]

1[2] [u]ttaratō **Guṁḍivāṁguḥ** [|*] tatra Śivali[ṅga]-

2 pratishṭhā cha kṛitā [|*] tasmiṁ(smin)n=ēva samayē sa-

3 . la[3]-Brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ **Kōṭapalli**-sa[ṁ]-

4 [jña]kaṁ grāmaṁ krītvā tasya **Mallikārjuna[pu]-**

5 **[ra]m**=iti nāma kṛitvā taṭākaṁ cha nirmāya [Brā]-

6 [hma]ṇēbhyaḥ sva-kuṭuṁvā(bā)ya cha[4] pura-taṭākē da[ttē |]

7 Mallikārjunapu[ra]sya sīmānaḥ pūrvva-

8 taḥ **Pōtakuluḥ** da[ksh]iṇataḥ **Kaṭṭuṁdalaḥ** pa-

9 śchimatō **Maddikuṁṭavāṁguḥ** uttarataḥ **Prega-**

10 **ḍappallivāṁguḥ** [|*] tatra **Gaṇapatīśvara**-pra[t]i-

11 shṭhā cha kṛitā [|*] **Jōṁna-gā(grā)mē** śrī-Lakshmīn[ā]-

12 rāyaṇa-pratishṭhā [kṛitā*] Brāhmaṇa-vāṭik[ā]

13 cha dattā [|*] tad-anujñēna **Kēśava-sūriṇ[ā]**

14 Aṁbānārāyaṇa-pratishṭhā kṛitā [|*] **Ma-**

15 **llikārjuna**-budha-sutēna **Gōpāla-**

16 **sūriṇā Kākatīyya(ya)-Rudradēda(va)-mahār[ā]-**

17 **jān=Ma[ṁ*]trakūṭē** kshētraṁ pratigṛihya ta[tra]

18 **Siṁhagiripuraṁ** ta[ṭā]ka-dvayaṁ cha ni-

19 rmāya **śrī-Nṛisi[ṁ]ha[ṁ]**[5] prati[sh]ā(shṭhā)pya viṁśati-g[ṛi]-

20 [h]āṇi rachayitvā tad-gṛiha-vāsibhyō Vrā(Brā)hma-

21 ṇēbhyaḥ **Maṁthēṁnakāluva-Eḍ[la]palli-Vilāsa[v]u-**

22 **ra-Viripaṭlu-Nallaballi-Kāmiśeṭṭipa-**

23 **lli-Jaṁgadī(vī)ḍu-Guṁjapaḍiga-Nāgavura-M[u]-**

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[1] This is the right side of the pillar. There is the figure of a *Śiva-linga* above the writing.

[2] The description of the boundaries in the east, south and west of the plot of land in question has broken away at the end of the third side of the pillar.

[3] This seems to be the name of a village in four letters, the second and third of which are lost respectively at the end of line 2 and the beginning of line 3. The word may possibly also be *sakala*.

[4] The same beneficiaries appear to be mentioned in lines 18-20 on the third side of the pillar.

[5] The deity is called Narasiṁhadēva in line 27.

24 **stāla-Uppaṭla-[Na]ḍikuḍēshu** paṁch-ōtta[raṁ]

25 chaṁ śatu[1] **Si[ṁ*]ha[gi]ripurāpta**(t=pa)śchimataḥ

26 yāvanāla-mālānāṁ viśiti[2]ś=cha dattā [|*]

27 **Narasiṁgha(ha)dēv[ā]ya**[3] purāt=pūrva[taḥ*] taṭā-

28 kaṁ **Babli[ta]kuṁṭṭaś**=cha [|*] **Āvapalyāṁ(llyā)m**=ēkaṁ niva-

29 rttanaṁ(nam |) śrī-**Gōpījanavallabhāya Prō-**

30 **lrēḍipalli**[4]**-Kuṁdavurayōr**=d[v]ē vṛittī [|*] **Liṁgā-**

31 **la-grāmē** ēkaṁ nivarttana[ṁ](nam |) **Guṁjapaḍiga-**

32 **Kōsamēpalli-Maṁthēṁnakāluva-Parchlapa-**

33 **l[l]īshu** ashṭau[5] [nivarttanāni] [|*] Umāma[6]

34 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ..

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[1] The intended reading may be *cha śatam*.

[2] The intended reading may be *viṁśati°*.

[3] The god is called Nṛisiṁha in line 19.

[4] I.e. Prōlareḍḍipalli.

[5] An unnecessary *ā-mātrā* is found with this *akshara*.

[6] The reference seems to be to a deity called Umāmahēśvara. The rest of the inscription is broken away.

# No. 14—MANDKILA TAL INSCRIPTION, V. S. 1043

(*1 Plate*)

B. CH. CHHABRA, NEW DELHI

(*Received on 22. 1. 1959*)

The subjoined inscription is neatly engraved on a well-dressed slab of black stone. It is now fixed up in the back wall of the recently constructed Vishṇu temple on the eastern bank of a tank, called **Maṇḍkilā Tāl**, at **Nagar** in the Uniara Tahsil formerly in the Jaipur State but now in the Tonk District, Rajasthan. The inscribed slab is said to have been discovered in the course of re-excavation of the tank which had dried up on account of scarcity of rains. Rao Raja Sahib Sardar Singhji of Uniara caused it to be set up where it is now found. A somewhat defective summary of the contents of the inscription was published by Shri Shaktidhar Sharma Guleri in the *Bhārata Kaumudī*, Part I, Allahabad, 1945, pp. 271-72.

The surface of the slab measures 24″ by 18″. The writing on it is neatly executed and consists of 35 lines. In the centre there is a circle, containing a diagram known as *chakra-bandha*, the inner lines forming a star by the intersection of two triangles. The inscription on the whole is well preserved except for the last two lines which have sustained some damage.

The script of the inscription is **Kuṭila** or rather **Proto-Nāgarī** and is regular for the period to which it belongs. The nail-heads of the earlier period later became flattened triangles and these, in turn, gradually became straight lines on the top of many letters. In the present record, both triangles and top-lines are in evidence. In the case of *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au*, both *pṛishṭha-mātrā* and *śirō-mātrā* have been used indiscriminately. The letter *b* is invariably indicated by the sign for *v*.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition entirely in verse except for the opening obeisance in line 1 and a few words in line 29 where the date is repeated in figures In point of **orthography**, the following may be observed. *Anusvāra* generally takes the place of class nasals, barring such instances as *nagaran=dharātalē* (line 4). Consonants after *r* are reduplicated only in a few cases like *varṇṇa* (line 7) and *pūrvvajān* (line 15). In regard to *sandhi* rules, there was occasion for *l* becoming *anunāsika* in *śrīmāl=lōka* (line 4) and *yasmil=lī°* (line 8), but the essential *chandra-bindu*, the *anunāsika* sign, is missing in both the cases. *Sandhi* has not been observed in *prabhāvaiḥ yuktō* (lines 10-11). In *vāṁchchhitaṁ* (line 6), *vāṁchchhā°* (line 25) and *chchhāy=ēva* (line 22), the letter *ch* is redundant. The word *dushkṛiti* is wrongly spelt as *duḥkṛiti* (line 3). *Jihvāmūlīya* has been used in lines 12 and 34, its sign resembling the letter *sh*. The use of *s* for *ś* in *sa***śvat** (line 2) and *kṛisānu* (line 24) is wrong. In verse 31, a personal name has been spelt as ***Yaśa***, obviously from the word *yaśas*.[1] Some other common mistakes may be observed in *satvaiḥ* (line 12) and *rajvā* (line 16) for *sattvaiḥ* and *rajjvā* respectively. Of lexical interest are the words

[1] Cf. the name Yaśagupta in an early inscription from Mandasor (above, Vol. XXX, p. 125, text line 10).

like *alin* for *ali* in verse 6, and *arin* as a synonym of *chakra* in verse 2. This latter, derived from the word *ara*, 'spoke', is of rare occurrence in literature as well as in epigraphy.[1] The use of the word *maṭha* (verse 26) in the sense of 'a temple' is worthy of note, since commonly it denotes 'a monastery'.[2]

The composer of the *praśasti*, who happens to be a descendant of the famous poet Bāṇa as we shall presently see, evinces an intimate knowledge of the Sanskrit language, a great familiarity with its poetics and a full command over prosody. He has skilfully employed various metres and figures of speech, including puns upon words. Especially in the description of the town in verses 4-8, he follows in the footsteps of his great ancestor, Bāṇa, so far as the style is concerned. His style closely follows poetical traditions and conventions. For instance, lilies and lotuses are usually found in pools and lakes, and not in rivers and oceans ; but according to Sanskrit poetical tradition, rivers and oceans, too, are described as full of lilies and lotuses.[3] An example of their being in a river is found in the very first stanza of our *praśasti*.

The inscription starts with an auspicious symbol, followed by the opening obeisance *Oṁ namaḥ*. Verse 1 invokes the blessings of the god Vishṇu, verse 2 those of the combined deity Harihara or Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, and verse 3 those of the Sun-god. Verse 3 also expresses benediction, through *double entendre*, for the ruling monarch of the time. The next five stanzas (verses 4-8) are devoted to the description of the city of Mālava, while verses 9-11 describe an eminent Brāhmaṇa teacher, Indraśarman by name, who was a resident of the said city. Verse 12 introduces a banker, named Nāgahari, belonging to the Dharkaṭa caste, while the following 21 stanzas (verses 13-33), deal with the members of this Dharkaṭa family, beginning with Nāgahari, extolling their virtues and meritorious deeds. Verse 12 informs us that Nāgahari built a Vishṇu temple facing the west, with the image of Vishṇu duly installed therein, on the bank of the tank called Vaidya-taḍāga. Verses 14-15 speak of Nāgahari's son, Vishṇuhari, praising, in general terms, his generous disposition. Verses 16-17 eulogize Vishṇuhari's son, Nārāyaṇa, referring, in a general way, to his having built lofty temples. Verses 18-19 describe Nārāyaṇa's son, Ādyōtana, whose wife, Nāṭyā by name, described in verses 20-21, excelled him in good qualities. Verses 22-25 are devoted to their son, Nandana, who, it is stated, acquired fame by building temples and tanks. It was he who built the temple, to record the erection of which is the chief object of the present inscription. This fact is stated in verse 26, from which we learn that the temple was dedicated to three gods : Hari (Vishṇu), Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa and Khachara (Sūrya or Sun), the deities to whom homage is paid in the beginning of the inscription (verses 1-3), and that it had a store-room and a well in front. Verse 27 further describes the same temple.

[1] For an instance from literature, see *Stōtraratnākara*, Madras, 1927, Part I, p. 224 : *ānandī naḥ punīyād=ari-nalina-gadā-śaṅkha-pānir=Mukundaḥ*.

[2] See above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 136-37. *Maṭha* is clearly used for 'a temple' in the Dhauli (ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 264), Kāmān (ibid., Vol. XXIV, p. 330, p. 334, text line 8) and Alagum (ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 47, text line 14) inscriptions. In the present context, it stands for the whole complex of shrines dedicated to the three deities along with the store-house (or store-houses) and the well (or wells), possibly also with living quarters for the priests and pilgrims within the same compound, so that the primary sense of the term *maṭha* is also there.

[3] Viśvanātha has enumerated such conventionalities in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Chapter VII, verses 23-25. The one about rivers and oceans is in verse 23 : *sarid-udadhi-gatam paṅkaj-ēndīvar-ādi*.

Verse 28 gives details of the **date** (Sunday, *Yugādi*, etc.) on which the consecration of this temple, or the installation of the images of the said deities, took place. The date is then repeated in prose, being **the 3rd day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha in Saṁvat 1043.** The details correspond to **the 3rd April 987 A.D.**, the *tṛitīyā tithi* having begun on the same day at ·19. Verse 29 imparts the sad news that the builder of this temple, Nandana, after having made endowments for the maintenance of proper worship of the installed deities, breathed his last at the holy place, called **Saukara,** on the banks of the sacred river Bhāgīrathī.

Verses 30-33 give the family history of the donor, Nandana. Verse 30 tells us that he had a wife, called Rōhiṇī, while, from verses 31-32, we learn that they had six sons whose names were Sajjana, Silluka, Yaśa, Sōhila, Pushkara and Śaṅkara. These six brothers, we are told in verse 33, caused the present *praśasti* to be composed, written, engraved and set up at the temple erected by their father. Verse 34 prays for the long life of the temple.

The next three stanzas (verses 35-37) speak of the composer of the *praśasti*, poet Vimalamati, who, we are told, was a learned Brāhmaṇa of the Vātsya family, the son of Durlabharāja and the grandson of one who is stated to be the fifth from **Bāṇa** and a resident of a place called **Rōhēṭaka.** Vimalamati, who was an ardent devotee of Vishṇu and evidently bore the surnames *Bhujagaripu* and *Kēśavārka*, is further stated to have written the eulogy, *writing* here meaning the writing in ink on the stone slab, dressed for receiving the text, for the guidance of the engraver. A look at the facsimile of the inscription will show that Vimalamati was as skilled in caligraphy as he was proficient in composing Sanskrit poetry. The engraving of the *praśasti* was done by Vāhila, son of Vāhari, a skilful mason of the Kshatriya caste and a resident of **Dhūlāvāsa.**

The *chakra-bandha* in the centre of the inscription contains two additional stanzas (verses 39-40) and is called *kavi-nāma-garbha* ' one hiding in it the name of the poet '. How it contains the poet's name concealed in it is explained further on. The arrangement of the two verses, which are of invocatory import, along the edge of the circle and in the triangles, so intersecting as to form a star within the circle, redounds to the credit of both the composer and the engraver.

As noticed above, verse 3 refers both to the Sun-god and to the ruling monarch. The actual word used for the latter is *lōka-nṛipa*, which we may render by ' popular king ', as obviously this is not the proper name of the king. We may take it to be an expression of the *śāka-pārthiva* type : *lōka-priyaḥ nṛipaḥ lōka-nṛipaḥ,* ' a king who is dear to the people '. In verse 4, the chief town of the said king is called *Mālav-ākhya*. The reference obviously is to the capital of **Mālava,** which at the time was **Ujjayinī.** The description of the town, given in verses 4-8, can very well apply to that famous city of ancient India ; for, it is comparable to its description given by poets like Kālidāsa.[1] The king referred to therefore seems to have been Vākpati Muñja (973-95 A.D.) of the Paramāra dynasty.[2]

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[1] Cf., for instance, verses 32 ff. of Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta*.

[2] Dr. D. C. Sircar suggests to me that verses 3-4 refer to a chief named Lōkarāja who was ruling from Mālava-nagara to be identified with Nagar, the findspot of the inscription. In his opinion, Lōka may have been a scion of the ancient Mālava clan, coins of the Mālavas being found in large numbers at Nagar. Shri Guleri, who also identifies Mālava-nagara with the present Nagar, thinks that the king's name is not mentioned in verse 3.

Nandana, the pious builder of the temple, is stated to have belonged to the Dharkaṭa caste. It may be pointed out that the Sakrai stone inscription of Vikrama Saṁvat 699, which likewise comes from the Jaipur region, mentions an association of bankers some of whom belonged to the same caste. According to D. R. Bhandarkar, it has survived in the slightly altered form Dhākaḍa, sub-division of the Osvāls.[1] The opening words of verse 12 (*tatr=ābhavad*) indicate that this family of the bankers belonged to the **Mālava town**. **Saukara**, the holy place, on the banks of the **Bhāgīrathī**, where Nandana is stated to have expired, is obviously the same as Sūkara-kshētra identified with Soron on the Ganges, 27 miles north-east of Itah in Uttar Pradesh.[2] It was at this place that Vishṇu in his incarnation as Varāha (Boar) killed Hiraṇyāksha, as the Purāṇas have it. Śvētadvīpa, which is sacred to Mahāvishṇu and on which Nandana is said to have fixed his thoughts while on death-bed, is usually located somewhere in Asia Minor.

As regards the Brāhmaṇa teacher, Indraśarman, described in verses 9-11, it is not clear as to what his role in the present context was. Had he to do something with the building of the temple or was he connected with the Dharkaṭa family as their priest ? From the present tense used in his description, it may be inferred that he was alive at the time of the composition of the present *praśasti*.

A valuable piece of information that our inscription contains is the family history of its composer, the poet Vimalamati. He tells us that his grandfather was an austere Brāhmaṇa, an inhabitant of a place called **Rōhēṭaka**, belonged to the Vātsya *vaṁśa* and, what is more important, was fifth in descent from **Bāṇa**, who is apparently no other than the famous Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa, the court poet of king Harshavardhana and the author of the *Harshacharita*, *Kādambarī*, etc. From the *Kādambarī* we know that its author belonged to the Vātsyāyana *vaṁśa* which is the same as the Vātsya *vaṁśa* to which Vimalamati belonged. Vimalamati has not disclosed the name of his grandfather, while giving all the other necessary details about him.[3] He, however, gives his father's name as Durlabharāja whom he describes as a profound scholar.

If Vimalamati's grandfather was fifth in descent from Bāṇa, he himself becomes seventh in that line. We know that Bāṇa flourished in the first half of the 7th century A.D. According to the date of the present inscription, Vimalamati lived in the latter half of the 10th century A.D. This makes Vimalamati removed from Bāṇa by about 3 centuries and a half. This long period spread over seven generations gives an average of about half a century to a generation, which is improbable though not impossible.

**Rōhēṭaka**, the ancestral home of Vimalamati's grandfather, may be identified with Rohtak, ancient Rauhītaka in the Panjab, 43 miles north-west of Delhi. Another place mentioned in the inscription, which requires to be correctly identified, is **Dhūlāvāsa**, from which Vāhila, the engraver of the *praśasti*, hailed.

The *chakra-bandha*, designated by the poet as *kavi-nāma-garbha*, is an arrangement of verses into a pattern which contains the name of the poet concealed in it. In order to solve the puzzle, one has to read only the letters occurring on the junctions and intersections of the lines of the two triangles. Beginning from *vi* at the top and turning clock-wise into a spiral, we read *Vimalamat'i-suk avi-kṛiti*, '[this is] the work of the good poet Vimalamati.' This answer to the riddle is extracted from the two verses contained in the *bandha*, the full text of which is given below at the end of the transcript of the inscription. Such *bandhas* or conundrums form part of what is known as *chitra-kāvya* or 'playful poetry.'

[1] Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 29.

[2] N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 195.

[3] Dr. D. C. Sircar suggests to me that the name of Vimalamati's grandfather was Dhānta which word I have taken to be a mistake for *dānta*.

## TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verse 1 *Drutavilambita;* vv. 2, 3, 5 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 4 *Rathōddhatā* ; vv. 6, 7, 8, 11, 21 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 9, 29, 38 *Śālinī* ; vv. 10, 16. 19 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 12, 14, 22 *Upajāti* ; v. 13 *Sragviṇī* ; v. 15 *Aupachchhandasika* ; vv. 17, 34 *Mandākrāntā* ; vv. 18, 28, 40 *Mālinī* ; vv. 20, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36 *Anushṭubh* ; v. 23 *Śikhariṇī* ; v. 24 *Ruchirā* ; v. 25 *Pṛithvī* ; v. 26 *Āryā* ; v. 37 *Gīti* ; v. 39 *Champakamālā*.]

1 सिद्धिरस्तु[2] ॐ नमः । श्रियममर्त्यमनुष्यनुतं महज्जलजचक्रभृदंबुधिमंदिरम् । सुरधुनीवनवन्मुरजिद्वपुर्दिशतु वो विमलं कमलालयम् ॥ [१॥*] पातां गोगरुडध्वजौ

2 हरहरी शुक्लासितांगावजौ शूलारिप्रहताहितौ त्रिभुवनस्योच्छेदरक्षाकरौ । स(श)श्वद्भस्मपराध्र्यकुंकुमरुची दिक्पीतवस्त्रांव(ब)रौ संयत्यन्धकभौमदर्पदलनौ युष्मा-

3 नुमामापती ॥ [२॥*] यस्याखंडितमंडलाग्रमहसः सच्चक्रसंतोषिणो धर्मी हर्षमुपैति वाढमुदये भीतिं जनो दुःकृ(दुष्कृ)तौ । संकोचः कुमुदं विकासमधिकं पद्माकरा(रो) नंदतु श्रीमा-

4 ल्लो(लँलो)कनृपो दिनेश्वरनिभो नित्यं प्रदोषापनुत् ॥ [३॥*] श्रीमदस्ति नगरन्धरातले मालवाख्यमिति यत्प्रतिष्ठितम् । वेधसा सकलसंपदास्पदं मेदिनीयुवतिवक्त्र-संनिभम् ॥ [४॥*] भ-

5 व्यैरप्सरसां गणैरनिमिषप्रेंखोलितैर्नित्यशो गंभीरैः शुभकेसरैः समकरै-र्देवालयैश्चावृतम् । वित्तेशाध्युषितं द्विजेशमहितं ख्यातिप्रियैरन्वितं यत्स-

6 त्यं परमेष्ठिसद्मसदृशं श्रेयोर्थिभिर्वांच्छितं(छितम्) ॥[५॥*] निःसारत्वं कदल्यामलिनि मुखरता कोकिले पारपुष्ट्यं कौटिल्यं यत्र केशेष्वसिषु परुषता पुस्तक(के)ष्वेव व(ब)न्धः [।*]

7 चापल्यं वाजिवारे करिषु मदयुनिर्विग्रहः शव्द(ब्द)शास्त्रे वस्त्रे दोषाभिधानं मरुदपि च परो वर्ण्णलोपो निरुक्ते ॥[६॥*] विप्रप्राज्याज्यसिक्तानलव-(ब)हलतरज्वालमाला-

8 वलीढप्रौढध्वान्तप्रतापप्रकटितहृदयाभीष्टसद्वेश्ममार्गे । यस्मिल्ली(लँली)लालसांग्यः कमल-दलदृशः प्रेमनिघ्नाः प्रदोषे कांतार्थिन्यो निकामं चलचरणरणन्नूपु-

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[1] From inked estampages.

[2] Expressed by symbol. Cf. above, Vol. XVII, p. 352.

9 राः संचरन्ति ।।[७।।*] त्रैविद्यारब्ध(ब्ध)होमोद्गतमसितमसिप्रख्यमुच्चैर्नभःस्थं धूमं दृष्ट्वा निशम्यामरवसतिहतातोद्यशब्दं(ब्दं) च तारम् । सोत्कण्ठा नीलकण्ठाः कृतमधुररवास्तांडवं

10 यत्र नित्यं कुर्वन्ति प्रावृषीव प्रमुदितमनसश्चित्रविक्षिप्तपक्षाः ।।[८।।*] श्रीमांस्तस्मिन्निंद्रशर्माह्वयोस्ति सुप्रख्यातः पाट(ठ)को भूमिदेवैः । षट्कर्मास्त्रध्वस्ततिष्यप्रभावैः

11 युक्तोत्यर्थं राजते यो विशुद्धैः ।।[९।।*] शक्रोवलोकयति जल्पति नागराजो वा(बा)णासुरो लिखति चेच्च सकार्तवीर्यः । हेमाद्रिणा भुवनसंपुटके तथापि प्राप्नोति यस्य किल नो

12 गुणसंपदोन्तम् ।।[१०।।*] नद्यो नक्रादिसत्वैर्व(त्वैर्ब)हुभिरभिवृताः पर्वताः पादपौघैः पातालानि द्विजिह्वैर्नरपतिभवनान्यश्वपत्तिद्विपेंद्रैः । क्रव्याद्भि ४ कानना-

13 नि प्रचुरतरधरामंडले स्थानमन्यन्नो पश्यंतीति मन्येमरनिलयमगादात्मनो यस्य कीर्त्तिः ।।[११।।*] तत्राभवद्धर्कटजातिराढ्यो वणिग्वरो नागहरिः कृ-

14 तज्ञः [।*] योकारयद्वैद्यतडागपाल्यां प्रत्यङ्मुखं विष्णुगृहं सदेवं(वम्) ।।[१२।।*] यस्य दोषो महानेक एवान्वये विद्यते सज्जनाह्लादिनो धीमतः । विप्रशु-

15 श्रूषया मेधया संपदा यज्जयंत्यात्मजाः पूर्व्वजानादृताः ।।[१३।।*] तस्यात्मजो धर्मरतेः प्रतीतो महीतले विष्णुहरिर्व(र्ब)भूव । नादेयमासीदिह यस्य किं-

16 चिद्वनीपकार्त्तद्विजसंश्रितेभ्यः ।।[१४।।*] रमणीजनचंचलापि लक्ष्मीर्मतिरज्वा(ज्ज्वा) विनियम्य साधु येन । अकृत प्रसभं शुचौ स्ववंशे वरवृक्षे

17 करिणीव निश्चलांगा ।।[१५।।*] श्रीपः सुदर्शनकरो नरकादभीतो गीर्बाणनिर्जितरिपुस्तनयस्ततश्च । सामध्वनिध्वनितविश्वदिगन्तरालो ना-

18 रायणः समुदपद्यत लोककान्तः ।।[१६।।*] दोषो यस्य प्रचुरगुणधेरेष एवोरुकीर्त्तेरेकः स्थूलो निवि(बि)डकरुणासेवितस्याप्यजस्रम् । पृ-

19 थ्वीं पृथ्वीं विवु(बु)धशरणैर्विंध्यकैलासरूपैर्यद्धारार्त्ता विविधशिखरैः कारयामास शुभ्रैः ।।[१७।।*] कमलदलसमाक्षात्सौम्यदेहात्ससत्या-

20 द्द्विजपतिकृतपूजाच्चारुशंखाच्च तस्मात् । निजकुलजनृसिंहात् प्राप्तसर्वप्रसादः कुसुमशर इवाभूत्सूनुराद्योतनाख्यः ।।[१८।।*] स्नेहान्वि-

## MANDKILA TAL INSCRIPTION, V.S. 1043

(from Photograph)

THE POET-NAME MAZE

21 तेन सुदर्शेन शुभाश्रयेण प्रोत्सारितान्धतमसेन सुनिर्मलेन । दीप्तेन येन शुशुभे सुतरां
स्वगोत्रं दीपेन हर्म्यमिव वल्गुतरं स्थिरेण ॥[१९॥*]

22 नाटचेति जाया तस्यासीत्सौभाग्यैकः पतिव्रता । च्छा(छा)येवानपगा पत्युः सुरूपा
प्रियभाषिणी [॥२०॥*] पुत्रैः पक्षं पितॄणां स्वजनमृजुतया से-

23 वया पूज्यवर्गं लुब्धा(ब्धा)न्दानेन विप्रान्परमशुचितया क्रोधनान् क्षांतिहेत्या । प्रेष्या-
न्मानेन पौरान्सुनिभृतविधिना सत्यवाक्येन चालीर्निर्व्वक्त-

24 व्यं सुखैर्या दयितमपि सदा दोषपक्षे चकार ॥[२१॥*] तस्यां सुतो नंदन उत्तमौजाः
सुनंदनोजन्यवनिप्रसिद्धः । तेजस्विनेनेन यथा कृसा(शा)नुस्तेनार्कपाषाणमहा-

25 शिलायाम् ॥[२२॥*] मतिर्द्धर्मे यस्याविरतमनुरक्ता धनवतो हिता सत्या वाणी
सकलजनताप्रीतिजननी । शरीरं शिष्टानामुपकरणवस्तुष्वभिगतं मनो नित्यं
वांच्छा(छा)मकृत सुरलोकाधिगम-

26 ने ॥[२३॥*] न मामसावभिलषति स्वचेतसा मनागपि ध्रुवमिति यस्य मन्युमत् ।
स्वयं यशः प्रकटनमेवमात्मनः सुराश्रयैः कुरु सलिलाशयैरपि ॥[२४॥*] प्रचंडपवनाह-
तिव्यथितसिंधु-

27 वत्संपदस्तथैव मृगतृष्णिकास्थितिसदृक्षमायुर्नृणाम् । शरज्जलदनश्वरं सुखमवेत्य
योनाविलं विहाय सकलाः कलाः सुकृतमेव धीरोकरोत् ॥[२५॥*] सोचीकर[1]न्मठमिमं
नागहरिस्वा-

28 मिजगति संश्लिष्टम् । हरिशंकरनारा[2]यणखचरयुतं कोष्ठकूपपुरः ॥[२६॥*] धात्व-
लंकृतसर्वांगं नवद्वारविभावितम् । स्वशरीरमिव स्थास्नु सज्जनानंदकारणं(णम्)
॥[२७॥*] गुणयुगहरिदंके साहसां-

29 कस्य काले मधुकरपिकहृद्ये माधवे मास एते । शशधृदुदयपक्षे सूर्यवारे युगादौ
भवभवभयचौराः स्थानमध्यासतेदम् ॥[२८॥*] संवत् १०४३ वैशाख सु ३
प्रतिष्ठिताः [॥*]

30 वृत्तिं चासौ स्थापितानां विधाय भागीरथ्यां सौकरे तीर्थवर्ये । श्वेतद्वीपं मानसेनाव-
धार्य प्राणानौज्झत्त्यक्तसंसारव(ब)न्धः ॥[२९॥*] व(ब)भूवे भार्यया तस्य रा(रो)-
हिण्या गोत्रभूषया । प्रालेयाद्रि-

[1] This *ra* was first omitted and later supplied as is apparent from its position.

[2] This *rā* was likewise first omitted and supplied later on.

31 दुहित्रा वा मृडस्य पुरविद्विषः ॥[३०॥*] अभवन्षट्सुतास्तस्य सज्जनः सिल्लुको यशः । सोहिलः पुष्करस्तस्यां शंकरश्चेति तद्धिताः ॥३१॥*] भाति स्म तैरपत्यैः स धन्यैर्द्धन्यतरो वशी । षड्वर्गेण नयो

32 यद्वत्संवत्सर इवर्त्तुभिः ॥[३२॥*] सुधासिते दृढस्तंभे शिलाव(ब)न्धमनोरमे । पितु-रायतने तेत्र प्रशस्तिं निरमीमपन् ॥[३३॥*] यावत्कृष्णः श्रियमविमना वक्षसा स्वेन धत्ते वामांगेन क्षितिधरसुतां

33 यावदुग्रो वि(ब)भर्त्ति । उर्वों यावद्वहति शिरसा शेष आशीविषेशस्तावत्स्थेयादिदम-विचलं धाम धाम्नां निधीनाम् ॥[३४॥*] श्रीमद्रोहेटकस्थानभूषणं वात्स्यवंशजः । आसीद्धा(द्दा)न्तो द्विजो वा(बा)णात्पंच-

34 मो यो महाकवेः ॥[३५॥*] तस्माद्दुर्ल्लभराजोभून्मतिमान्विदुषां वरः । यस्य नाविदितं कि(किं)चिद्वाङ्मयेभून्महात्मनः ॥[३६॥*] तत्सूनुर्विमलमतिर्भुजगरिपु ४ केशवार्कनामेमां-(माम्) । अस्मिन्व्यधात्प्रशस्ति मधुसू-

35 दनपादपंकजभ्रमरः ॥[३७॥*] तेनैवालेखि कविना च ॥ आसीद्विद्वान्वाहरिः सूत्रधारो धूलावासस्था◡— क्षत्रवंश्यः । उत्कीर्ण्णेषा वाहिलेन प्रशस्तिस्तत्पुत्रेण स्वक्षरा चारुचक्रेति[1]

कविनामगर्भं(र्भम्)[2]

विष्णुरसौ शं परमं मह्यं यच्छतु नित्यं कुलहारीणां(णाम्) । यस्य रसामण्डलसंभूतं नश्यति पापं स्मरणादेव [॥३९॥*] विदितसकलवेद्यो विश्वनाथोलमुर्व्या

अकृत समिति वा(बा)णं भीतिभाजं स सुप्तं(प्तम्) [।*] दिनकरनिभमस्त्रं दुष्टविघ्नं प्रजाकृ-

द्वहति मथितहेतिर्विद्विषां सुप्रभो यः [॥४०॥*] विमलमतिसुकविकृति

[1] Read *chāru-chakrā* [॥38॥*] *iti*. The phenomenon of the closing *iti* being mixed up with the last syllable of the concluding verse is of fairly frequent occurrence in inscriptions. Cf. *CII*, Vol. III. pp. 54, 76, 167, 194, 247, 289, 296. The two syllables left unread after *sthā* in the second quarter of the verse are very much damaged. The first is possibly a *na* and the second appears to end in medial *ā*.

[2] This and what follows occur in the circular diagram in the centre of the inscription. For an explanation, see above, p. 80.

## TRANSLATION

May there be success ! Obeisance to *Ōm !*

(Verse 1) May the enormous physique of Vishṇu grant you prosperity !—the physique which is spotless, which is a retreat of Lakshmī, which is venerated by immortals as well as by mortals, which holds a lotus and a discus, which has the ocean for its abode, (*and*) which (*in these respects*) resembles the waters of the celestial river (Gaṅgā) that flow in a great volume, are serene, are a seat of sparkling beauty as it were, are worshipped by gods and men, are full of clusters of lotuses, (*and*) have the ocean as their (*ultimate*) resting-place.

(Verse 2) May Śiva and Vishṇu protect you !—Śiva and Vishṇu who are husbands (*respectively*)[1] of Pārvatī and Lakshmī, who have Nandin (bull) and Garuḍa (the king of birds) as their ensigns, whose bodies are white and black, who are eternal, who have had their foes destroyed by the trident and the discus, who are the annihilator and the protector of (*all*) the three worlds, who are ever resplendent with the ashes and the most exquisite saffron paste, who are naked and clad in yellow clothes, (*and*) who are the crushers of the pride of (*the demons*) Andhaka and Bhauma in battle.

(Verse 3) May the illustrious popular king rejoice !—the king whose strength consists in his never-failing scimitar, who keeps the good folk well-contented, at whose rise the righteous indeed feels happy, the evil-doer is filled with fear, malcontent is put an end to, (*and*) the royal treasury expands further, who always extirpates the vice, (*and*) who (*in these respects*) resembles the Sun who is full of glory, whose effulgence issues from a perfect orb, who animates all that exists, at whose rise the pious is really pleased, the guilty[2] is afraid, the blue lotuses droop down, (*and*) the red lotuses open up with a vengeance, (*and*) who always expels nocturnal darkness.

(Verse 4) There is a glorious city in the world called **Mālava**, which the Creator established as the abode of all riches ; which is like the very face of the young lady (*in the form*) of the earth ;

(Verse 5) which is full of beautiful nymphs ever swinging in company with gods ; which is surrounded by temples that are (*like the seas*[3]) impressive (or deep), are provided with pure saffron and crocodile-shaped ear-pendants[4] (or, are abounding in shiny aquatic animals and crocodiles) ; which is occupied by Kubēra, the god of wealth (or by the rich people) : which is honoured by the high-class Brāhmaṇas ; which is frequented by those who are ambitious of fame ; (*and*) which in sooth, is like the abode of the god Brahman himself, that is sought after by those who desire prosperity (or, salvation) ;

(Verse 6) where pithlessness exists only in the banana stem, noisiness only in the bee, parasiticism only in the cuckoo, crookedness only in the hair-tresses, sharpness only in swords, the tying

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[1] This *respectively* is understood also in the case of the attributes that follow. Except the *aja* 'birthless' or 'eternal,' which is common to both Śiva and Vishṇu, the other attributes present a contrast of some kind or other.

[2] This applies mainly to thieves and the like who commit offences under cover of darkness at night.

[3] The term *dēvālaya* in the original has to be construed [illegible] and as 'sea', in the latter case the component *dēva* connoting Varuṇa or Vishṇu.

[4] These indicate unguents and ornaments used for the deity in a temple.

only in books (or, sheaves of manuscript leaves), unsteadiness only in horses, ruttiness (or arrogance) only in elephants, separation of coalescence (or, war) only in grammar, fault-finding only in fabrics, elision of syllables (or, confusion in caste system) only in the science of etymology, and where also it is wind alone that may turn westerly (or, adverse);

(Verse 7) in which, towards the nightfall, love-lorn ladies, having eyes as pretty as lotus-petals, desiring (*to meet*) their lovers, walk about, with their limbs gracefully limp, with their anklets freely jingling as they step along, on the roads where the fine houses of their sweet-hearts are shown by the glow, emanating from those leaping flames of the (*sacrificial*) fire, fed by the plentiful clarified butter thrown in by the Brāhmaṇa priests, that have completely consumed the thickening darkness (*all round*);

(Verse 8) where, having seen the smoke, hovering high up in the sky, like jet-black ink, arising from the fire-sacrifices started by the Brāhmaṇa priests well-versed in (*all*) the three Vēdas, and having heard the thundering noise of the drums and cymbals being beaten in the temples, the peacocks, with their hearts gladdened (*and*) with their variegated feathers spread out, emitting sweet notes, always feverishly display their dance as they (*normally*) do during the rains (*only*).

(Verse 9) In that (*city*) there lives a widely renowned illustrious teacher, named Indraśarman, who, being surrounded by such Brāhmaṇas of pure conduct as have decimated the (*evil*) influence of the Kali age with the weapon (*in the form of the performance*) of their sixfold[1] duty, exceedingly shines forth.

(Verse 10) If Indra surveys (*with his thousand eyes*), if Śēsha, the king of serpents, recounts (*with his thousand mouths*), if the demon Bāṇa, aided by Kārtavīrya, writes (*with the thousand hands of each of them*) on the surface of the earth with the Mount Mēru (*for a pen*), even then none of them indeed comes to the end of the abundance of his (Indraśarman's) virtues.

(Verse 11) "Rivers are crowded with many animals like alligators, mountains are covered with clusters of trees, nether worlds are occupied by snakes, royal palaces are swarmed with horses, foot-soldiers and lordly elephants, forests are infested with carnivorous beasts,— I see no other place for me in the wide world," thinking thus, methinks, his (Indraśarman's) own Fame betook herself to heaven, the abode of gods.

(Verse 12) There (in that city) lived an excellent banker, (*named*) Nāgahari, who belonged to the Dharkata family. He was as well-to-do as he was grateful. He constructed a temple of Vishṇu on the bank of the (*tank known as*) Vaidya-taḍāga, with (*an image of*) the deity (*installed therein*).

(Verse 13) He (Nāgahari) was wise (*and*) the delight of good people; (*but*) there was only one great fault in his family, namely, the descendants, though held in esteem, outstrip their ancestors in great service to the Brāhmaṇas, in intelligence (*and*) in wealth.

(Verse 14) He (Nāgahari) was devoutly pious. He had a son, Vishṇuhari (*by name*), who became very famous in the world. To him, there was nothing that could not be given to the beggars, to the sorrow-stricken, to the Brāhmaṇas and to those who sought refuge under him.

[1] The sixfold duty enjoined on a Brāhmaṇa consists of reading and teaching the Vēdas, performing and making others perform sacrifices, giving and receiving charities. Cf. *Manusmṛiti*, X, 75.

(Verse 15) Fortune is fickle, as is usual with ladies, no doubt. Even then he (Vishṇuhari), having per force bound her tightly with the rope of his intellect, so to say, made her stable in his spotless family, as one ties a she-elephant with a rope to a mighty tree and thereby steadies her.

(Verse 16) From him was born a son, Nārāyaṇa (*by name*), who possessed wealth, whose hands were pretty to look at, who was never afraid of the hell,[1] who won over his opponents by the darts of his (*sweet*) speech, so to say, who was liked by people and who used to have all the quarters of the space resounded by the chants of the Sāma-vēda ;[2] (*in these respects*) Nārāyaṇa was the very god Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) himself, who is the husband of Lakshmī, who holds the Sudarśana discus in his hand, who is never afraid of the demon Naraka, who has slain the enemies on behalf of the gods, who is regarded to be a paragon of beauty in the world,[3] and who is sung by the chants of the Sāma-vēda, reverberating in all the directions.[4]

(Verse 17) His (Nārāyaṇa's) store of virtues was great and his fame was extensive indeed. Also he was always possessed of deep compassion. His only big fault was this that he made the wide earth groan under the burden of glistening white temples (*that he built*), having various spires, (*thereby*) looking like the mounts Vindhya and Kailāsa.

(Verse 18) (*Nārāyaṇa was the very god Nārāyaṇa indeed :*)—His eyes were like lotus-petals. His body was charming. He was truthful. He received honour at the hands of leading Brāhmaṇas (or of Garuḍa, the lord of birds).[5] His forehead was beautiful (or, he holds the beautiful conch-shell known as Pāñchajanya). He was the foremost among the members born in his family (or, he is incarnated as Nṛisiṁha or Man-Lion). Like Manmatha (*from Vishṇu*), from him was born his son, named Ādyōtana, who was a recipient of all favours.

(Verse 19) By him (Ādyōtana), who was of loving nature, was rolling in prosperity, was of high birth, had his ignorance removed entirely (*by the acquisition of knowledge*), was of very pure conduct, was brilliant, (*and*) was steadfast, did his family extremely shine forth even as a chamber is illumined very brightly by a lamp that is full of oil, has a good wick, has a splendid receptacle, has completely dispelled the pitch darkness, is absolutely free of dirt, is glowing, (*and*) is steadily plrced.

(Verse 20) His (Ādyōtana's) wife was (*a lady*), named Nāṭyā, a very abode of luck, devoted to her husband, charming of form, sweet of speech, (*and*) attached to her husband as his very shadow.[6]

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[1] This implies that he never did any wrong so as to deserve any infernal infliction.

[2] Himself being a *baniā* by caste. he no doubt employed Brāhmaṇa priests for chanting the Sāma-vēda.

[3] The attribute *lōka-kānta* appears to be an echo of *lōk-ābhirāma* applied by Vālmīki to Rāma compared with Vishṇu in physical beauty : *subhrūr=āyata-tāmr-ākshaḥ sākshād=Vishṇur=iva svayam | Rāmō lōk-ābhirāmō=yam*, etc. (*Rāmāyaṇa*, M. L. J. P., II, 2, 44-45.).

[4] This reminds one of the praises of Vishṇu sung by the gods, as found in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, X, 21 : *Sapta-sām-ōpagītaṁ tvāṁ*, etc.

[5] The alternative given within the round brackets here and further on in this verse apply only to the god Nārāyaṇa or Vishṇu.

[6] Cf. *Pativratā mahābhāgā chhāy=ēv=ānugatā sadā* (*Rāmāyana*, I, 73,28)

(Verse 21) (*In pleasing*) the manes by her progeny, her kinsfolk by her simplicity, those worthy of respect by her humility and attention, the greedy lot by gifts, the learned Brāhmaṇas by her exceptional purity, those prone to anger by means of tolerance and forgiveness, the servants by showing them respect, the (*worthy*) citizens with tact and straightforward speech, (*and*) her lady friends by providing them with (*all*) comforts, it must be said, she always threw even her beloved husband into the shade.

(Verse 22) He (Ādyōtana), who (*himself*) was resplendent, begot a son (*called*) Nandana, from her (Nāṭyā),—a son whose splendour was excellent, who was of a pleasing appearance, (*and*) who acquired fame in the world, even as the dazzling Sun generates fire from a large slab of sun-crystal.[1]

(Verse 23) (*Though*) he (Nandana) was wealthy, he was ever intensely religious in his thoughts. His speech was such as meant well, was truthful, and delighted every one. His body was just one of the instruments, so to say, for benefiting polite and cultured persons. His heart always yearned after the attainment of paradise.

(Verse 24) "In his heart of hearts, he (Nandana) surely does not like me a bit," indignant at such a thought, his renown showed itself off through the temples as well as through the tanks (*constructed by him*).[2]

(Verse 25) He (Nandana), the wise one, regarding the riches (*to be oscillating*) like the sea agitated by the blasts of violent winds, human existence likewise no better than a mirage, happiness so fleeting as autumnal clouds, eschewed all fine arts (*and*) did nothing else but pure deeds of piety.

(Verse 26) He (Nandana) built this temple, which is adjacent to the site of the Vishṇu (*temple*) (*previously built*) by Nāgahari; which contains (*the images of*) Hari (Vishṇu), Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa[3] and Khachara (Sun), which has a store-room and a well in front;[4]

(Verse 27) which is embellished all over with metal (*plating*);[5] which is provided with nine entrance-doors, resembling (*in that respect*) his (Nandana's) own body;[6] which is durable; (*and*) which gives pleasure to the good people.

(Verse 28) These robbers[7] of the fear and danger born of the cycle of births and deaths occupied this place (the said temple) on **Sunday**, the *Yugādi* day of the **bright-fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha**—a time which is pleasant with (*the humming of*) bees and (*the warblings of*) cuckoos,

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[1] The comparison of the father with the sun is suggested apparently by his name *Ādyōtana* which, as a word, means 'illuminator'.

[2] The original text of the latter half of the verse is either defective or unintelligible.

[3] For the nature of this deity, see above, p. 78.

[4] It is not clear from the compound expression whether only one room and only one well are meant or whether more are meant.

[5] With reference to the body, *dhātu* means element.

[6] The human body is metaphorically considered to be a nine-gate citadel of the in-dwelling soul.

[7] Playfully referring to the idols of the three deities, viz. Hari, Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa and Khachara.

(*in the year*) enumerated by *guṇa* (3), *yuga* (4) and *harit* (10), i.e. **1043, of Sāhasāṅka (Vikramāditya).**

(Line 29) (*These idols*) have been consecrated on the **3rd day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha in Saṁvat 1043.**

(Verse 29) And having made provision for the maintenance of those installed (*deities*), (*and*) forsaking (*all*) worldly ties, he (Nandana) breathed his last at the foremost holy place of **Saukara** on the (*banks of the river*) **Bhāgīrathī**, mentally meditating on Śvētadvīpa (White Island, sacred to Vishṇu).[1]

(Verse 30) As Pārvatī is the wife of Śiva, the slayer of (*the demon*) Tripura, so was his (Nandana's) wife Rōhiṇī, an ornament of her family.

(Verse 31) From her he (Nandana) had six sons, named Sajjana, Silluka, Yaśa, Sōhila, Pushkara and Śaṅkara. They were devoted to their parents.

(Verse 32) He (Nandana), the self-restrained one, luckier with those lucky children, shone perfectly as does statecraft with six expedients (*and as does*) a year with the (*six*) seasons.[2]

(Verse 33) They (i.e. the six brothers) caused (*this*) eulogy to be set up, in this temple of their father, which is whitewashed, has massive pillars (*and*) is beautiful with the stone slabs properly fixed.

(Verse 34) As long as Vishṇu gladly carries Lakshmī on his breast, as long as Śiva carries Pārvatī in his lap on his left, (*and*) as long as Śēsha, the lord of serpents, carries the earth on his head, so long may this temple of the repositories of lustres[3] stand permanently.

(Verse 35) There was a self-controlled Brāhmaṇa of the Vātsya *gōtra*, a very ornament of the glorious place, (*called*) Rōhēṭaka, who was fifth (*in descent*) from the great poet Bāṇa.

(Verse 36) From him was born (*one*) Durlabharāja, who was wise, magnanimous and a great scholar to whom nothing was unknown in the (*whole range of*) literature.

(Verse 37) His (Durlabharāja's) son, named Vimalamati (*alias*) Kēśavārka (*and*) Bhujagaripu, a very bee on the lotuses (*in the form*) of the feet of (*the god*) Vishṇu, composed this eulogy here.

And it is the self-same poet who wrote (*it*).[4]

(Verse 38) There was a learned mason, (*named*) Vāhari, Kshatriya by caste, [a resident] of a place (*called*) Dhūlavāsa. His son, (*named*) Vāhila, has engraved this *praśasti* in well-formed letters, containing a beautiful circular diagram.

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[1] For details regarding Saukara and Śvētadvīpa, see above, p. 80.

[2] The six expedients are *sandhi* (alliance), *vigraha* (war), *yāna* (march), *āsana* (halt), *saṁśraya* (seeking refuge) and *dvaidhībhāva* (duplicity), while the six seasons are *vasanta*, *grīshma*, *varshā*, *śarat*, *hima* and *śiśira*.

[3] These again allude to the three deities installed in the temple, viz. Vishṇu, Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa and Sūrya.

[4] This refers to the process of writing out the text and the diagram on the stone-slab with ink for the guidance of the engraver whose name is given in the concluding stanza.

So it ends!

THE POET-NAME MAZE

(Verse 39) May that Vishṇu always bestow good luck on me!—that Vishṇu who is the slayer of hosts of enemies, (*and*) by whose very remembrance the wickedness of the whole world disappears.

(Verse 40) Viśvanātha, almighty lord of the earth, who knows all that is to be known, made the dreadful (*demon*) Bāṇa asleep forever in the battle field;—Viśvanātha who carries a sun-like weapon which destroys the evil as well as creates all the beings, who has blunted the weapons of the adversaries, (*and*) who is full of glory!

[*This is*] the work of the good poet Vimalamati.

## No. 15.—GRANTS OF GAYADATUNGA

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 18.6.1959*)

Dr. N. K. Sahu recently published a copper-plate grant of Gayāḍatuṅga in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. VII, No. 1 (April 1958), pp. 66-70 and plates. At my request, Dr. Sahu was good enough to send me the plate for examination. This inscription is re-edited in the following pages along with two other copper-plate grants of Gayāḍatuṅga, which were published long ago. Although the sytle of the recently published epigraph is different from that of the two previously published records, all the three inscriptions appear to belong to the same chief.

Besides the recently published inscription of Gayāḍatuṅga, four copper-plate grants of the ruling chiefs of the Tuṅga family of the Yamagarta or Yamagartā *maṇḍala* are known, although the published transcript of none of the records is free from errors. Of these, the Asiatic Society's plate of Gayāḍatuṅga was published with a facsimile by Nilamani Chakravarti in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol. V, 1909, pp. 347-50, and Plates XVII-XVIII, while the Talcher plate of the same king was likewise published with a facsimile by Nagendra Nath Vasu in the *Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja*, Vol. I,[1] Appendix, pp. 152-54, and Plates 97-98, as well as by R.D. Banerji in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol. XII, 1916, pp. 291-95, and Plates III-IV. The errors in the published transcripts of these two epigraphs can be detected with the help of the published facsimiles. Chakravarti and Vasu did not attempt to translate the epigraphic texts ; but Banerji offered a translation of the Talcher plate even though he did not really understand much of the text. The Talcher plate of another king of the family, by name Vinītatuṅga, was published by Vasu in his work, pp. 154-57, without facsimile and translation, while H.P. Sastri published in the same way the Bonai plate of the said ruler in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. VI, 1920, pp. 236-40. The published transcripts of these two records contain numerous obvious errors ; but they cannot be verified owing to the absence of any facsimile. The above two grants of Gayāḍatuṅga, one published by Chakravarti and the other by Vasu and Banerji, are re-edited in the following pages along with the Talcher plate recently published by Dr. Sahu. Since the Talcher plate published by Vasu and Banerji appears to have been issued later than Dr. Sahu's plate, the latter has been designated as Talcher plate No. 1 and the former as Talcher plate No. 2.

An interesting feature of the published copper-plate records of the Tuṅgas of Orissa is that the texts of all of them are full of orthographical and grammatical errors and that, with the exception of the one published by Dr. Sahu, the introductory section in prose and verse is the same excepting the different names of the donors and their ancestors. Some of the stanzas in this section are also found in the Bonai plate[2] of the Buddihst chief, *Mahārāja Rāṇaka* Udayavarāha, described as a scion of the Mayūra family and as the son of Tējōvarāha and a descendant (probably, grandson) of Uditavarāha (i.e. Udayavarāha I). Another interesting fact about the said introductory part

[1] This is the only volume published. The year of its publication is not given. But the preface bears the date 'the 1st January 1911' (p. viii).

[2] *JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 243-45. No facsimile of the inscription was published.

of the records of Gayāḍatuṅga and Vinītatuṅga is that many of the mistakes are common to all the four epigraphs and that the names of the donors and their ancestors are often unsuitable in the metrical scheme of the stanzas. Moreover, the section contains a stanza which is only the half of a verse in the *Sragdharā* metre. These facts would show that the stereotyped introduction had been originally composed for the eulogy of some other ruler but that it was adapted for the grants of the said two chiefs. The source from which it was borrowed, however, cannot be determined. The seals attached to the charters of the two rulers, with the exception of Gayāḍatuṅga's grant published by Dr. Sahu, are similar. None of the epigraphs of the family bears any date.

As we shall see below, Gayāḍatuṅga is described in his records published by Chakravarti, Vasu and Banerji as issuing his grants from [a city on] the hill called Mahāparvata situated in Yamagarta-maṇḍala, as belonging to the Tuṅga family of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra* hailing from Rōhitāgiri, and as the son of Salōṇatuṅga and a descendant (probably, grandson) of Jagattuṅga. Rohitāgiri may be identified with Rohtāsgarh in the Shahabad District of Bihar. Vinītatuṅga's description contains the same details excepting that he was the son of Khaḍgatuṅga and a descendant (probably, grandson) of Vinītatuṅga (I). It is difficult to say which of the two rulers, Gayāḍatuṅga and Vinītatuṅga II, flourished earlier. The charters of both chiefs are written in the same alphabet which is the Siddhamātṛikā script prevalent in Eastern India about the 10th century A.D. As regards the chronology of these Tuṅgas, it has to be noted that they were semi-independent feudatories of the Bhauma-Kara monarchs of Orissa and that the name of a subordinate chief called Vinītatuṅga actually occurs in both the Talcher plates of Śivakara III, which are dated in the year 149 of the Bhauma-Kara era probably corresponding to 980 A.D.[1] A record[2] of the Bhauma-Kara year 189 (c. 1011 A.D.), however, mentions Apsarōdēva, apparently not a Tuṅga, as the ruler of Yamagartā-maṇḍala under the Bhauma-Kara queen Daṇḍimahādēvī, granddaughter of Śivakara III. Thus the semi-independent rule of the Tuṅgas, which was the result of the weakness of Bhauma-Kara authority, appears to have lasted for a short time about the close of the tenth and the beginning of the 11th century A.D. In this connection, we should also note that Gayāḍatuṅga appears to have been named after his father's overlord who was either Gayāḍa I (i.e. Śāntikara I Lalitahāra or °bhāra, known date year 93=c. 924 A.D.) or II (i.e. Śāntikara II whose sons' Talcher plates are dated in the year 145=c. 976 A.D. and the year 149=c. 980 A.D.)[3] of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty . In the present state of our knowledge, it appears that Gayāḍatuṅga and Vinītatuṅga were the only two semi-independent chiefs of the Tuṅga family ruling about the said period while their ancestors known from their records were weaker subordinates of the Bhauma-Karas. The two chiefs probably belonged to collateral branches of the family and ruled one after the other.

The recently discovered Talcher plate[4] of Gayāḍatuṅga with its simpler introduction and cheaper seal may be regarded as an earlier record of the Tuṅga king of that name. This would imply that the proper seal was improvised and the bombastic introduction adapted from some unknown source during the rule of this chief, his name being unsuitable in the metrical scheme of the stanza in the introduction. In such a case, we have to attribute the metrical, grammatical and orthographical errors in the records to the carelessness and insufficient linguistic knowledge of Gayāḍatuṅga's officers who were responsible for the adaptation. We have then also to suggest that Vinītatuṅga II flourished later than Gayāḍatuṅga.

[1] Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 85, 191 and note 2.

[2] Ibid., pp. 79 ff.

[3] Ibid., p. 83.

[4] See below, pp. 93ff.

The Tuṅgas ruled over the territory lying to the south of the chiefdom of the Sulkīs of the Dhenkanal-Talcher area, who had their headquarters at Kōdālōka (modern Kōālu near Dhenkanal).[1] The rulers of the Tuṅga and Sulkī families, who issued copper-plate grants, were ruling more or less contemporaneously, though the semi-independent rule of the Sulkī rulers appears to have begun a few decades earlier than that of the Tuṅgas. One of the earliest Sulkī records is dated in year 103 of the Bhauma-Kara era, corresponding to c. 934 A.D.[2] Excepting the recently discovered Talcher plate of Gayāḍatuṅga which was issued from Jayapura-kōṭṭa, the other Tuṅga epigraphs, as indicated above, are stated to have been issued from [a city situated on] the Mahāparvata hill which lies in the Cuttack District.[3] The name of the city is, however, not mentioned in the records and it is difficult to say without further evidence whether it was Jayapura-kōṭṭa that was situated on the Mahāparvata hill. In this connection, it may be noticed that the Nandas or Nandōdbhavas of Orissa, two of whose records are dated in the Bhauma-Kara years 184 (c. 1015 A.D.) and 193 (1024 A.D.), had their headquarters at Jayapura which was probably founded by Jayānanda the progenitor of that family and has been identified with a village of that name in the Dhenkanal District.[4] Whether Gayāḍatuṅga temporarily subdued the Nandas and issued the charter in question from the capital of the latter cannot be determined in the present state of insufficient information.

The Tuṅgas and many of their contemporaries, who were mostly semi-independent feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas, claimed to have been 'the lord of Gōndrama'. The real significance of *Gōndrama* is uncertain. But, in some cases, reference is made in the same context to 'the 18 Gōndramas' or 'all the Gōndramas' (or 'the entire Gōndrama'), the number 18 indicating 'all' in such cases.[5] This reminds us of the reference in an early record to the Tōsalī country as including 'the 18 forest states' and of the Oriya '18 *gaḍa-jāta*' implying collectively the former princely states of Orissa.[6]

### 1. Talcher Plate, No. 1

This is a **single plate** having writing on both sides. The plate is between 6·7 and 7 inches in height and between 3·4 and 3·7 inches in breadth. The length of the plate is slightly more in the middle than at the borders while its breadth is a little more at the borders and less in the middle. There is a projection (1·3 inches high and 1·1 inches broad) at the top of the plate and it is covered by a lump of copper meant to serve the purpose of the proper bronze **seal.** The legend in one line is stamped on the front of it. The reading is *śrī-Gayāḍatuṅgasya* though the letters are not clear. This crude seal is cheaper and simpler than the proper seals attached to the two other plates of Gayāḍatuṅga edited below as well as to the two charters of Vinītatuṅga referred to above.

There are altogether 38 lines of writing in the record, 19 on either of the faces. The **characters** belong to the Siddhamātṛikā alphabet of Eastern India and the record may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to a date in the **10th century A.D.** The inscription exhibits considerable carelessness on the part of the scribe and engraver. Some letters exhibit more than one form. *K* has two forms, one of which resembles *n* in shape (cf. *rājanaka* in line 10). *V*, the sign of which is used to indicate *b* as well, has likewise two forms, one of them resembling *p* (cf. *nivadhva* in line

[1] See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 111-12.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 165

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 111

[4] Ibid., pp. 184. 186.

[5] Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 330

[6] Loc. cit.

16). In some cases, there is not much difference between *p* and *y* (cf. *prāpti-nimitāyā* in line 2). *H* has a number of forms, some of which resemble *bh*, or *h* of the so-called 'Eastern Gupta' type ; cf. *dēhāya* in line 1, *māhēśvarō* in lines 4-5, *māhā* in line 8, *vyavahārinā* in line 12,*yathāraham* in line 14, etc. The medial signs of *ē* and *ā* are also of several varieties. They are sometimes a *śirō-mātrā* and sometimes a *prishṭha-mātrā* and sometimes long and sometimes short ; cf. *māhēśvarō mātā°* (lines 4-5), etc. Of initial vowels, *a* (lines 6, 17), *ā* (line 23), *i* (lines 9, 22, 31), *u* (twice in line 27) and *ē* (line 16) occur in the inscription.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, although it is corrupt. The text is written in prose and verse. Besides a stanza at the beginning of the introductory part, a few others of the benedictory and imprecatory nature are at the end of the document. The nature of the numerous **orthographical** errors, often exhibiting the influence of the local dialect, may be illustrated by the following examples : *trivēdi* (line 1), *saṁkirṇṇa* (line 4), *sāmantāddhipati* (line 7), *māhārāja* (line 8), *vishaē* (line 9), *sthāniyā* (line 10), *sāmaṁnta* (line 12), *yathāraham* (line 14), *napatrāya* (line 21), *tāmvra* (line 22), *niddhi* (line 25), *gaūravā°* (line 27), etc. The imprecatory and benedictory stanzas quoted at the end of the document contain many errors of omission and commission.

The inscription, which bears **no date,** begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by a stanza in the *Anushṭubh* metre in adoration of Sōmārdhadhārin, i.e., the god Śiva. This adoration tallies with the fact that the donor of the charter was a Śaiva. It is followed by the word *svasti.*

The charter was issued from **Jayapura-kōṭṭa** by *Mahārāja* **Gayāḍatuṅga** who was devoted to the god Mahēśvara (Śiva) and to his parents. The donor is endowed with the title *Mahāsāmantādhipati* and has been described as one who obtained the five *mahāśabdas* and as 'the lord of the entire **Gōndrama** (or, all the **Gōndramas**)'. Although Gayāḍatuṅga does not refer to his over'ord, his subordinate status is indicated by the titles *Mahāsāmantādhipati* and *Samadhigatāśēshamahāśabda* which were enjoyed by feudatory rulers.

The declaration in respect of the grant to be recorded in the document was addressed to the future feudal chiefs (*rājanaka*), princes, governors (*rājasthānīya*) and subordinates of the donor as well as to the small chiefs (*sāmanta*) and officers (*vyavahārin*) of the time being as well as of the future and the local people including the Brāhmaṇas and others pertaining to the *vishaya* or district of **Khēmbāi.** The king is stated to have granted the village of **Svalpa-Kōmpai** in the said *vishaya* in favour of *Bhaṭṭa* Bhāinādēva who was the son of Gōkuladēva and the grandson of *Bhaṭṭa* Vāsudēva and belonged to the Jatūkarṇa *gōtra*, Vasishtha *pravara*,[1] Chhandōga *charaṇa* and Kauthuma *śākhā*. The donee is further described as hailing from a Traividya (i.e., Trivēdin) [family] residing at a place called **Śrīchhātra.** The grant was made by means of the copper-plate charter as a permanent holding for the increase of the merits of the donor and his parents. It was made free from all obstacles and was endowed with the right to hidden treasures, etc. The royal servants and agents were forbidden to enter into the gift village. The document ends with the donor's request to the addressees referred to above for the preservation of the grant, which is followed by a quotation of some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses.

The **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription are Jayapura-kōṭṭa, apparently a hill-fortress which may have been the headquarters of the donor, the gift village called Svalpa-Kōmpai (i.e., the Smaller Kōmpai), the district called Khēmbāi in which the village was situated and the locality called Śrīchhātra whence the donee's family hailed. I am not sure about their exact location.

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[1] The Jātūkarṇya *gōtra* is stated to have three *pravaras*, viz. Jātūkarṇya, Vasishtha and Atri.

## TEXT[1]

### *Obverse*

[Metres : verses 1-4 *Anushṭubh ;* verse 5 *Pushpitāgrā.*]

1 Siddham[2] [||*] Viśuddha-jñāva(na)-dēhāya trivēdi[3]-d[i]vyachakshu-

2 shē [|*] śrēyaḥ-prāpti-nimitāyā(ttāya) nama[ḥ*] Sōm[ā]-

3 rddhadhāriṇē [|| 2*] svasti [||*] vividha-vidagdha-janāvēja-[4]

4 saṁki(kī)rṇṇa-**Jayapura-kō[ṭṭāt]**[5] paramamā-

5 hēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāta[ḥ*] sa-

6 madhigata[6]-aśē[sha]-mahā-śa[v]dō(bdō) mahā-

7 sāma[n]täddhi(dhi)pati[ḥ*] samasta-**Gōddra(ndra)ma-nā-**

8 **thō** mā(ma)hārāja-śrī-**Gayāḍatuṅgadēva[ḥ*]**

9 kuśali(lī) **Khēmvā(mbā)i**-vishaē(yē) bhavishya-

10 rājanaka-rājaputra-rājasthāni(nī)yā[n*]

11 rāja-pād-ōpaji(jī)vināṁ(nō) yathā-kāl-ā-

12 dhyāsina[ḥ*] sāmaṁ(ma)nta-vyā(vya)vahāriṇā(ṇō) Vrā(Brā)-

13 hmaṇa-yaja[mā*]na-pura[ḥ*]sarāṁ(rān) sarva-janapada(dān)

14 yathārahaṁ[7] ma(mā)[8]nayati vō(bō)dhayati sa-

15 mājā(jñā)payati chātyamidita[9]m=astu [bha]-

16 vatāṁ(tām) ētad-vishaya-nivadhva[10]-**Svalpa-Kōm[pai]-**

17 [6][abhi]dhāna-grāmāt(maḥ) chatu[ḥ*]-si(sī)mā-parya[nta][ḥ*]

18 **[Śrīchchhātra]**-prat[i]shṭhita-traivī(vi)dya[11]-vinir[gata][12] [Chha]-

19 [ndōga-chara]ṇāya Kauth[u]ma-śākhāya

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[1] From the original plate.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] The intended reading may be *tri-vēdi°* in the sense of *tri-kāla-vēdi°*.

[4] Read *°ācāsa*.

[5] Final *t* looks more like *tta*. The *akshara ṭṭā* is also not properly formed.

[6] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[7] Read *yathārhaṁ*.

[8] *Na* had been originally written and was later made *ma*.

[9] Read *ch=ānyad=udita°*.

[10] Read *nibaddha*.

[11] Better read *traividya-kula*.

[12] Read *°rgatāya*.

*Reverse*

20 Jatūkarṇṇa-sagōtrāya Vasishṭha-pravarāya

21 Bhaṭṭa-Vāsudēva-napatrāya[1] Gōkuladēva-

22 sutāsa(ya) Bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-Bhāinādēṁrvāya[2] tāmvra(mra)-śāsa-

23 [na]tvēna pratipāditaḥ ā-chaddrā(ndr-ā)rkam=a-chā-

24 [ṭa]-bhaṭa-pravēśa[ḥ*] sarv-āvādhā-varja[ḥ*] sa-

25 niddhi(dhiḥ) [s]-ōpaniddhi(dhi)r=mātā-pitrōr=ātmana-

26 ś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē [|*] na(sva)-datt-āvirōdhā[t*] dharma-

27 gaü[3]ravāch=[cha] bhavadbhi[ḥ*] pratipālaṇaṁ[4] [||*] u-

28 ktañ=cha dharma-śāstrē [|*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā dattā

29 rājabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasy[ā](sya) ya-

30 sya yadā bhu(bhū)mi[s*]=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam || 2)

31 Mā bhūḥ phala-saṁṅkāśaḥ[5] para-datē(tt=ē)ti[6]

32 pālanaṁ(nē || 3) Sva-datāṁ(ttāṁ) para-datāmvā[7] yō

33 harēta vasuddharāṁ[8] [|*] sa vishṭhā[yāṁ*] kṛimi-

34 rbhu(r=bhū)tvā pitṛibhi[ḥ*] saha pachyatē [|| 4*] Iti ka-

35 mala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlā[ṁ] śrī(śri)-

36 yam=anuchintya manushya-ji(jī)vitañ=cha [|*] saka-

37 [la]m=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vudhvā[9] na hi puru-

38 [10]shaiḥ para-kitayō[11] vilō[12]p[y]āṁ|(pyāḥ || 5)

### 2. Talcher Plate, No. 2

The inscription is incised on a **single plate** measuring 5½ inches in height and 4 inches in breadth. There is a projection at the top, to which is affixed an elliptically shaped **seal** of bronze. On the counter-sunk surface of the seal, which is similar to the one attached to the Asiat'c Society's plate of Gayāḍatuṅga edited below, there are the symbols of the sun and the moon above, the legend in one line in the middle and the figure of a bull facing a tree to its left. But the letters of the legend are not legible.

[1] Read *naptrē.*
[2] Read °*dēvāya.*
[3] Read *gau*°.
[4] Read °*pālanīyaḥ.*
[5] Read *bhūd=a-phala-śaṅkā vaḥ.*
[6] After this *pārthivāh* | *sva-dānāt=phalam=ānantyaṁ paradatt-ānu*° has been left out through over-sight.
[7] Read *dattāṁ vā.*
[8] Read *vasundharām.*
[9] Read *buddhvā.*
[10] There is space for one letter before *shaiḥ.*
[11] Read *kīrtayō.*
[12] The engraver began to incise the letter *l* in the space separating *vi* and *lō.*

# GRANTS OF GAYADATUNGA

## Talcher Plate, No. 1

*a*

Scale : Actual

b

There are 36 lines of writing, 21 on the obverse and 15 on the reverse. The **characters** are similar to those of the Talcher plate No. 1 edited above. The letter *h*, developed out of its so-called 'Eastern Gupta' form, is found in most cases, its lower end being turned more considerably towards the left than in the other record. The letters are also more carefully shaped. The form of initial *a* occurring many times in the record is interesting. As regards **language** and **orthography** also, the epigraph under study closely resembles the inscription edited above. The text contains many errors. The word *pala* has been written as *pla* in lines 32 and 33. The large number of orthographical and grammatical errors in this well-engraved epigraph suggest that they are due to the inefficiency of the scribe and not of the engraver. The introductory part at the beginning of the record is in ornate *kāvya* style. But, as indicated above, the unsuitability of the personal names in the metrical scheme of the stanzas shows that the text was borrowed from a record of some other ruler. We have also seen how the section is not only found in the Asiatic Society's plate of Gayāḍatuṅga and in the charters of Vinītatuṅga but that some of the stanzas were also adapted in the introduction of Udayavarāha's grant. The regular seal and the more elaborate introduction suggest, as we have already indicated, that the present record and the Asiatic Society's plate were issued some time after the issue of the Talcher plate No. 1.

The inscription bears **no date**. It begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the word *svasti*. A passage in ornate prose (lines 1-7) then introduces a hill called Mahāparvata (apparently meaning a city on the hill) whence the charter was issued. An adjectival expression in the description of the place of issue says that its body was marked by the Tuṅga king or kings. The real significance of this passage is uncertain. A more dubious passage of this kind, which is apparently defective, seems to say that the place of issue was situated in Yamagarta-maṇḍala, the name applied to the territory ruled by the Tuṅgas. The implication is probably that it was the capital of the Tuṅgas. As we have seen, Jayapura, whence the Talcher plate No. 1 was issued, may have been another name of the same place or of another city in or outside the chiefdom of the Tuṅgas.

The above section in prose referring to the place whence the grant was issued is followed by four stanzas, the first and second of which describe the reigning chief **Gayāḍatuṅga.** Verse 1, in which the ruler's name does not suit the metre, describes him as a scion of the Tuṅga family. Verses 3-4 speak of the chief **Jagattuṅga,** who belonged to the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra* and hailed from a family originally residing at **Rōhitā-giri,** and of his descendant **Salōṇatuṅga.** The passage *tasy=anvayō(yē) Salōṇa'uṅga[ḥ*]* in verse 4 is metrically defective and must have been adapted from elsewhere. The original composition apparently contained a name in four syllables in place of that of Salōṇatuṅga in five syllables. It is not impossible that Salōṇatuṅga was really the son of Jagattuṅga. The second half of this stanza introduces Salōṇatuṅga's son whose name is given in the following passage in prose as **Gayāḍatuṅga**, the donor of the charter. The double introduction of the donor is interesting to note.

The declaration in respect of the grant was addressed to the future ruling chiefs and the local people of the area in question lying in the *maṇḍala* (i.e. Yamagarta-maṇḍala). The village granted was **Vāmāitālla** situated in the **Tuṅkērā** *vishaya* (district). The grant was made by the king in favour of the following donees : (1) *Bhaṭṭaputra* Dēvaśarman, who received half share of the gift village, belonged to a family hailing from the *bhaṭṭa grāma* (i.e. a village of the Brāhmaṇas) called **Mūthāutha** in **Varēndra-maṇḍala** (i.e. North Bengal) and was a resident of the *bhaṭṭa-grāma* called **Sāvira** in **Ōḍra-vishaya** (i.e. Orissa). He was the son of Paüma (i.e. Padma) and the grandson of Dhanaśarman and belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, the Āvatsāra and Naidhruva *pravaras*,[1] the Yajurvēda *charaṇa* and Kaṇva *śākhā*. (2) *Bhaṭṭaputra* Vāsudēva who received land that was the one-fourth share of the gift village, belonged to a family hailing from **Sāvathi** and was

[1] The three *pravaras* of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* are Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhruva.

a resident of **Yamagarta-maṇḍala**. He was the son of Lallaḍa and the grandson of Dhaḍūkā and belonged to the Vātsya *gōtra*, the *pravara* of the five sages,[1] the Yajurvēda *charaṇa* and Kaṇva *śākhā*. (3) *Bhaṭṭaputra* Rāmadēva who was a son of the said Vāsudēva and received land that was the remaining one-fourth share of the gift village. Mūthāutha in North Bengal may be the same as Muktāvastu mentioned as the original home of the donees of many royal charters, while Sāvathi (Śrāvasti) was probably the area around Baigrām in the Bogra District of North Bengal.[2] Thus the three donees of the grant under study appear to have been Brāhmaṇas of North Bengal settled in Orissa.

Lines 32-33 give us the interesting information that the *tṛiṇ-ōdaka* was fixed at 4 *palas* of silver. The word *tṛiṇ-ōdaka* literally means 'grass and water', but technically it indicated a cess or nominal rent fixed for gift villages officially declared in some cases as a rent-free holding.[3] The grant was made a permanent gift by means of the copper-plate charter and the royal agents and servants were forbidden to enter into the gift village. The document concludes with one of the usual benedictory and imprecatory stanzas.

The location of some of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription has already been discussed. I am not sure about the identification of the other localities mentioned in it. B. Misra identifies Yamagarta with Jamgadia in Angul or Jommurdi in the former Pallahara State. He also suggests the identification of Tuṅkērā with modern Tonkour in Pallahara.[4]

## TEXT[5]

[Metres : verses 1-2 *Sragdharā* ; verses 3-5 *Anushṭubh*.]

*Obverse*

1 Siddhaṁ[6] svasti [||*] Āvadhōdhata[7]-dvipa-gaṇḍa-s[thala]-galad-avirala-ma-

2 da-malina-madhū(dhu)kar-āvalī-jha[ṁ]kṛiṇē(t-ai)ka-pradōshāt=pravūdha[8]-

3 tēya(jō)-vipra-varai[r*]=Ṛi(Ṛi)k-Sāma-Yajū(ju)r-vēda-dhvanībhirnivahapra-

4 tikṛita[9]-sakala-janapadāt anavarata-dvija-hū(hu)ta-hū-

5 ta[10]-dhūma-saṁchay-ōpra(pa)hasita-samastarisi[11]-vāsakāt

6 **Mahāparvat**-ābhidhāna-parvatōdarindratā[12] **Tuṅga**-narēṁ[13]dr-āṁ-

7 kita-tanō[ḥ*] **Yamagarta-ma[ṁ]ḍalē** gata[14] [|*] Dū(Du)rvār-ārāti-mā-

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[1] The reference is to the five *pravaras* of the Vatsa *gōtra*, viz. Bhārgava, Chyāvana, Āpnuvat, Aurva and Jāmadagnya.

[2] *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 579, note.

[3] See above, Vol. XXX, p. 115.

[4] See *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa*, p. 40.

[5] From the facsimile published in *JPASB*, Vol. XXI, 1916, Plates III-IV, and N. N. Vasu's *Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja*, Plates 97-98. The second of the two illustrations is better.

[6] Expressed by symbol.

[7] Read *Ābaddh-ōddhata*.

[8] Read *pravṛiddha*.

[9] Read *dhvani-nivahaiḥ pavitrīkṛita*.

[10] Read *hutavah-ōdbhūta*. Cf. line 4 of the Asiatic Society's plate.

[11] Read *samast-arshi*.

[12] Read *parvatād=adr-īndrāt*.

[13] The sign of *anusvāra* is placed above the following letter.

[14] Read *maṇḍal-āntargatāt*.

8 dya[d*]-dvirada-vara-ghaṭ[ā]-kū(ku)mbha-piṭṭha[1]-prahāra[2]-vyālagna-mū(mu)ktā-

9 phala-nikara-karāl=āsi-dhārā sphurantī [|*] dṛishṭvā bhagni(gnān)[3]

10 nivāritaprahasitavati[4] yasyā grāmē bhūmau[5] sa śṛi(śrī)-

11 **Gayāḍa**[6]**tuṅga**[ḥ*] prathita-pṛithū(thu)-yaśas-**Tuṅga**-va[ṁ*]śādva(d=ba)bhūva [|| 1*] Sa-

12 dvi(d-vī)ry-āścharya-bhūtō(tā) nija-bhuja-mahim-ōrjita[7] pūjita-śrī

13 rājā v[ā]ṇāryaśatrō[8] satatam=api chalā niśchalā yasya

14 lakshmi(kshmīḥ [|| 2*])[9] Śāṁḍilya-gōtrādū(d=u)tpana(nnō) **Rōhitā-giri-nirga-**

15 ta[ḥ |*] [rā]jā śṛi(śrīmaj)-**Jaga[ttu]ṅga(ṅgō)** ru(rū)pa-vi(vī)rya-cha(ba)l-ānvita[ḥ || 3*] Tasy=ānvayō[10]

16 **Salōṇatuṅga**[ḥ*] śṛi(śrī)mān=ūrjita-vikrama[ḥ|*] tasyā(smā)d)-va(ba)bhūva dha[ram*]-

17 jñō dū(du)gdh-āvdē(bdhē)r=iva chandramā[ḥ || 4*] paramamāheśvara-samadhī(dhi)-

18 gatapañchamahāśavda(bda)-śrī-**Gayāḍatuṅgadēva**[ḥ*] kuśal[ī]

19 ētatmaṇḍalēsmina[11] bhāvinō(naḥ) sāmanta-sāmayājini[12]

20 jana[13]-janapadā[n*] yathāriha[14] vō(bō)dha[ya*]ti kū(ku)shalayaty=ā-

21 diśayati[15] cha viditam=astu bhavatām [|*]

*Reverse*

22 **Tuṅkērā**-vishaya-saṁvadha[16]-**Vāmāitāllō** grāmō=yaṁ cha-

23 tu[ḥ*]-si(sī)mā-paryanta[ḥ*] **Varēnd[r*]a-maṇḍalē Mūthāutha** -bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-grāma-

24 vinirgata[17] **Ōḍra-vishayē Sā[t]ira-bhaṭa(ṭṭa)**-grāma-vāstavya[18] **Kā-**

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[1] Read *pīṭha*.

[2] The two syllables omitted here may be conjecturally restored as *dhārā*.

[3] The first of the two *aksharas* of the word is read as *bhu* in the Talcher plate of Vinītatuṅga (Vasu, op. cit. Appendix, p. 155, text line 7).

[4] Read *nivṛittān=upahasitavatī*.

[5] Read *yasya saṁgrāma-bhūmau*.

[6] Read *Gayāḍa*° for the sake of the metre. The fact that the name does not suit the metre of the stanza shows that it was borrowed from elsewhere.

[7] Read °*pārjitā*. Cf. lines 9-10 of the Asiatic Society's plate.

[8] This seems to be a mistake for *rājñaś=ch=ānārya-śatrōḥ*. It is difficult to say whether Bāṇārya can be regarded as a personal name.

[9] This is only half a stranzā in *Sragdharā*.

[10] The intended reading is *Tasy=ānvayē*. But read *Tad-vaṃśē* for the sake of the metre.

[11] Better read *ētan-maṇḍalē* or *maṇḍalē=smin*.

[12] The intended reading may be *saṁvyavahāri*°.

[13] This word is not found in the corresponding passage in the Asiatic Society's plate and may be regarded as redundant.

[14] Read *yathārhaṁ*.

[15] Read °*diśati*.

[16] Read *sambaddha*.

[17] Read °*gatāya*.

[18] Read *vāstavyāya*

25 śa(śya)pa-gōtra[1] Vachhyāyana-Naidhruva-pravara[2] Yajūrvēdāchara-

26 ṇa[3] Kaṇva(ṇva)-śākh-ādhyāyina(nē) Bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-pū(pu)tra-Dēvaśarma[ṇē*] Paüma-sū-

27 ta[4] Dhanaśarma-naptrē grām-ārdha[ḥ*] aṁśa[ḥ |*] Sāvathi-vinirgata[5] Ya-

28 magarta-maṇḍala-vāstavya[6] Vachhya-gōtra[7] pañch-ārsha-prava-

29 rā[ya*] Yajūrvēdācharaṇa[8] Kanva(ṇva)-śākh-ādhyāyina(nē) Bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-pū(pu)-

30 tra-Vāśudēva[9] Llallaḍa-sūta[10] Dhaḍūkā-naptrē āṁ(aṁ)śa[ḥ*] cha-

31 turtha[ḥ*] māla[m |*] Bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-pū(pu)tra-Vāśu(su)dēva-suta-Rāmadēva[11]

32 āṁ(aṁ)śa[ḥ*] chaturtha[ḥ*] māla[m |*] triṇ-ōdaka-rupya-pla chatvāri[12]

33 aṅkē ru[13]-pla 4 tāmvra-śāshanikṛitya[14] pradatō(ttō)=[smā]-

34 bhi[ḥ*] yāva[ch*]=chandr-[ārka]-tārakā a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēsa(śaḥ |) Sva-

35 dātā[15] para-datamvā[16] yō harēti(ta) vasva(su)ndharā[m |*] sa vishṭh[ā]-

36 yāṁ kṛimi[r*]=bhūtvā pitṛibhi[ḥ*] saha pachyatē [||*] iti [||*]

### 3. Asiatic Society's Plate

This is a **single plate** inscribed on both sides and measuring 6 inches in height and 5 inches in breadth. There is an elliptical **seal** of bronze affixed to a projection in the top side. In the middle of the counter-sunk surface of the seal, there is a legend in one line reading *śrī-Gayāḍa-tuṅgasya*. Above this, there is the representation of the moon and the sun in the form of a crescent with a round mark above it. Beneath the legend is the representation of a standing bull facing a tree to its left.

In all, there are 39 lines of writing in the inscription, 20 on the first side and 19 on the second. In respect of **palaeography, language, orthography** and **style**, the inscription closely resembles the Talcher plate, No. 2. As a matter of fact, with negligible variations, lines 1-18 of the present record, preceding the delineation of the grant proper, are the same as lines 1-21 of the other grant, both the texts being no doubt prepared from the same draft. It is interesting to note that most of the errors are common to both the epigraphs.

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[1] Read *gōtrāya*.

[2] Read *Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhruva-pravarāya*. *Āvatsāra* was sometimes written in Orissan records as *Āchchhyāyana* (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 111). Cf. also *Kāshapa-gōtra Vachhāra-Naidhrupa-prava ra* (Vasu, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 156, text line 10).

[3] Read *Yajurvēda-charaṇāya*.

[4] Read °*sutāya* or better *Padma-sutāya*.

[5] Read °*gatāya* or better *Śrāvasti-vinirgatāya*.

[6] Read *vāstavyāya*.

[7] Read *Vātsya-gōtrāya*.

[8] Read *Yajurvēda-charaṇāya*.

[9] Read *Vasudēvāya*.

[10] Read °*sutāya* or better *Lallaḍa-sutāya*.

[11] Read °*dēvāya*.

[12] *Pla* is a contraction of *pala*. Better read *rūpya-pala-chatushṭayēna*.

[13] Read *rū* which is an abbreviation of *rūpya*.

[14] Read *tāmra-śāsanīkṛitya*.

[15] Read *dattāṁ*.

[16] Read *dattāṁ vā*.

The charter records (lines 18 ff.) the grant of the village called **Tōrō** situated in the **Vēṇḍuṅga** *vishaya* (district) which apparently formed a part of Yamagarta-maṇḍala. The grant was made in favour of the following donees: (1) *Bhaṭṭa-putra* Dādō, who received land that was the one-sixth share of the gift village, belonged to a family hailing from **Ahichchhatra** (modern Rāmnagar in the Bareily District of U.P.) and was a resident of the *bhaṭṭa-grāma* called **Kūruvā** in **Ōḍra-vishaya.** He was the son of Gōvinda and grandson of Kakā-ōjhā (i.e. Kakā-upādhyāya) and belonged to the Kauśika *gōtra* and the *pravara* of the three sages.[1] (2) *Bhaṭṭa-putras* Trivikrama and Purushōttama, the two sons of Vishṇu-dīkshita, received another plot of land that was another one-sixth share of the gift village. (3) *Bhaṭṭa-putra* Rāmadēva, son of Madhusūdana, received along with his five brothers another plot which was the one-eighteenth share of the gift village. (4) Vishṇu, son of Dūvilla, received a plot which was another one-eighteenth share of the gift village. (5) *Bhaṭṭa-putra* Ghāllō, son of Sāha, received land that was likewise the one-eighteenth share of the gift village. (6) *Bhaṭṭa-putra* Nārāyaṇa, son of Ghāllidāman, received a plot which was land that was the one-sixth share of the gift village. (7) *Bhaṭṭa-putra* Śrīghōsha, son of Vēdaghōsha, received along with his three brothers land that was the one-twelfth share of the gift village. (8) *Bhaṭṭa-putra* Trilōchana, son of Trivikrama, received land that was the one-eighteenth share of the village. (9) *Bhaṭṭa-putra* Baladēva, son of Avida, received land that was the one-thirtysixth share of the gift village. (10) *Bhaṭṭa-putra* Manōrathadēvaśarman, son of Paüma (i.e. Padma), received along with his two brothers land that was the one-twelfth share of the gift village. (11) *Bhaṭṭa-putra* Sadhōvaṇa, son of Ananta, received land that was another one-twelfth share of the gift village. The specified shares of the donees of the grant account for the whole of the gift village. It will be seen that the *gōtra* has been specified only in the case of the first of the donees. This seems to suggest that all of them belonged to the same *gōtra* and probably to the same family.

In lines 33-34, it is stated that the village of **Tōrō** was made a *kara-śāsana* (i.e. a revenue-paying holding) in favour of the said Brāhamṇas and that the *triṇ-ōdaka* (i.e. the nominal rent per annum) was fixed at 9 *palas* of silver. The grant was made a permanent holding by means of the copper-plate charter for the merit and fame of the donor and his parents. Entry of the royal agents and servants into the gift village was prohibited and people were warned not to cause any inconvenience to the donees. This section is followed by two of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses with which the document ends.

I am not sure about the location of the **places** mentioned in the inscription. B. Misra suggested the identification of Tōrō with Thorakota in Pallahara and Vēṇḍuṅga with Balanga in Bonai.[2]

## TEXT[3]

[Metres : verses 1-2 *Sragdharā* ; verses 3-6 *Anushṭubh.*]

*Obverse*

1 Siddhaṁ[4] svasti [|*] Āvadhōdhata[5]-dvipa-gaṇḍa-sthala-galad-avirala-mada-

2 malina-madhū(dhu)kar-āvalī-jha[ṁ*]kriṇē(t-ai)ka-pradōshāt=pravudha-tēyaḥ[6]-vipra-

[1] The Kauśika *gōtra* has three *pravaras*, viz. Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta and Audala.

[2] See *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa*, p. 40.

[3] From the facsimile published in *JPASB*, Vol. V, 1909.

[4] Expressed by symbol.

[5] Read *Ābaddh-ōddhata*.

[6] Read *pravṛiddha-tējō°*.

3 varai[r*]=Ri(Ṛi)k-Sāma-Yajū(ju)r-vēda-dhvanībhir=nivahapratikṛita[1]-sakala-jana-

4 padāt anavarata-dvija-hū(hu)ta-hū(hu)tavah-ōhū(dbhū)ta-dhūma-sañchay-ōpra(pa)ha-

5 sita-samastarisi[2]-vāsakāt **Mahāparvṛi(rva)t**-ābhidhāna-parvatōda-

6 rindatā[3] **Tuṅga**-narē[ṁ*]dr-āṅkita-tanō[ḥ*] **Yamagarta-maṇḍalē** gataḥ[4] [|*] Dū (Du)rvār-ā-

7 rāti-mādya[d*]-dvirada-vara-ghaṭā-kū(ku)mbha-pi(pī)ṭha-prahāra[5]-vyālagna-muktā-pha-

8 la-nikara-karāl=āsi-dhārā sphurantī [|*] dṛishṭvā bha[6]gni(gnān) nivāntapra[7]-

9 hasitavatī yasyā grāmē bhūmau[8] sa śrī-**Gayāḍatuṅga**[9][ḥ*] prathita-pṛi-

10 thū(thu)-yaśas-**Tuṅga-vaṁśadvabhūva**[10] [|| 1*] Sadvi(d-vī)ry-āścharya-bhūtō(tā) nija-bhū-(bhu)ja-mahim-ō-

11 pārjita(tā) pūjita-śrī rājā vāṇāryaśatrō[11] satatam=api chalā niścha-

12 lā yasya lakshmi(kshmīḥ || 2)[12] Śāṇḍilya-gōtrādū-(d=u)tpana(nnō) **Rōhitā-giri**-nirgata[ḥ |*]

13 rājā [śrīmaj*][13]-**Jaga[t*]tuṅga(gō)** ru(rū)pa-vi(vī)rya-va(ba)l-ānvita[ḥ || 3*] Tasy=ānvayō[14] **Salōṇatuṅga[ḥ*]**

14 śṛimāṁnūrjitavisa[15] [|*] tasyā(smād)=va(ba)bhūva dharmajñō dū(du)gdh-āvdhē(bdhē)r=iva chandramā[ḥ || 4*]

15 paramamāhēśvara-samadhigatapaṁchamahāśavada(bda)-śrī-**Gayāḍatu-**

16 **ṅgadēva[ḥ*]** kushalī ētatmaṇḍalēsmina[16] bhāvinō(naḥ) sāmantaka-sāma-

17 vājini[17] janapadā[n*] yathārihaṁ[18] vō(bō)dha[ya*]ti kū(ku)shalayaty=ādisa-

18 yati[19] viditam=astu bhavatāṁ **Vēṇḍuṁga**-vishaya-saṁvadha[20]-**Tōrō-grā-**

19 **mō**=yaṁ chatu[ḥ*]-si(sī)mā-paryanta[ḥ*] **Ahichha(chchha)tra**-vinirgata[21]**Ōḍra-vishayē Kū-**

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[1] Read *dhvani-nivahaiḥ pavitrīkṛita.*

[2] Read *samast-arshi.*

[3] Read *parvatād=adr-īndrāt.*

[4] Read °*maṇḍal-āntargatāt.*

[5] The two long syllables omitted here may be conjecturally restored as *dhārā.*

[6] This *akshara* has been read as *bhu* in the Talcher plate of Vinītatuṅga (Vasu, op. cit., Appendix, p. 155, text line 7).

[7] Read *nivrittān=upa*°.

[8] Read *yasya saṁgrāma-bhūmau.*

[9] Read *Gayyāda*° for the sake of the metre.

[10] Read *vaṁśād=babhūva.*

[11] Possibly *rājñaś=ch=ānārya-śatrōḥ* is intended.

[12] This is only half a stanza in *Sragdharā.*

[13] Cf. line 15 of the Talcher plate, No. 2.

[14] Read *Tad-vaṁśē* for the sake of the metre, though the intended reading is *Tasy=ānvayē.*

[15] Read *śrīmān=ūrjjita-vikramaḥ.* Cf. line 16 of the Talcher plate, No. 2.

[16] Read *ētan-maṇḍalē* or *maṇḍalē=smin.*

[17] The intended reading may be *saṁvyavahāri*°.

[18] Read *yathārham.*

[19] Read °*ādiśati.*

[20] Read *sambaddha.*

[21] Read °*gatāya.*

20 **ruvā-**bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-grāma-vāstavya[1] Kusika-gōtra[2] tīyārsha-pravara[3] Bhaṭṭa-

*Reverse*

21 pūtra Dādō[4] Gōvinda-suta[5] Kakā[6]-ōjhā-napta(ptrē) bhāga[ḥ*] āṁsa[7] shashṭha[ḥ*] māla[m |*] [a]-

22 para-khaṇḍa-kshētra[ṁ*] Bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-pū(pu)tra-T[r*]ivikrama-Pūrushōtama[8] Vishṇu-dı(dī)-kshita-sū-

23 ta[9] bhrātaradvayēna[10] āṁsa[11] shashṭha[ḥ*] māla[m |*] apara-khaṇḍa-kshētra[ṁ*] pañcha-bhrāta-

24 rēna[12] Bhaṭṭa-pū(pu)tra-Rāmadēva[13] Madhusu(sū)dana-sūta[5] aṁsa(śaḥ) ashṭādaśa[ḥ*] mā-

25 lā(lam | ) apara-khaṇḍa-kshētra[ṁ*] Bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-pū(pu)tra-Vishṇu[14] Dūvılla-sūta[5] ashṭādaśa-[ḥ*] mā-

26 la āṁśa[15] [|*] Bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-pū(pu)tra-Ghāllō[16] Sāha-suta[5] aṁsa(śaḥ) ashṭādaśa(ḥ*] māla[m |*] apa-

27 ra-khaṇḍa-kshētra[ṁ*] Bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-pū(pu)tra-Nārāyaṇa[17] Ghāllidāma-sūta[5] aṁsa(śaḥ) shashṭha[ḥ*] mā-

28 la[m |*] Bhaṭṭa-pū(pu)tra-Śṛighōsha[18] Vēdaghōsha-sū[19] triṇi bhrātarēna[20] aṁśa[ḥ*] dvādaśa[ḥ*]

29 māla[m |*] Bhaṭṭa-pū(pu)tra-T[r*]ivikrama-sū(su)ta-Trilōchana[21] aṁsa(śaḥ) ashṭādaśa[ḥ*] māla[m |*]

30 Bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-pū(pu)tra-Valadēva[22] Avida-suta[23] āṁsa shaṭatriṁsa[24] māla[m |*] Bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-pū(pu)tra-Ma-

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[1] Read *°vāstavyāya.*

[2] Read *Kauśika-gōtrāya.*

[3] Read *try-ārsha-pravarāya.*

[4] Read *putrāya Dādōkāya.*

[5] Read *sutāya.*

[6] *Sandhi* has not been observed here. The word *ōjhā* is derived from Sanskrit *upādhyāya.*

[7] Read *aṁśaḥ.*

[8] Read *Purushōttamābhyāṁ.*

[9] Read *sutābhyāṁ.*

[10] Read *bhrātribhyāṁ dvābhyāṁ.*

[11] Read *aṁśaḥ.*

[12] Read *bhrātribhiḥ saha.*

[13] Read *°dēvāya.*

[14] Read *Vishnavē.*

[15] Read *mālam=aṁśaḥ.*

[16] Read *Ghāllōkāya.*

[17] Read *°yaṇāya.*

[18] Read *Śrīghōshāya.*

[19] The *akshara ta* has been omitted after *sū* through oversight. Read *sutāya.*

[20] Read *tribhir=bhrātribhiḥ sahitāya.*

[21] Read *Trilōchanāya.*

[22] Read *Baladēvāya.*

[23] Read *sutāya.*

[24] Read *aṁśaḥ shaṭtriṁśaḥ.*

31 nōrathadēvasarma[1] Paüma-suta[2] bhrātara-dvayēna[3] āṁ(aṁ)śa[ḥ*] dvādaśa[ḥ*] māla[m |*]

32 Bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-pū(pu)tra-Sadhōvaṇa[4] Aṇanta-suta[5] āṁ(aṁ)śa[ḥ*] dvādaśa[ḥ*] māla[m |*] ētē Vrāhma-

33 ṇēna[6] **Tōrō**-grāma[ḥ*] kara-sāshanaṁ[7] kṛita[ḥ*] ru(rū)pya-pala-navēna[8] aṅkēn=āpi

34 ru(rū)pya-pla[9] 9 tṛiṇ-ō[da*]ka-pūrvakēna mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha pūnya[10]-yaśō-

35 bhivṛidha(ddha)yē tāmva-sāshanikṛitya[11] pradatō(ttō)=smābhi[ḥ*] yāva[ch*]=chandr-ārka-tā-

36 rakāt(kā) a-cha(chā)ṭa-bhaṭa-pravēsa(śaḥ) na kēn=āpi vādhā karaṇiyaṁ[12] [||*] uktañ=cha

37 dharma-śāstrē [|*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā data(ttā) rājānē[13] Sagar-ādibhi[ḥ |*] yasya

38 yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam || 5) Svadatā(ttāṁ) para-datāmvā[14] yō

39 harēta vasūndharā[15] [|*] sa vishṭhāyā[ṁ] kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhi[ḥ*] saha pachyatē [ || 6*] [i*]ti |

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[1] Read °śarmaṇē.
[2] Read *sutāya* or better *Padma-sutāya*.
[3] Read *bhrātṛi-dvayēna sahitāya*.
[4] Read *°vaṇāya*.
[5] Read *Ananta-sutāya*.
[6] Read *ētēbhyō Brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ*.
[7] Read *śāsanaṁ*.
[8] Read *navakēna*.
[9] I.e. *pala*.
[10] Read *puṇya*.
[11] Read *tāmra-śāsanīkṛitya*.
[12] Read *karaṇīyā*.
[13] Read *rājabhiḥ*.
[14] Read *dattāṁ vā*.
[15] Read *vasundharām*.

MGIPC—S1—3 DGA/59—1-8-61—450.

# No. 16—GADIVORE GRANT OF SHASHTHADEVA (II), KALI YEAR 4357

(*1 Plate*)

G. S. Gai, Ootacamund

( *Received on 25.9.1958* )

The subjoined grant is published, with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, from a set of photographs, obtained in his office in November 1949.[1] The plates were reported to have been discovered at **Bandora** in Goa territory.

The **set** consists of three plates, each measuring approximately 9 inches long and 6·35 inches high. The first and the third plates are engraved on the inner side only while the second plate has writing on both the sides. There are altogether 57 lines which are distributed as follows: I—14 lines; II—15 lines on each side, and III—13 lines. The writing is fairly well preserved. It is stated that there was a seal affixed to the ring of the plates bearing the name of the king **Shashṭhadēva** and the figure of a lion which was the emblem of the family.[2]

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the 13th century A. D. Of initial vowels, *a* is found in lines 6, 18, 39, 41 and 53; *ā* in line 45; *i* in lines 4, 6, 13, 33 and 46; *u* in lines 5, 25 and 26; and *ē* in line 36. Final *t* which is written like *tu* occurs in lines 3, 48 and 58 while final *k* written as *ku* is found in line 15. *B* is distinguished from *v* by a small dot inside the loop.

In respect of **orthography,** it may be noted that *v* is used for *b* in lines 3 and 5 while *b* is used for *v* in lines 12, 22, 40, 43 (twice), 44, 45, 47, 49, 51 and 56. *Anusvāra* for final *m* is found in lines 4, 26, 29, 53. etc. The proper name Jayakēśin is consistently spelt as *Jayakēsin* in lines 9, 10, 16 and 19. The word *viśruta* is wrongly spelt as *viśṛita* in line 6.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit. Lines 1-36 are in verse except the opening words *ōṁ namaḥ Śivāya*; lines 36-45 are in prose and again lines 45-57 are written in verse, excepting a prose passage in lines 49-50. There are 31 verses in all.

The grant opens with a salutation to Śiva followed by a stanza in adoration of the same god under the name of Saptakōṭīśa. Verses 2-3 refer to the birth of Trilōchana-kadamba, also called Jayanta, the mythical progenitor of the Kadamba family. Verse 4 states that in this family were born many kings. Verses 5-6 mention the kings **Gūhala (I), Shashṭha (I), Jayakēśin (I), Vijaya (I)** and **Jayakēśin (II)** who was the son of Vijaya (I) and is called *Kōṅkaṇ-ādhīśa*. It may be noted that Gūhala II Tribhuvanamalla, who was the elder son of Jayakēśin I, is omitted in the genealogy though it is known that he actually ruled.[3] Verse 7 states that Jayakēśin II married Mailala-mahādēvī, the daughter of **Permāḍi,** i.e. the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI (1076-1125 A.D.). To them were born **Permāḍi** and **Vijaya,** according to verse 8. From verse 9, we learn that this Vijaya or Vijayāditya (II) was a younger brother of Permāḍi while verse 10 praises his valour in a conventional manner. Verse 11 introduces **Jayakēśin (III),** son of Vijayāditya. Verse 12 praises his fame and verse 13 states that his wife was Mahādēvī. Verse 14 speaks of their son called **Tribhuvanamalla.** Verses 15-18 are devoted to the conventional praise of Tribhuvanamalla while verse 19 informs us that to this king and his wife Māṇikādēvī was born **Shashṭhadēva (II),** the donor of the present grant. Verses 20-23 contain conventional praise of this Shashṭhadēva. In the following passage in prose (lines 36-37), he is called *paśchima-samudrādhīśa*, 'the lord of the Western Ocean'. There is no indication that Shashṭhadēva acknowledged the suzerainty of any overlord.

[1] The grant is registered as No. 12 of App. A in *A. R. Ep.*, 1949-50.

[2] Ibid., p. 5.

[3] Cf. Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 71 ff.

The genealogy from Gūhala I to Shasṭhadēva II given in the introductory portion agrees in all respects with that found in the only other known copper-plate grant of this king, viz. Goa plates dated in the Kaliyuga year 4348.[1] Verses 1, 4, 8, 13 (second half), 14, 19 (first half), 21 and 23 are also found in the Goa plates. In the Goa plates, the marriage of Mailaladēvī and Jayakēśin II is compared with that of Umā and Śiva while our record mentions Jānakī and Rāghava instead.

The **date** of the inscription is given in lines 38-40 as **Kaliyuga 4357** (expressed in words) expired, **8th year** of the king's reign, **Durmati, Pushya** *amāvāsyā*, **Saturday.** The Kali year and the cyclic year Durmati quoted here do not tally. Kali 4357 was Nala while Durmati was Kali 4362, five years later. The Goa plates of this king also show a similar discrepancy. They are dated in Kali 4348 ; but the cyclic year Sādhāraṇa quoted would be equivalent to Kali 4351, three years later. With regard to this date, Fleet suggested that Kali 4348 (current) might have been the king's first regnal year.[2] This will not suit our date according to which Kali 4357 (expired) was the 8th regnal year. For if we take 4348 (current) or 4347 (expired) as the first year, then Kali 4357 (expired) would be the 11th year of the king. Again an inscription[3] from Baṅkāpur in the Dharwar District, belonging to the reign of this king, is dated in the 4th year, Kālayukta (Kālayukti). Since Kālayukti was Kali 4359 (expired), Kali 4356 (expired) would be the first year according to this record. It is, indeed, difficult to reconcile these conflicting data. We may, however, note that the details of the date quoted in the inscription under study work out regularly, with the cyclic year Durmati, to the **21st January 1262 A. D.**[4]

The **object** of the inscription, given in lines 40-50, is to record that on the above-mentioned date the king made, in the presence of the god Mahābalēśvara of **Gōkarṇa,** a gift of village **Gāḍivoṛe** situated in **Ajjagāve-kampaṇa** of **Panasadēśa** for the prosperity of the kingdom. The donees were **Lakshmīdhara** and his brothers (unnamed) who were the sons of *Jyōtisha* Lōkaṇārya and his wife Śrīdēvī and the grandsons of *Daivajña* Nārāyaṇa and his wife Kamalā (verses 24-26). The donees belonged to the Ātrēya *gōtra.* The gift was made a permanent endowment by means of the copper-plate grant. Among the privileges with the gift were *nidhi* (treasure trove), *nikshēpa* (deposits), *daṇḍa* (fine), *dōsha* (fine), *aputrika* (property of the childless), *śulka* (tolls), *kara* (major tax) and *upakara* (minor tax).[5] Of these *nidhi* and *nikshēpa* are usually included in what is called *ashṭa-bhōga* enjoyment while *daṇḍa* and *dōsha* are included in the *daś-āparādha*, 'ten crimes'. The gift was free from all imposts and it was enjoined that the gifts of the former kings should be excluded from it and that it should not be pointed at by the finger by the royal officials, i.e. they should not interfere in its enjoyment by the donees. Verses 26-29 contain the usual benedictory and imprecatory lines.

Verse 30 states that the record was composed by Padmanābha, the son of Chaṭyaṇārya and the grandson of Sōmanātha who was a learned person. The Goa plates referred to above mention Sōmanātha's son Chaṭyaṇārya as the composer of that record. From verse 31, we learn that the inscription was written, at the command of the king, by Dhannaya, the son of Ruppala-śrēshṭhin. The record ends with the word *maṅgala-mahāśrī[ḥ*]* followed by two floral designs between double *daṇḍas*.

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1 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 288 ff.

2 Ibid., Vol. XVII, pp. 300-01.

3 B. K. No. 6 of 1943-44 of *A. R. Ep.*, App. F.

4 Cf. ibid., 1949-50, p. 5. The details of the date with cyclic year Sādhāraṇa given in the Goa plates also work out correctly.

5 Five of these terms, *viz. nidhi, nikshēpa, daṇḍa, śulka* and *upakara* occur in the Dēgāve inscription (*JBBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 269) of Śivachitta Permāḍi. The Kalegaon plates (above, Vol. XXXII, p. 42, text lines 76-77) of Yādava Mahādēva, dated Śaka 1182, mention four of these, viz. *nidhi, nikshēpa, daṇḍa* and *śulka*.

The **geographical** names occurring in the inscription are: Koṅkaṇa of which **Jayakēśin** II was the ruler; Gōkarṇa, the seat of the deity Mahābalēśvara; Gāḍivoṛe, the gift village; Ajjagāve-kaṁpaṇa in which the gift village was situated; and Panasa-dēśa in which Ajjagāve-kaṁpaṇa was included. Koṅkaṇa, also called Koṅkaṇa-900 in some records of the Kadambas of Goa, is usually identified with the area corresponding to the present territory of Goa on the west coast.[1] Gōkarṇa is the well-known place of pilgrimage in the North Kanara District of Mysore State. Panasa-dēśa is the same as Palasige (or Palāśikā)—12,000, the headquarters of which was the modern Halsi in the Khanapur Taluk of the Belgaum District. *Kaṁpaṇa* is a group or circle of villages and is a smaller division than *dēśa* or *vishaya*. Ajjagāve may be identified with modern Ajgaon, situated on the sea coast about 25 miles north of Panjim, the capital of the Portuguese territory of Goa and about 65 miles north-west of Halsi. I am unable to identify the gift-village Gāḍivoṛe.

## TEXT[2]

[Metres: Verses 1, 3-9, 13, 15, 20-21, 25-26, 28-31 *Anushṭubh*; Verse 2 *Vasantatilakā*; Verse 10 *Indravajrā*; Verses 11, 23-24 *Upajāti*; Verse 12 *Mālinī*; Verses 14, 17 *Āryā*; Verse 16 *Mandākrāntā*; Verse 18 *Praharshiṇī*; Verse 19 *Udgīti*; Verse 22 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verse 27 *Śālinī*.]

### *First Plate*

1 Ōṁ nama[ḥ*] Śivāya | Śrēyaḥ[3] śrī-Saptakōṭīśō dēyād=vaḥ sa yad-ājñaya(yā) | bi-

2 bharty=Ādivarāhō=pi daṁshṭr-āgrē maṁḍalaṁ bhuvaḥ |[|1*] Gaurīpatēḥ pura-jay-ō-

3 tsava-kēli-bhājaḥ svēd-ōda-viṁdu-nikarāṁ(rān)=niṭala-prasūtātu(tāt) | jātaḥ

4 kadaṁba-taru-mūlam=upaprayātāt=khyātas=Trilōchana-kadaṁba iti trilōkyāṁ(kyām) |[| 2*]

5 S-ēshu-chāp-āsi-phalakair=jayadair=bāhubhir=yutaḥ | upāyair=iva rājan[yō] Ja-

6 yaṁta iti viśri(śru)taḥ |[| 3*] Atha tasya kulē jātāḥ kēpi bhūpā mah-aujasaḥ | kṛi-

7 t-ānēka-makha-khyāti-viḍaṁbita-Biḍaujasaḥ |[| 4*] Tataḥ khyātō=bhava-

8 t=tēshu[4] śrīmān=**Gūhalla**-bhūpatiḥ | prasiddha-siddha-**Shashṭhō**=bhū[t*]=tataḥ[5] sidhdhā-(ddh-ā)-

9 graṇīr=nṛipaḥ |[| 5*] **Jayakēsi(śi)**-nṛipō jātas=tatō **Vijaya**-bhūpatiḥ | tat-putra[ḥ*] **Kōṁ-**

10 **kaṇ**-ādhīśō **Jayakēsi(śi)**-nṛipō=pa[6]raḥ |[| 6*] **Perma(mā)ḍi**-nṛipatēḥ kanyām=upayēmē sa bhū-

[1] Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. II, Part ii, pp. 282-83, note 5.

[2] From photographs.

[3] This *akshara* was first written as *yā* and then the *visarga* was engraved in the place of the *ā-mātrā*.

[4] The subscript *t* is very faint in the photograph.

[5] An unnecessary *daṇḍa* after *tataḥ* was engraved and erased afterwards.

[6] This letter was originally written as *pra* and then corrected to *pa*.

11 patiḥ | śrī-Mailala-mahādēvīṁ Jānakīm=iva Rāghavaḥ | [ | 7*] Tasmād=asyām=ajāyē-

12 tāṁ **Permāḍi-Vijayau** sutau | Mahēśād=iva Pārba(rva)tyāṁ Gajānana-Shaḍānanau

13 | [ | 8*] Vāṇī-vibhūshaṇ-ōdagra-guṇa-nāmā ma[1]hīpatiḥ | Vijayāitya ity=āsī-

14 t=khyātas=tatr=ānujō bhuvi | [2][ | 9*] Vīrē jagaṁnē(n-nē)tra-sudhā-nidhānē yatr=ēkshitē mōha-[ju]-

*Second Plate, First Side*

15 shā[ṁ] dvishāṁ drāku(drāk) | hastāṁ(tān)=nitaṁvā(bā)d=api kāminīnām=astrāṇi[3] vastrāṇi cha nishpataṁti [||10*] Rmūta[ḥ][4] prajānām=iva

16 puṇya-puṁjas=tasmād=abhūch=chhrī **Jayakēsi(śi)dēvaḥ** | raṇ-āṁbarē yat-kara-khaḍga-dhā[5]rāhu=aśōbhata

17 grasta-sapatna-rājaḥ | [| 11*] Hima-kumuda-mṛilā(ṇā)lī-śaṁkha-kuṁd-ēṁdu-gaurair=iha jaga[6]ti yadīyai=

18 ḥ plāvitē kīrtti-pūraiḥ | api tamasi mahēlā jāta-pūrṇṇ-ēṁdu-śaṁkā dayitam=abhisaraṁ-

19 tyō maṁḍanaṁ śubhrayaṁti | [| 12*] Mahābhāgya-nidhānasya Jayakēsi(śi)-mahībhṛitaḥ | Mahādēvī ma-

20 hārājñī samabhūt=tasya vallabhā |[ | 13*] Tasmād=asyāṁ samajani guṇa-maṇi-samudaya-mahōdadhi-

21 s=tanayaḥ | **Tribhuvanamalla**-kshitipas=tribhuvana- rakshā-vidhau dakshaḥ || [14*] Karē=ri-kari-kuṁbhēshu

22 mastakēshu cha vidvishāṁ(shām) | ēkō=pi sarba(rva)gaḥ khaḍgaḥ subhaṭair=yasya dṛiśyatē |[| 15*] N=āhaṁ vairī

23 na cha mayi dhanur=n=āpi śastraṁ na ch=āstraṁ pātuṁ pā[thaḥ] kshitidhara-taṭīm=āgato=haṁ tvad-ājñā

24 | rājan=vēgād=apasara sarō-vāriṇi svāṁ cha mūrttiṁ paśyaṁni(śyann=i)tthaṁ vadati gata-dhīr=yad-ripu-

25 kshōṇipālaḥ |[|16*] Bhānur=iva bhāti bhuvanē Tribhuvanamallō nṛipō=titējasvī | unmūli-

26 ta-ripu-timiraḥ kara-dhṛita-kamal-ānuraktō=yaṁ(yam) |[|17*] Uttuṁga-sthira-tara-Mēru-raṁ(ra)mya-

27 rūpaḥ Kādaṁba-kshitipati-vaṁśa-ratna-dīpaḥ | śrī-vīra-Tribhuvanamalladēva-bhūpaḥ pra-

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[1] The three *aksharas nā, mā* and *ma* have been engraved on an erasure.

[2] This *daṇḍa* has been written on an unnecessary *visarga* originally incised.

[3] The four *aksharas nī, nā, ma* and *strā* have been written on an erasure.

[4] Read *Mūrtaḥ*. The sign of *visarga* was originally omitted.

[5] The *akshara dhā* is unnecessary here.

[6] The *aksharas ja* and *ga* are engraved on an erasure.

*i*

*ii, a*

Sc l : Fou ffth

*ii, b*

*iii*

28 khyātō jagati samunnata-pratāpaḥ |[| 18*] Tribhuvanamalla-nṛipālāj=jātaḥ śrī-Māṇikādē-

29 vyāṁ(vyāṁ) | śrīmat-**Shashṭha**-nṛipālaḥ praṇamad-ilāpāla-mauli[1]-lasad-aṁghriḥ [| 19*] Śrī-Shashṭha-nṛipatē[ḥ]

*Second Plate, Second Side*

30 khaḍga-latā kāl-ōragī raṇē [|*] jayaty=ari-nṛipa-prāṇa-pavan-āsvāda-rāgiṇī |[| 20*] Tya-(Tyā)gē sa-

31 tyē cha sāhityē kulē mahati vikramē | nāṁ(n=ā)nyas=tēna[2] samō rājā Shashṭhadēva Kalau

32 yugē [ 21*] Sauṁdaryasya parākramasya cha paraṁ kāshṭhām=adhishṭhāsnunā śrī-Shashṭhēna narēśvarē-

33 ṇa ka iha spardhēta sārdhaṁ nṛipaḥ | dṛishṭē yatra viśishṭa-sādhvasatayā sttrī(strī)ṇām=ariṇām=a-

34 pi śrōṇī-pāṇi-talād=galaṁti sahasā vastrāṇi śastrāṇi cha || 22*] Śrī-Saptakōṭīśvara-pā-

35 da-padma-padma[3]-prasāda-labdha-sthira-rā[jya*]-lakshmī [|*] Kādaṁba-vaṁś-ārṇa(rṇa)**va**-pūrṇa(rṇa)-chaṁdraḥ śrī-Shashṭhadē-

36 vō jagatē(ti) prasiddhaḥ |[| 23*] Ēvaṁ-vidha-guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṁkṛita[ḥ*] śrī-**Kādaṁba-kula**-tilaka[ḥ*] pa-

37 schi(śchi)ma-samudr-ādhīśvara[ḥ*] ṇāgata[4]-vajra-paṁjara[ḥ*] śrī-**Śivaṁ(va)chitta**-bhu[5]jabala-vīra-

38 **Shashṭhadēva**-nṛipālaḥ | **sapta-paṁchāśad-adhika-tri-śat-ōttarēshu chatus-sahasrēshu Kani(li)yu-**

39 **ga-saṁvatsarēshu** parāvṛittēshu satsu **sva-rājy-ānubhava-kālē ashṭamē Durmmati-saṁva-**

40 **tsa[rē*] Pushya-māsē amāvāsyāyāṁ Śanaiśchara-vārē** mahā-parba(rva)ṇi | śrī-**Gōkarṇa**-Mahāba-

41 lēśvaradēva-sannidhānē **Panasa-dēśa**-madhya-sthitaṁ(tam)=**Ajjagāvē**-kaṁpaṇ-āṁtar-bhūtaṁ prasi-

42 ddha-chatur-āghāṭa-sīmā-samanvitaṁ nidhi-nikshēpa-daṁḍa-dōsh-āputrika-śulka-kar-ō-

43 pakar-ādy-āya-sthal-ōpētaṁ pūrba(rva)-rāja-kṛita-sthāna-mānya-bya(vya)tiriktaṁ rājakī-

44 yānām=anaṁguli-prēkshaṇīyaṁ sarba(rva)-bādhā-parihāraṁ **Gāḍivorre(ṟe)**-nāma-grāmaṁ

*Third Plate*

45 sarba(rva)-namasyaṁ pari[kalpya][6] | Ātrēya-gōtrē samabhūt=pragalbha(bhō) daivajña-**Nārā-**

46 yaṇa ity=udāraḥ | āsīt=kalatraṁ Kamal=ēti tasya tayōḥ sutō jyōtisha-

47 Lōkaṇāryaḥ |[| 24*] Sarbō(rv-ō)pakāriṇas=tasya Śrīdēv=īty=abhavat=satī | tayōs=suru-

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[1] The *aksharas mau* and *li* are written on an erasure.

[2] Read °*tava*.

[3] This word is superfluous.

[4] Read *śaraṇ-āgata*.

[5] This *akshara* was first written as *bhū* and then corrected to *bhu*.

[6] These two *aksharas* are engraved on something originally incised.

48 chir-āchāraḥ putrō Lakshmīdharō=bhavatu(vat) |[| 25*] Tasmai bhrātṛi-samētāya hiraṇy-ōda-

49 ka-pūrba(rva)kaṁ(kam) | taṁ grāmaṁ bhūpatiḥ prādād=ā-chaṁdra-rājya-saṁpadē |[| 26*] Tasy=ā-chaṁdr-ārka-

50 bhōga-sa(sā)dhanaṁ tāṁ(tā)mra-śāsanaṁ cha prāyachchhatu(chchhat) | Sa(Sā)mānyō=[yaṁ*] dharmma-sētur=nṛipāṇāṁ

51 kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ | sarbā(rvā)n=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pārithivēṁ-

52 drān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmacha[ṁ*]draḥ |[| 27*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ-vā yō harēta vasuṁdha-

53 rāṁ(rām) | shashṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jāyatē krimiḥ | [| 28*] Ashṭāviṁśati-kō-

54 ṭyō yā narakāṇāṁ su-dāruṇāḥ | kramēṇa tāsu pachyaṁtē dēva-brahma-sva-hāriṇa-

55 ḥ |[| 29*] Śrī-Sōmanātha-vidushaḥ(shaś)-Chaṭyaṇāryō=bhavat=sutaḥ | tat-putra-Padma-nābhasya kṛi-

56 tir=jjayati śāsanē |[| 30*] Ru[ppa]la-śrēshṭhi-putrēṇa tulā-dibya(vya)-niyōginā [*] likhi-

57 taṁ Dhannayēn=ēdaṁ śāsanaṁ cha nṛip-ājñayā || [31*] maṁgala-mahāśrī[ḥ] ||[1]

[1] This is followed by two flora designs between double *daṇḍas*.

## No. 17—BONDA PLATES OF MAHASIVA TIVARA, YEAR 5

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 12. 8. 1959*)

The inscription published in the following pages was discovered by one Gōsāī Rām Rāwat on the 5th May 1959 while he was digging for the foundation of a house at the village of **Bōndā** in the Sarangarh Tahsil of the recently formed Raigarh District in the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. Bōndā lies near Bālpur on the left bank of the Mahānadī, 20 miles to the south of Raigarh, headquarters of the District of that name. Pandit L. P. Pandeya secured the record on the 27th June 1959 and soon afterwards sent it for examination to the Government Epigraphist for India. It is a copper-plate grant of the **Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Tīvara of South Kōsala,** two of whose charters have already been published. The first of these two records is the Rājim (Raipur District) plates issued by the king on the 8th day of Kārttika in his seventh regnal year. It was published by J. F. Fleet in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 291 ff., Plate XLV.[1] Unfortunately, Fleet misinterpreted some passages of the inscription and came to the unwarranted conclusions that Tīvara was an adapted son of Nannadēva, that he was a feudatory ruler whose overlord is vaguely referred to in the epigraph and that the record endows him with the subordinate title *Prāpta-pañcha-mahāśabda.* The second of the two published epigraphs of Tīvara is the Balōdā (Raipur District)[2] plates issued on the 27th day of Jyēshṭha in Tīvara's ninth regnal year. It was edited by E. Hultzsch in the pages of this journal, Vol. VII, pp. 104 ff., Plates. Hultzsch's interpretation of the inscription removed the misconceptions introduced by Fleet.

The inscription under study, which is the third of the copper-plate grants of Tīvara so far discovered, is written on a set of three plates, the first and third of which are inscribed only on the inner side and the second on both the sides. The plates are each 8.95 inches in length and 5.42 inches in height in the middle, their sides being slightly less in length and height. The corners of the plates are a little rounded off. The plates are strung on a copper ring measuring about ·4 inch in thickness and about 4.5 inches in diameter. A circular bronze **seal** is affixed to the joint of the ring. As in the case of the Rājim and Balōdā plates, the central area of the counter-sunk surface of the seal, which is 3.2 inches in diameter and whose circular border is considerably raised, contains the legend. It is the already known stanza in *Anushṭubh* arranged in two lines and speaks of the permanent charter of king Tīvaradēva of Kōsala, no doubt with reference to the grant recorded on the plates to which it is affixed. There is a floral device below the legend, while the upper part of the surface of the seal, separated from the legend by two horizontal straight lines, contains, in the centre, the figure of seated Garuḍa with outspread wings and holding a serpent with raised hood in each of his two hands. In the proper right and left of Garuḍa, there are respectively the *chakra* (discus) and the *śaṅkha* (conch-shell), both associated with the god Vishṇu, Garuḍa being the same god's *vāhana.* The weight of the three plates together is 148 *tolas* while that of the ring with the seal is 77½ *tolas.* In general appearance, the plates and the seal resemble those of the published records of king Tīvara.

[1] These plates are still preserved in the Rājīvalōchana temple at Rājim.

[2] The village lies in the Phuljhar Zamindari area which formed a part of the Sambalpur District of Orissa till 1905.



4 DGA/59

There are altogether 42 lines of writing on the four inscribed faces of the three plates : I—10 lines, IIA—11 lines, IIB—10 lines, and III—11 lines. The **characters** belong to the box-headed alphabet. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is written in a mixture of prose and verse. There is one stanza in praise of king **Tīvaradēva** at the beginning of the introductory part of the grant while the others are imprecatory and benedictory verses coming about the end of the record. As regards palaeography, language, **orthography** and **style,** the inscription closely resembles the published records of Tīvara. As a matter of fact, the language is similar in all the three charters excepting the grant portion. The influence of the Southern Alphabet is noticed in the form of the letter *ḍ*. Of initial vowels, we have *a* (lines 9, 19, 35, 36, 39, 42), *i* (lines 7, 31), *u* (lines 30, 31, 42), and *ē* (lines 29, 34). *B* has been used in some cases ; but sometimes the letter has been indicated by the sign for *v*. The two dots forming the lower limb of initial *i* have been omitted once in line 7 possibly through oversight. Final *m* occurs in line 2 and final *t* in lines 38, 39 and 42. But final *m* has been wrongly changed to *anusvāra* in line 40. Both *anusvāra* and class nasals have been used. *Anusvāra* before *ś* has sometimes been wrongly changed into the guttural nasal. The letter *dh* has been reduplicated before *y* and *v* respectively in the words *upāddhyāya* and *addhvaryu* (lines 23 ff.).

The **date** quoted about the end of the inscription in line 42 is the **first day** of the month of **Mārgaśīrsha** of the king's **fifth regnal year.** The Lōdhiā plates[1] of Śivagupta of Kōsala, who was a later member of Tīvara's family, represent the full moon day of Kārttika as the 30th day of that month and this fact would show that, in the area in question, the months were regarded as Pūrṇimānta. Thus the first day of Mārgaśīrsha would be Mārgaśīrsha-badi 1. The present inscription issued in the fifth regnal year is earlier than the Rājim and Balōdā plates of the same king, belonging respectively to his seventh and ninth regnal years.

There is a controversy on the date of king Tīvara. A. Ghosh assigns the king to the last quarter of the seventh century[2] and V. V. Mirashi to the seventh decade of the sixth century.[3] Elsewhere we have assigned Tīvara's reign to the latter half of the sixth century.[4] But the problem cannot be solved finally without further light on the subject. Although the form of the letter *y* in the Āraṅg plates[5] of Bhīmasēna, dated 601 A.D., is certainly earlier than that in the inscriptions of the Early Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs (which we have been inclined to ascribe to dates about the middle and the latter half of the sixth century), the Bōdhgayā inscription[6] of Mahānāman, dated 588 A.D., shows the later form of the letter as found in the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī records. The forms of the letters *bh* and *s* do not appear to us as important as that of *y*. The ascription of Tīvara's rule covering about a decade to the third quarter of the sixth century A.D. does not therefore appear to be palaeographically impossible.

Epigraphic evidence points to the existence of two kings named Tīvara, the first being a contemporary of the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I (c. 535-85 A.D.)[7] and the second, as will be seen below, ruling over a territory near the Vindhyas in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. Thus there is some support for both the theories assigning our Tīvara to the second half of the sixth century as well as to the corresponding part of the seventh century according as he is identified with the one or the other of the two Tīvaras referred to above. It is interesting to note

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[1] See above, Vol. XXVII, p. 325.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XXV, p. 269.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 229.

[4] See *The Classical Age*, p. 220.

[5] Above, Vol. XI, p. 342. Mirashi is certainly wrong in reading the date of the Āraṅg plates as 501 A.D. instead of 601 A.D. (ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 228).

[6] *CII*, Vol. III. pp. 274 ff., Plate XLI, A.

[7] *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 128-30.

in this connection that, in place of the epithet *prāpta-sakala-Kōsal-ādhipatya* (one who has obtained the lordship over the entire Kōsala country) found in Tīvara's own charters, the same Pāṇḍu-vaṁśī king is endowed with the epithet *sva-bhuja-parākram-ōpārjita-sakala-Kōsal-Ōtkal-ādi-maṇḍal-ādhipatya* (one who has secured the lordship of territories including the entire Kōsala and Utkala by the prowess of his own arms) in the Aḍhabhāra plates[1] of his son Nanna. We know that Tīvara ruled over Kōsala, i.e. South Kōsala or the Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. But the basis of the claim that he extended his power over Utkala-maṇḍala (Orissa) cannot be determined without further evidence. A king named Tīvara was defeated at the foot of the Vindhyas, along with his protégé Mādhava of the Śailōdbhava dynasty of Orissa, by the Śailōdbhava king Mānabhīta Dharmarāja (c. 695-730 A.D.) about the beginning of Dharmarāja's reign.[2] We have elsewhere suggested that he may have been a later member of the Pāṇḍu-vaṁśa of Kōsala, who is as yet unknown from any other source.[3] But the association of Nanna's father Tīvara with Utkala in the Aḍhabhāra plates may be regarded as supporting Ghosh's theory regarding Tīvara's date. Unfortunately, the indication is not satisfactorily clear since the dominions of the Śailōdbhavas were known as Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala and not as Utkala-maṇḍala.

After the *Siddham* symbol, the inscription introduces king **Mahāśiva Tīvararāja** in a lengthy passage in lines 1-18. This section, which begins with a stanza praising the king under the name **Tīvaradēva** and with the mention of **Śrīpura** whence the charter was issued, is also found in the Rājim and Balōdā plates though the Rājim plates contain some serious scribal errors. It may be pointed out here that the introductory part of the Aḍhabhāra plates of Nanna, referred to above, is smaller and simpler than the corresponding section of these records. King Tīvara is stated to have been a devout worshipper of the god Vishṇu and devoted to his parents. He is further described as the son of **Nannadēva** of the **Pāṇḍu-vaṁśa,** who was himself the son of **Indrabala,** and is described as having obtained the lordship of the entire **Kōsala** country. The king's order in respect of the grant was addressed to the inhabitants of **Bōndaka** together with another locality called **Avaḍika,** both situated in the **Piharāja** *bhukti.* In the inscriptions of Eastern India, the word *bhukti* is generally used to indicate a province comprising several districts or *vishayas.*[4] But in the inscription under study and some other records of the area, it seems to be used to mean a smaller territorial and administrative unit. The gift land consisting of the localities called Bōndaka and Avaḍika was granted in favour of twentyfive Brāhmaṇas.

The donees are enumerated in two groups, one of which belonged to the Maitrāyaṇīya branch of the Yajurvēda and the other to the Chhandōga *charaṇa* of the Sāmavēda. But the Brāhmaṇas are also described as priests of the Charaka section of the Yajurvēda and Sāmavēda, although the Charakas actually belonged to the Black Yajurvēda. The first group of the donees consisted of : (1) *Bhaṭṭa* Madhusūdan-ōpādhyāya, (2) Avanti-Vikram-ōpādhyāya, (3) Dēvasōm-ōpādhyāya, (4) Svāmidatt-ōpādhyāya, (5) Vishṇughōsh-ōpādhyāya, (6) Sthāvar-ōpādhyāya, (7) *Bhaṭṭa* Kamalapakshasvāmin, (8) *Bhaṭṭa* Ravināgasvāmin, (9) Śambhubhava-svāmin, (10-11) Bandhudēva and Yōraṅga-Vishṇubhavasvāmin, (12) Lāṭa-Phalihasvāmin, (13) Āśōkasvāmin, (14) Śrīdharabhūtisvāmin, (15) Śīlapakshasvāmin, (16) Sāppūpakshasvāmin, (17) Vāmanasvāmin, (18) Nāgaśarmasvāmin, (19) Gōlachandrasvāmin, and (20) Bhadrasvāmin. To the second group pertaining to the Chhandōga *charaṇa* belonged : (1) Gōpēndrasvāmin, (2) Vāmanasvāmin (different from his namesake in the other group), (3) Sōmasvāmin, (4) Yajñasvāmin and (5) Unnatamēghasvāmin.

[1] Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 219 ff.
[2] See ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 39; cf. Vol. XXX, p. 266.
[3] Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 39 and note 3.
[4] Cf., e.g., *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 284 ff.

Among these names, those of Avanti-Vikram-ōpādhyāya and Lāṭa-Phalihasvāmin suggest that the families of these two Brāhmaṇas originally belonged to the **Avanti** and **Lāṭa** countries respectively. Some of the names, like Sthāvara, Kamalapaksha, Śīlapaksha and Unnatamēgha, are not quite common. The word *phaliha* in the name of one of the donees is the Prakrit form of Sanskrit *sphaṭika*. It is difficult to say whether *Yōraṅga*, the secondary name of Vishṇubhava-svāmin, was derived from the original home of his family as in the case of Avanti-Vikram-ōpādhyāya and Lāṭa-Phalihasvāmin. The real meaning of the word *sāppū* in the name Sāppūpaksha is difficult to determine.

Among the privileges enjoyed by the donees, the majority are of common occurrence in royal records, viz. 'together with hidden treasure, 'together with minor underground deposits', 'free from the entry of *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* (i.e. Pāiks and Piādas)', 'together with all the taxes', and 'together with [the right to the fines for] the ten offences'. But the privilege indicated as 'together with the enjoyment of *aputrika-vēṇī* is not usually found in inscriptions. The word *vēṇī* means 'reunited property after it was once divided'. The expression *aputrika-vēṇī* has probably been used in our record in the sense of 'the property of a person who died without leaving an heir'. This is sometimes mentioned as *aputrā, āputraka* or *aputraka-dhana* in inscriptions.[1]

The grant was made by the king for the merit of himself and his parents. The inhabitants of the gift land are asked to pay the *bhāga* and *bhōga* (i.e. the king's share of the produce and the periodical offerings payable to the king) regularly to the donees. This is followed by some of the usual benedictory verses. It may be noted that the stanzas *Bhūmi-pradā divi lalanti*, etc., and *Rakshā-pālanayōs=tāvat*, etc., are cited separately from those stated to have been quoted from Vyāsa. The date of the charter quoted in lines 41-42, viz. the first day of Mārga (i.e. Mārgaśīrsha) of the donor's fifth regnal year, has already been discussed above. The record ends with the statement that the grant was engraved by Bōppanāga, son of the *akshasālika* (i.e. goldsmith) Yōtranāga. This person was also the engraver of the Balōdā plates of king Tīvara.[2]

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, Kōsala (i.e. South Kōsala), over which Tīvara ruled, is the present Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa as already indicated above. Śrīpura, whence the grant was issued and which was Tīvara's capital, is the modern Sirpur in the Raipur District. The gift village called Bōndaka is the modern Bōndā which is the findspot of the inscription and lies about two miles from the bank of the Mahānadī near Bālpur in the Raigarh District. Avaḍika was apparently a locality adjoining Bōndaka. The name of the *bhukti* or district of Piharāja is still preserved in that of Piharā lying about a mile to the south-east of Bōndā. The village of Lōdhiā, where a copper-plate grant of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Śivagupta Bālārjuna was discovered some years ago, is about 4 miles from Piharā and 3 miles from Bōndā. These villages are now included in the Sarangarh Sub-Division of the Raigarh District. The names of the Avanti and Lāṭa countries appear to be prefixed to the names of two of the donees. Avanti was the old name of the territory around Ujjain in the former Gwalior State, while Lāṭa indicated the Nausāri-Broach area of Gujarāt.

## TEXT[3]

*Seal*

Śrīmat-**Tīvaradēvasya Kōsal**-ādhipatēr=idaṁ(dam |)
śāsanaṁ dharmma-vṛiddhy-artthaṁ sthiram=ā-chandra-tārakaṁ(kam ||)[4]

[1] See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 291, text line 22 and note 13; Vol. XXX, p. 170.
[2] See ibid, Vol. VII, p. 106, text line 41.
[3] From the original plates and impressions.
[4] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

BONDA PLATES OF MAHASIVA TIVARA, YEAR 5

*i*

*ii, a*

*ii, b*

*iii*

**SEAL**



(from a Photograph)

*First Plate*

1 Siddham[1] [|*] Jayati jaga[t*]-traya-tilakaḥ kshitibhṛit-kulabhavana-maṅgala-[sta*]mbhaḥ [|*] śri(śrī)mati(t-Tī)**varadēvō** dh[au]-

2 rēya[ḥ*] sakala-puṇya-kṛitām [2] svasti **Śrīpurāt**=samadhigatapañchamahāśabd-ānēka-nata-nṛi-

3 pati-kirīṭa-kōṭi-ghṛishṭa-charaṇa-nakha-darppaṇ-ōmbhā(dbhā)sit-ōpakaṇṭha-diṅ-mukhaḥ prakaṭa-ri-

4 pu-rājalakshmīḥ(kshmī)-kēśa-pāś-ākarshshaṇa-durllalita-pāṇi-pa[3]llavaḥ niśita-nistriṅśa(striṁśa)-ghana-

5 ghāta-pātit-āri-dva(dvi)rada-kumbha-maṇḍala-galadva(d-ba)hala-gō(śō)ṇita-saṭā-sikta-muktā-phala-

6 prakara-maṇḍita-raṇ-āṅgaṇaḥ vividha-ratna-saṁbhāra-lābhā[4]-lōbha-vijṛimbhamāṇ-āri-kshā-

7 ra-vāri-vāḍav-ānalaś=chandr-ōdaya iv=ākṛita-kar-ōdvēgaḥ Kshīrōda iv=āvirbhūt-ānēka-(k-ā)tiśā-

8 yi-ratna-sampat Garutmān=iva bhuja[ṅ]g-ōddhāra-chaturaḥ parāmṛishṭa-śattru-kalattra-nēttr-añjanō(na)-ka(kō)mala-

9 kapōla-kuṅkuma-patra-bhaṅgaḥ śishṭ-āchāra-vyavastha(sthā)-paripālanē(n-ai)ka-dattaḥ(tta)-chittaḥ [|*] api cha prā-

10 ktanē tapasi yaśasi rahasi chētasi chakshusi(shi) vapushi cha pūjitō janēn=āklishṭataṭayā nī-

*Second Plate, First Side*

11 tāntam=avitṛiptō gu(gū)ḍhō gāḍhaṁ svachchhaḥ prasannō yauvanēna cha(ch=ā)laṅkṛitaḥ svāmībhavana(nn=a)py=abahu-lapa-

12 nō[5] nujjhita-kutṛishṭō(shṇō)=pi nitānta-tyāgī ripu-jana-prachaṇḍō=pi sō(sau)mya-darśanō bhūti-vibhūsha-

13 ṇō=py=aparusha-svabhāvaḥ [|*] kiṅ=ch=āsantushṭō dharmm-ārjanē na sampalla(l-lā)bhē svalpa[ḥ*] krōdhē na prabhāvē lu-

14 bdhō yaśasi na para-vitt-āpahārēḥ(rē) saktaḥ subhāshitēshu na kāminī-krīḍāsu pratāp-ānala-dagdh-āśēsha-

15 ripu-kula-tūla-rāśis- tuhina-śilā-śaila-dhavala-yaśō-rāśi-[prā(pra)]kāśita-digantaḥ ka(kā)ntaḥ prakṛi-

16 tyā śrīmad-**Indrava(ba)la**-sūnōr=alaṅkṛita-**Pāṇḍu-vaṅga**(vaṁśa)sya śr[ī]-**Nan[n]a-dēvasya** tanaya[ḥ*] pra(prā)-

17 pta-sakala-**Kō[sa*]l**-ādhipatyaḥ sva-puṇya-sambhāra-praśamit-āśēsha-jagad-upadravaḥ sva-prajñā-

18 su(sū)chī-samuddhṛit-ākhila-kaṇṭakaḥ paramavaishṇavō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ śrī-**Mā(Ma)hā-**

19 **śiva-Tīvararājaḥ** **Piharāja-bhuktīpa(ya)-Bōndaka**[6]-**Avaḍika**-sahita-prativāsinaḥ samājñā-

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[1] Expressed by symbol.

[2] Metre: *Āryā*.

[3] *Pā* had been originally engraved and the *ā* sign was later struck off.

[4] Read *lābha*. *Lō* had been originally incised and the *ē* sign in medial *ō* was struck off.

[5] *Jō* seems to have been originally engraved; but the sign of medial *ō* is struck off.

[6] *Sandhi* has not been observed here. Better read °*y-Avaḍika-sahita-Bōndaka* or *Bōndakē Avaḍika-sahitē*.

20 payati vidi[ta*]m=astu bhavatāṁ yath=āsmābhir=ayaṁ grāmō yāvad=ravi-śaśi-tārā-kiraṇa-

21 pratihata-ghōr-āndhakāraṁ jagad=avatishṭhatē tāvad=upabhōgyaḥ sa-nidhi[ḥ*] s-ōpa-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

22 nidhir=a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśyaḥ sarvva-kara-samavētaḥ[1] sa-dāś-āparādhaḥ s-āputtrika-vēṇī-

23 bhōjyaḥ Yajurvvēdā(da)-Sāmavēda-Charak-āddhvaryya(ryyu)-Maitrāyanī(ṇī)ya-bhaṭṭa-Madhusūdan-ōpāddhyā-

24 ya ||[2] Ra(A)vanti-Vikram-ōpāddhyāya || Dēvasōm-ōpāddhyāya || Svāmidatt-ōpāddhyāya || Vishṇughō-

25 sh-ōpāddhyāya || Sthāvar-ōpāddhyāya || Bhaṭṭa-Kamalapakshasvāmi || Bhaṭṭa-Raviṇā(nā)-gasvāmi ||[|*]

26 Śambhubhavasvāmi | Ba[ṁ*]dhudēva-Yōraṅga-Vishṇubhavasvāmi || Lāṭa-Phalihasvāmi ||

27 Aśōkasvāmi || Śrīdharabhūti[3]svāmi || Śīlapakshasvāmi || Sāppūpakshasvāmi ||[|*]

28 Vāmanasvāmi | Nāgaśarmmasvāmi | Gōla[cha*]ndrasvāmi | Bhadrasvāmi || Chhāndōga-charaṇi(ṇī)ya-Gōpēndrasvāmi ēvaṁ[4] Vā[5]manasvāmi | Sōmasvāmi || Yajñasvāmi ||

29 

30 Unnatamēghasvāmibhyaḥ pañchaviṁśa(viṁśa)tibhyaḥ mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhi-

31 vriddhayē udaka-pūrvvam=pratipādita ity=upalabhya yath-ōchitaṁ bhōga-bhāga-

*Third Plate*

32 m=upanayantaḥ sukhaṁ prativatsyath=ēti | bhāvinaś=cha bhūmipālān=uddi-

33 śy=ēdami(m=a)bhidhīyatē [|*] Bhūmi-pradā divi lalanti pati(ta)nti hanta hritvā mahī[ṁ*] nripata-

34 yō narakē nriśaṁsā(śaṁsāḥ |) ētārdva(tad=dva)yaṁ parikalayya chala(lā)ñ=cha lakshmīm=āyus=tatha(thā) kuruta ya

35 d=bhavata(tā)m=abhishṭa(bhīshṭam) |[6] api cha [|*] Raksha-pālanayōsta(s=tā)vat=phala-[ṁ*] sugati-durggatī [|*] kō nāma svā(sva)rgga-

36 m=utsrijya naraka[ṁ*] pratipadyatē ||[7] Vyāsa-gītā[ṁ*]ś=ch=ātra ślōkān=udāharanti [|*] Agnēr=apatyaṁ pra-

37 thama[ṁ*] suvarṇṇa[ṁ*] bhūr=vvaishṇavī sūryya-sutāś=cha gāvaḥ [|*] dattās=trayas=tēna bhavanti lōkā

38 yaḥ=ka(kā)ñchanaṁ gāñ=cha mahīñ=cha dadyāt ||[8] Shashṭi-varsha-sahasra(srā)ṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*]

39 a(ā)chchhēttā chchā(ch=ā)numantā chcha(cha) tāny=ēva narakē vasēt ||[7] Bahubhir=vvasu-dhā dattā rājabhis=Sa-

40 gar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yada(dā) bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam ||)[7] Sva-dattā-[ṁ*] para-dattaṁvā(ttāṁ vā) yatnād=ra-

41 ksha Yudhishṭhira [|*] mahīnma(m=ma)himatāṁ śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam=iti ||[7] pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rā-

42 jyē samva(saṁva)t 5 Mārgga-di 1 uktī(tkī)rṇaṁ(rṇam) akshasālika-Yōtranāga-sūnunā Bōppanāgēna

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[1] Better read *samētaḥ*.

[2] The double *daṇḍa* here and below upto line 29 are unnecessary. The names of the donees should have to be read in a single compound expression. But the rules of *sandhi* have been ignored in a few cases.

[3] *Bhā* had been originally engraved; but the *ā* sign was later struck off.

[4] Better omit *ēvaṁ* since all the names of the donees have to be regarded as forming a single compound expression.

[5] *Vē* was originally incised. But the *ē* sign seems to be struck off.

[6] Metre: *Vasantatilaka*.

[7] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[8] Metre: *Indravajrā*.

# No. 18—MUDGAPADRA GRANT OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA SILADITYA

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 4. 1. 1959*)

In August 1959, Mr. Nathubhai Umaji Shah of **Karchelia** in the Mahuwa Tahsil of the Surat District, Bombay State, sent me a **set** of two copper plates for examination. The two rings that must have originally held the plates together and the seal expected to have been affixed to one of them were not available to me. I had also no information regarding the exact findspot of the inscription and the circumstances leading to its discovery.

The two plates of the set measure each about 8·5 inches in length and 5·1 inches in height. They have two ring-holes in the margin, which are respectively ·4 and ·5 inch in diameter, the intervening gap between them being about 2·5 inches. The plates have writing only on the inner side. The weight of the two plates together is 72½ *tolas.*

There are 21 lines of writing, 9 lines on the first and 12 on the second. The **characters** of the inscription belong to the West Indian variety of the early Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabet of the seventh century A.D. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is written in a mixture of prose and verse. The **orthography** is similar to that of other epigraphs of the age and area in question. The text of the record is full of errors of omission and commission. The **style** is similar to the published records of the donor. But the introductory part of the present record is somewhat smaller than in the other inscriptions of the family. The date of the grant is quoted in lines 20-21 as the **7th day of the bright fortnight of Jyēshṭha in the year 420** expressed in words only. The year has to be referred to the Kalachuri era which, as Keilhorn has shown, started from the 13th August 249 A.D.[1] Thus the year 420 of the Kalachuri era would be equivalent to **668-69 A.D.** and Jyēshṭha-sudi 7 of the said year corresponds to the 23rd May 668 A.D. This is the **earliest record of the Chālukya house of Gujarāt** and the date is of considerable importance in as much as, as will be seen below, it proves that a generally accepted theory about the history of the family in question is wrong.

The charter was issued by *Yuvarāja* **Śryāśraya Śīlāditya** of the **Chalikya** or Chālukya dynasty. He was the son of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman and grandson of the Chālukya emperor Satyāśraya Pulakēśin II (610-42 A.D.) of Bādāmi. The Nasik plates[2] of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarmarāja, dated in the Kalachuri year 436=684-85 A.D. (actually Chaitra-sudi 10 of 685 A.D.), mention the donor as meditating on the feet of his parents and of the illustrious Anivārita who is no other than the Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya I (655-81 A.D.) as suggested by the latter's own inscriptions.[3] At the time the charter was issued, Jayasiṁhavarman was ruling over the Nāsik region as a semi-independent feudatory of Vikramāditya's son and successor Vinayāditya I (681-96 A.D.) who is, however, not mentioned in the record. We know that Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman is sometimes described as one 'whose prosperity was

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 215. That the era started from the 5th September 248 A.D. is believed to be the later view of the same scholar (*CII*, Vol. IV, p. vii).

[2] *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 127 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 176; cf. Vol. X, p. 15. Mirashi's view that Anivārita was the name of Jayasiṁha's *guru* (*CII*, Vol. IV, p. 124) is unconvincing.

augmented by his elder brother (i.e., Vikramāditya I),[1] and this suggests that he was appointed viceroy of the Nāsik region by Vikramāditya I. But the Nasik plates do not represent him clearly as a feudatory of the Chālukya emperor.

While there is only one charter issued by Jayasiṁhavarman as indicated above, two grants of his son *Yuvarāja* Śryāśraya Śilāditya were so far known to us. These are the Nausāri plates[2] of the Kalachuri year 421=669-70 A.D. (actually Māgha-sudi 13 of 670 A.D.) and the Surat plates[3] of the year 443=691-92 A.D. (actually Śrāvaṇa-sudi 15 of 691 A.D.). The earlier of the two grants, like the charter under study, is known to have been issued from Navasārikā (Nausāri). Our inscription is thus the third and the earliest of Śryāśraya Śilāditya's inscriptions so far known. His title *Yuvarāja* (meaning 'an heir-apparent') and the fact that the seal of his Surat plates bears the name of his father have led some scholars to believe that Śryāśraya Śilāditya was ruling on behalf of his father who was himself a viceroy of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi.[4] But the issue of copper-plate grants by both the father and the son appears to suggest that they were ruling over different tracts as semi-independent subordinates of the Chālukya emperors of Bādāmi. It has to be noted that Śilāditya's charters do not indicate in any way that he was a subordinate of his father or of the Chālukya emperor of Bādāmi, but, on the other hand, show that his political status was similar to that of his father. If he was really ruling on his father's behalf over a portion of the latter's chiefdom, he could not have issued charters of his own without indicating his subordinate status in any way. Indeed, in such a case, he could only issue a grant with his father's permission. We can understand a powerful viceroy issuing charters in his own name with the connivance of his weak or distant overlord. But it is difficult to believe that a governor under the viceroy, even if he was his own son, was empowered to issue grants like an independent ruler. In this connection, attention may be drawn to the fact that the Manor plates[5] of Jayāśraya Maṅgalarāja, who was another son of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman and was ruling over the Thana region, were issued in Śaka 613=691-92 A.D. (actually on Vaiśākha-sudi 15 of 691 A.D.) stated to have been corresponding to the twentyfirst regnal year of Maṅgalarāja. Thus Maṅgalarāja's rule as a viceroy began as early as 669-70 A.D. while his brother Śryāśraya Śilāditya is now known to have been ruling from the year 668-69 A.D. down at least to 691-92 A.D. as already indicated above. Both the brothers were thus ruling semi-independently at the same time side by side with their father. Maṅgalarāja's reference to the twentyfirst year of his own rule no doubt points to his semi-independent status.

It has been suggested that the regnal year 21 mentioned in the Manor plates refer to the reign of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman and not of Maṅgalarāja who is believed to have been ruling on his father's behalf and, on this basis, it has been concluded that Jayasiṁhavarman ruled from 669-70 A.D. (Kalachuri year 421) at least to 691-92 A.D. (Kalachuri year 443) which are, as we have seen, the dates of the Nausāri and Surat plates of his son Śryāśraya Śilāditya.[6] This is, however, clearly against the language of the Manor plates. Moreover, the present record shows that Śryāśraya Śilāditya began to rule at least one year earlier and this fact disproves the suggestion that the Nausāri plates of the Kalachuri year 421 were issued by Śryāśraya Śilāditya shortly after Gujarāt came into the possession of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman, i.e. in the first year of his rule.[7] The date

[1] *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 125, text line 9.

[2] Ibid., pp. 123 ff.

[3] Ibid., pp. 132 ff.

[4] Ibid., p. lxiii.

[5] Above Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.

[6] Ibid., p. 18. Mirashi agrees with the suggestion but regards the Kalachuri years 421 and 443 as equivalent to 670-71 and 693-94 A.D. respectively (*CII*, Vol. IV, p. lix, note 1). Jayāśraya Maṅgalarāja had a fairly long rule since he is also known to have issued the Balsar Plates of Śaka 653 (731-32 A.D.). See *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 5; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 75.

[7] It is really strange that Mirashi (loc. cit.) regards 670-71 A. D. as later than 671-72 A. D. which he quotes as 671 A. D., the reason being obvious.

of the inscription under study suggests that, while Maṅgalarāja was appointed viceroy in 669-70 A.D., his brother Śryāśraya Śīlāditya and probably also Jayasiṁha, father of Śryāśraya Śīlāditya and Maṅgalarāja, began to rule as viceroys from an earlier date. It seems also to suggest that the father and his two sons were viceroys over different parts of Gujarāt and that the sons were not ruling on behalf of their father. The real significance of the title *Yuvarāja* enjoyed by Śryāśraya Śīlāditya cannot be determined. It may have been conferred on him by his overlord.

The Nausāri plates[1] of Avanījanāśraya Pulakēśirāja dated in the Kalachuri year 490=738-39 A.D. (actually Kārttika-sudi 15 of 738 A.D.) assign the imperial title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* not only to Pulakēśirāja but also to his brother and predecessor Maṅgalarāja and their father Jayasiṁha even though Pulakēśin is stated to have received certain titles from king Śrīvallabha, i.e. his overlord, the Chālukya emperor of Bādāmi. This suggests that the Gujarāt Chālukyas were semi-independent before the Chālukya house of Bādāmi was overthrown by the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Even the Manor plates of 691-92 A.D., which refer to the twentyfirst year of Maṅgalarāja's rule as indicated above, apply the title *Prithvīvallabha* to Maṅgalarāja. The Nausāri plates of Pulakēśirāja may be regarded as representing him as the successor of Maṅgalarāja and the latter as the successor of Jayasiṁha and this has been taken to indicate that Śīlāditya, not mentioned in the record, predeceased his father. It may be supposed that on Śīlāditya's death his chiefdom passed on to his father Jayasiṁha and that Jayasiṁha's chiefdom passed on his death to Maṅgalarāja who was succeeded by Pulakēśirāja. But, since there were other vice-regal rulers in the region in qustion,[2] it is difficult to be sure on these points. The Nausāri plates, however, merely give the relation between Jayasiṁha and Maṅgalarāja and between Maṅgalarāja and Pulakēśirāja and do not really specify the regular order of succession. But since the relation between Maṅgalarāja and Pulakēśirāja was not the regular one of father and son, its mention may suggest that Pulakēśirāja considered himself the successor of his brother. The statement of the relationship between Jayasiṁha and Maṅgalarāja may, however, be only casual without any such bearing.

The inscription under study begins with the *Siddham* symbol and the auspicious word *svasti*. These are followed in lines 1-2 by the well-known stanza *Jayaty=āvishkṛitaṁ*, etc., in adoration of the boar incarnation of Vishṇu, which is found at the beginning of most of the records of the Chālukya house of Bādāmi. The word *svasti* occurs again after the said stanza indicating the beginning of the document proper. Then king **Pulakēśi-vallabha** (Pulakēśin II) of the **Chalikya** (Chālukya) family [of Bādāmi] is introduced (lines 2-5). As in the other records of the family, the Chālukyas are described as meditating on (or, favoured by) the feet of the god Svāmi-Mahāsēna (i.e., Skanda-Kārttikēya), as installed [to power] by the [Divine] Mothers, as belonging to the Mānavya *gōtra* and as having been Hāritī-putras. King Pulakēśin II is also described as one whose body was purified by the *avabhṛitha* bath taken in connection with such sacrifices as the *Bahusuvarṇaka, Aśvamēdha, Pauṇḍarīka* and *Vājapēya*. This can be regarded as a genuine claim only if it may be believed that he took part in these sacrifices which were actually performed by his grandfather Pulakēśin I. But the known facts of Chālukya history show that Pulakēśin II was too young at the time of his father's death about 597 A.D. while the *Aśvamēdha* and some of the other sacrifices had been celebrated by his grandfather before 543 A.D.[3] Thus the claim in our inscription could scarcely have been genuine.

Pulakēśin's son **Vikramāditya Satyāśraya Pṛithivīvallabha** is next introduced in lines 5-7 of our record as devoted to his parents and to the illustrious Nāgavarman. This Nāgavarman

[1] *II*, Vol. IV, pp. 137 ff.

[2] Cf. *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. li-lxvi.

[3] *The Classical Age*, pp. 231 ff.

is mentioned in several other epigraphs of the Gujarāt Chālukyas as Nāgavardhana who is usually believed to have been one of the *gurus* of Vikramāditya I.[1] The inscription then introduces **Dharāśraya** (actually called **Dhārāśraya** in our record as also in some other epigraphs) **Jayasiṁhavarman** as the brother of Vikramāditya I and the donor of the charter, viz. **Śryāśraya Śīlāditya-yuvarāja,** is next mentioned as the son of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman (lines 7-9).

The charter was issued from **Navasārikā** (line 10), i.e. modern Nausāri, which seems to have been the head-quarters of the government of Śryāśraya Śīlāditya. The grant recorded in the charter was made in favour of two Brāhmaṇas, the first of whom was Rēvāditya, the son of Bambhasvāmin (Brahmasvāmin) of an Aupamanyava-gōtra family hailing from Girinagara (modern Girnar near Junagarh in Kathiawar). Rēvāditya is described as a Chhandōga-brahmachārin, i.e. a student of the Chhandōga branch of the Sāmavēda. The second donee was Varasyaka of the Āśvalāyana *gōtra,* who was the son of the sister of Rēvāditya's mother. His father is not mentioned in our record and he is represented, like Rēvāditya, as a *putraka* (i.e., a son) to Bambhasvāmin. The specific mention of his *gōtra* seems to preclude the possibility of Varasyaka being an actual or adopted son of Bambhasvāmin. Probably Varasyaka was brought up in Bambhasvāmin's family.[2]

The village granted was **Mudgapadra-grāma** situated in the district of **Vichihāra.** It is difficult to determine whether *hāra* in the second name actually stands for *āhāra,* 'a district'. The grant was made for the increase of the merit and fame of the donor and his parents. The object was the provision for the performance of the *bali, charu* and *vaiśvadēva* rites as well as the reception and maintenance of guests by the donees.

The above section of the record is followed by the donor's request to future rulers for the maintenance of the grant and the curse to the effect that [the person responsible for the resumption of the gift land] would be committing the five great sins. After this, some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 16-20 as the sayings of *Vēdavyāsa* Vyāsa. Lines 20-21 quote the date already discussed above. The charter ends with the statement that it was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika* (minister for peace and war) Dhanañjaya who was also the writer of the donor's Nausāri plates referred to above.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the document, we have already indicated the location of Navasārikā and Girinagara. The gift village called Mudgapadra-grāma and the district of Vichihāra in which the village was situated cannot be identified.

## TEXT[3]

### *First Plate*

1 Siddhaṁ[4] svasti [||*] Jayaty=āviṅkṛitaṁ[5] bhushṇur[6]=vvārāhaṁ kshōbhit-ārṇṇabhaṁ(vam |) dakshiṇ-ōnnata-daṁshṭr-ā-

2 gra-vikrā(śrā)nta-bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ [||*][7] svasti [||*] Mānavya-sagōttrāṇāṁ Hāriti(tī)-putrāṇāṁ

[1] See above, Vol. XXXII, p.179.

[2] Cf. the case of Raghudēva described as *putrīkṛita* by Kapilēśvara even though the former was not the latter's actual or adopted son (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 5). Note also the case of Chāchiga who was the son of Padma but claimed to have been the *dharma-putra* of king Gōpāla (ibid., Vol. XXXII, p. 340).

[3] From the original plates.

[4] Expressed by symbol.

[5] Read °*āvishkṛitaṁ.*

[6] Read *Vishṇōr*°.

[7] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

MUDGAPADRA GRANT OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA SILADITYA

*i*

*ii*

Scale : Three-fifths

3 Mā[tr]i(tṛi)-gaṇ-ābhishiktānāṁ Svāmi-Mahāsēna[1]-pād-ānuddhyātānāṁ **Chalikyānāṁ(nā)-m=a-**

4 nvayē bahusuvarṇṇak-āśvamēdha-pauṇḍarīka-vājapē[y-ā]di-yāg-āvabhrita-[2]

5 snāna-pavitrīkri(kṛi)ta-śārīrāḥ(raḥ) śrī-**Pulakēśi-vallabhaḥ** [|*] tasya puttra[ḥ*] paramamāhēśvarō

6 mātā-pittra(tṛi)-chhā[3]-śrī-Nāgavarmma[4]pād-ānuddhyātaḥ śrī-**Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-Pri(Pṛi)thi-**

7 **vīvallabha**-mahārā[jā*]dhira(rā)ja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭārakaḥ [|*] tasya bhrātā **Dhārāśraya**[5]-**śrī-Ja-**

8 **yasiṁhavarmma(rmmā** |) tasya putraḥ sa-madana yuvatī-jana-manōhara-rūpa-saubhāgya-

9 vijita-vidyādhara-chakravartti-guṇaḥ **Śryāśraya-śrī-Śīlāditya-yuvarājaḥ**

*Second Plate*

10 **Navasārikāṁ**[6] **Girinagara**-vinirggat-Aupapanna[7]-sagōttra-Baṁbhasvā-

11 mi[8]-putrakakābhyā[9] Rēvāditya-Chchhandōga-brahmachāriṇē

12 tan-mātṛisva(shva)sṛiputr-Āśvalāyana-sagōtra-Vvarasyaka[10] **Vichihā-**

13 **r-āntarggata-Mudgapadra-grāmaṁ** dattavān mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivri(vṛi)-

14 ddhayē akhaṇḍita-bali-charu-vaiśvanara[11]priy-ātithi-santarppaṇāya śarad-abhra-saṁ-

15 saṁghativajīva-lōk-ānityatāṁm[12]=anusmṛitya dhārmmikair=āgā[mi*]-nṛipati[bhiḥ*] asmad-dāyō=

16 numantavya[13] sa pa[ñ]chabhir=mmahāpātakai[ḥ*] saṁyuktaḥ sā(syā)d=ity[14]=ukta[ṁ*] bhagavatā Vēdavyāsē[na*]

17 Vyāsēna Shashṭi-varshsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūma(mi)daḥ [|*] āchchhē[ttā] ch=ānumantā cha tā-

18 ny=ēva narakē vasēt ||[15] Vindhy-āṭavīshv=atōyāsu śushka-kōṭara-vāsina||(naḥ ) [kr]i(kṛi)-shṇ-āhayō

[1] *Sō* was originally incised in place of *sē*.

[2] Read °*bhritha*.

[3] The *akshara* is redundant.

[4] There are two signs of superscript *r* above *mma*.

[5] The name is found in the forms Dhārāśraya and Dharāśraya.

[6] Read °*sārikām=adhivasan* as in the Nausāri plates.

[7] Read °*t-Aupamanyava*.

[8] Sanskrit *Brahmasvāmi*.

[9] Read *putrakābhyām*.

[10] Read *Varasyakāya cha*.

[11] The intended reading is *vaiśvānara*. But the more appropriate expression seems to be *vaiśvadēva*

[12] Read °*abhra-saṁhativaj-jīva-lōk-ānityatām*°.

[13] The letters °*h=paripālayitavyaś=cha* | *yō v=ājñāna-timira-paṭal-āvṛita-matir=āchchhindyād=āchchhidyamānam v=ānumōdēta* appear to have been omitted from here through oversight.

[14] The superscript *t* in the conjunct has an incomplete form.

[15] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

19 **hi** jāyantē ||[1] bhūma(mi)-dāyaṁ haranti yē ||[2] Bahubhir=vvasudhā **bhuktā** **rājē(ja)bhi[ḥ*]** Sagar-ādibhē(bhiḥ |)

20 yasya yasya yadā bhūmi || [1]s=tasya sta(ta)sya tadā phalam || **saṁvatsara-śata-chayēshṭa**[3] **viṅśō-**

21 **ttar-ādhikē**[4] || **Jēshṭa**[5]**-śuddha-saptamyā[ṁ*]** śrī-sandhivigrahita(ka)-**Dhana[ṁ*]-**jayēna likhēta[6] ||[7]

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[1] The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

[2] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

[3] Read *chatushṭayē*. Another possible emendation of the faulty passage is *cha[tushṭa*]yē=shṭa°* which did not occur to me when the article was written. If this is preferred, the date would be year 428 and the inscription would of course not be the earliest record of the family. But that does not affect much the suggestion regarding the simultaneous rule of Jayasiṁha and his sons. Cf. above, p. 118 and note 7.

[4] Read *viṁśaty-uttarē* or *viṁśaty-adhikē*.

[5] Read *Jyēshṭha*.

[6] Read *likhitam*.

[7] This is followed by a design indicating the end of the writing.

# No. 19—NESARIKA GRANT OF GOVINDA III, SAKA 727

(2 *Plates*)

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA, BOMBAY

(*Received on 30. 6. 1959*)

This **set** of three copper plates was lying for a long time with the family of Major Sardar Nagojirao Patankar of Patan, North Satara District, Bombay. The source from which they came to his family is unknown. On the 15th May 1955, Major Patankar presented the plates to Shri Morarji Desai, the then Chief Minister of Bombay State. Later they were tansferred to the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. The inscription was published earlier by Shri G. H. Khare in his *Sources of the Medieval History of Deccan* (Marāṭhī), Vol. I, pp. 15 ff. with Plates.

Each of the three plates measures 9·5″ in length and 6·75″ in breadth. Their ends are a little raised and thickened for the protection of the writing, the preservation of which is unsatisfactory. Some portions at one corner of two of the plates are lost. The surface of the first and second plates are damaged due to corrosion. The second plate is cracked at the centre. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side and the other two on both the sides. The plates are strung on a ring about ·5″ in thickness and 2·3″ in diameter, to which is soldered a round **seal** 1·5″ in diameter. The countersunk surface of the **seal** bears the figure of Garuḍa, facing, squatting on a lotus.

The whole grant runs into 74 lines. Plate I has 19 lines, Plate II has 19 and 16, and Plate III 15 and 5. The scribe has inadvertently omitted one or two letters at places and in one case (line 42) as many as nine letters.[1] There seems to be some overwriting in lines 49 and 50, the motive of which is unknown.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the West Indian type and resemble those of the other copper-plate grants of the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler **Gōvinda III** who also issued the present charter. The sign for the *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* resembles the letter *sh* (cf. lines 9, 27). The letter *b* is always denoted by the sign for *v*. The **language** is Sanskrit. As regards **orthography,** we have the indiscriminate use of one of the three sibilants for another, the use of *y* for *j* and *vice versa*, *ri* expressed by *ṛi*, etc. There are numerous errors in the text of the record.

The plates were issued by the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** king **Gōvinda III** while he was encamping in **Śūgūdūru.**[2] He is described as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara śrīmat*-Prabhūta-varsha Śrīvallabhanarēndra and as meditating on the feet of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara śrīmad*-Dhārāvarsha. The **object** of the inscription is to record the royal gift of the village of **Nēsarikā** on the occasion of *Saṁkrānti* on the **13th day** of the **dark half** of the month of **Pausha** in the cyclic year **Tāraṇa** and the **expired Śaka year 727** (expressed in words only). The date corresponds to the **21st December 805 A.D.** On that day, the *Saṁkrānti* took place 55 *ghaṭikās* after mean sun-rise when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half of Pausha was current. The *tithi* ended 42 *ghaṭikās* after mean sun-rise next day. The cyclic year was Tāraṇa according to the Northern system.

The donated village Nēsarikā was situated in the **Chandagaḍa** *vishaya*. The details of the boundary given in the grant are difficult to understand, as the lines containing the information are tampered by overwriting. However, it appears that it was bounded on the east by the confluence of the river **Tārā**; on the south by **Hēma-giri** adjoining some village (the name of which cannot be made out); on the west by a water-fall of the village of **Darvvaṇa,** and on the north by a

[1] [See below, p. 132, note 1.—Ed.]

[2] [See below, p. 132, note 4.—Ed.]

village (the name of which cannot be made out) situated near **Kṛishṇa-giri.**[1] Chandagaḍa may be the present Chandgarh, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name formerly belonging to the Belgaum District. About ten miles to its north is situated a village named Nēsarī which may be Nēsarikā of the grant. To the east of Nēsarī flows the Tarhaḷa river which meets the river Malaprabhā at a little distance south-east of Nēsarī. This Tarhaḷa may be the river Tārā and the confluence referred to in the grant may be that of the Tarhaḷa and the Malaprabhā.

The donee was Śivanāga-bhaṭṭa, the son of Parivachchhara-chaturvēda and grandson of Bhāridāsa-chaturvēda. The donee's family belonged to the *gōtras* of Aṅgiras, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja and the Taittirīya school of the Vēdas and he was a student of the three Vēdas and was the resident of Ikshu-grāma which cannot be identified.[2] The gift was made to the donee at the instance of a chief named Nāgahari[3] of the Bṛihach-Chhinda family of the Phaṇīndra (Nāga) race. The Chhinda (Sinda) family ruled from Bagalkot and Yelburga in Bijapur and Hollavour and Belagutti in Mysore.

Śūgūdūrū,[4] the camping place of the king from which the present grant was issued, cannot be precisely located. It is, however, not unlikely that it lay in the territory of the Chhinda chief, at whose instance the gift was made.

The record was written by Aruṇāditya who was the son of Vatsarāja and figures as the scribe of no less than five other charters of the king, viz. the Wāṇi-Diṇḍōri plates of Śaka 730 (current),[5] Sīsavāi grant of Śaka 729,[6] Bāhulawād plates of Śaka 732 (current),[7] Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala plates of Śaka 732[8] and Lōhārā grant of Śaka 734.[9] He was thus serving Gōvinda III at least from Śaka 727 to 734. The *dūtaka* of the present grant was Dēvaiya-rīṇaka.

The inscription offers the **longest eulogy** of king Gōvinda III. Out of the 16 stanzas (verses 10-25) of this eulogy, 11 (verses 10-20) are known from the Rādhanpur[10] and Sīsavāi grants[11] as well as from the Maṇṇe plates of Śaka 724, which record a grant of Gōvinda's brother Stambha.[12] This portion of the eulogy, excluding verses 15 and 19, is also found in the Wāṇi-Diṇḍōrī plates[13] and, excluding verses 16 and 17, in the Lōhārā grant.[14] The remaining five stanzas (verses 21-25) are found only in the present record.

Verses 10-12 refer to Gōvinda's appointment as *yuvarāja* and investiture with the *kaṇṭhikā* (necklace), the sign of an heir-apparent. Verse 13 tells us that after the death of his father, he subdued twelve rulers who had combined against him. There is no indication that this revolt was headed by Gōvinda's brother Stambha as suggested by scholars on the authority of the Kāvī plates of Gōvinda of the Gujarāt-Rāshṭrakūṭa branch,[15] in which the name of Stambha is mentioned as one of the rebellious rulers. The reference to this revolt of the twelve feudatories also appears in

[1] [See below, p. 133, notes.—Ed.]

[2] [See below, p. 132, notes 8-9.—Ed.]

[3] [See below, p. 132, note 7.—Ed.]

[4] [See below, p. 132, note 4.—Ed.]

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 160, text line 61.

[6] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 212, text line 62.

[7] *Sources of the Medieval History of Deccan* (Marāṭhī), Vol. II, p. 22, text line 56.

[8] Ibid., Vol. III, p. 36, text line 66.

[9] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 222, text line 71.

[10] Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 243-45.

[11] Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 208 ff.

[12] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Nl. No. 61.

[13] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 158.

[14] above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 219-20.

[15] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 147, verse 27 : *Rājy-ābhishēkak-alaśair=abhishich=a dattāṁ rājādhirājaparamēśvaratāṁ sva-pitrā | anyair=mahā-nṛipatibhir=bahubhis=samētya Stambh-ādibhir=bhuja-balād=avalupyamānām* ||

Stambha's own grant, viz., the Maṇṇe plates.[1] Had he been involved in the revolt, he would have easily ignored the reference to the revolt in the eulogy of Gōvinda III in his own grant in view of the fact that it is not referred to in records like the Añjanāvati plates of Śaka 722 issued by Gōvinda III himself.[2] Stambha, the brother of Gōvinda III, thus may have been different from Stambha who rebelled against the latter. Verses 14-20 describe the surrender of six kings, viz. (1) Gaṅga, (2) Vēṅgī, (3) Mālava, (4) Vindhya (i.e. Mārāśarva), (5) Pallava and (6) Gūrjara, who may have been six out of the twelve, since Andhra is identical with Vēṅgī and Kōsala and Avanti may be identified respectively with Vindhya and Mālava.[3]

Verse 21-25, which are found only in the present grant, appear to throw more light on the above rulers. The verses may be translated as follows : "**Jagattuṅga** (i.e. Gōvinda III) decorated the whole universe with the sign of Garuḍa (i.e. the royal insignia of the Rāshṭrakūṭas) after having taken away [the insignia of] the fish from the king of the **Pāṇḍya** country, [the insignia of] the tiger from the **Chōḷa**, [the insignia of] the elephant from the **Gaṅga**,[the insignia of] the bow-stick from the **Kērala**, [the insignia of] the boar from the **Andhra**, **Chālukya** and **Maurya**, the *phalakaṁ pratiradhārya* (?) from the lord of the **Gūrjaras**, [the insignia of] the bull from the lords of the **Pallavas**, **Kōsalas** and **Avantis** ; the *nāma* (i.e. image) from the **Siṁhala** and [the image of] the renowned goddess Tārā from **Dharma**,the king of **Vaṅgāla**, and other insignia from various other rulers."[4]

Here we have a list of thirteen kings who were deprived of their royal insignia by Gōvinda III. They are : (1) Pāṇḍya, (2) Pallava, (3) Chōḷa, (4) Gaṅga, (5) Kērala, (6) Andhra, (7) Chālukya, (8) Maurya, (9) Gūrjara, (10) Kōsala, (11) Avanti, (12) Siṁhala and (13) Vaṅgāla. One of these names, viz. Pallava, is mentioned twice. Whether this is a mistake of the scribe or was purposefully written cannot be determined, since it may be due to the fact that Gōvinda III led two expeditions against the Pallava country as appears from the language of his British Museum plates of Śaka 726.[5]

Of these thirteen kings, six, viz. Nos. 2, 4, 6, 9, 10 and 11, are the same, as we have seen, as those referred to in verses 14-20. Six others, viz. 1, 3, 5, 7, 8 and 13 who are known to have been subdued by the predecessors of Gōvinda III, may be the six other rebels. Siṁhala (No. 12) is not mentioned in connection with the exploits of his predecessors and may have been subdued by Gōvinda III himself.

As regards the insignia of the various kings, it is well known that the Pāṇḍyas had the fish emblem. Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ (765-815 A.D.),[6] the son of Māṛavarman Rājasiṁha I, was the Pāṇḍya contemporary of Gōvinda III. But nothing is known about his struggle with the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The bull was the emblem of the Pallavas. The Pallava ruler referred to is Dantivarman, the son of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. The defeat of Dantiga or Dantivarman of the Pallava dynasty at the hands of Gōvinda III is mentioned in the latter's British Museum plates.[7] The tiger was the insignia of the Chōḷas.[8] Gōvinda's Chōḷa contemporary seems to have been a predecessor of king Vijayālaya (850-71 A.D.).

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[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Nl. No. 61.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 13 ff. [See below, p. 140.—Ed.]

[3] [See below, pp. 137-38, 140.—Ed.]

[4] [See below, p. 137.—Ed.]

[5] *Int. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 127, trans., lines 6 13.

[6] *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 156.

[7] *Ind Ant*, Vol. XI, p. 127, text lines 6-7.

[8] Above Vol. XXII, p. 213 ; Vol. XXV, p. 21 .

The bull was the insignia of the Eastern Gaṅgas[1] and the elephant of the Western Gaṅgas.[2] Our record apparently refers to the elephant emblem of the Western Gaṅgas. We are told in verse 14 of the record that the Gaṅga ruler, who was in prison, was released when Gōvinda III came to the throne, but that he was re-imprisoned on his being hostile. The same fact is alluded to in verses 18 and 33 of the Sanjan plates.[3] This Gaṅga ruler is Śivamāra II (788-812 A.D.). The bow was the insignia of the Kērala kings. Gōvinda's Kērala contemporary was in all probability Chēramān Perumāḷ (c. 742-826 A.D.).[4]

The emblem of the Andhra king is described as the boar in our record. We know that the Andhra country at this period was under the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī, whose emblem was the boar.[5] In verse 19, the lord of Vēṅgī (i.e. the Eastern Chālukya king) is said to have submitted to Gōvinda III and served the Rāshṭrakūṭa king by dusting his courtyard. The same story is repeated in verse 33 of the Sanjan plates.[6] The king of Vēṅgī at this time was either Vishṇuvardhana IV (764-799 A.D.) or his son Vijayāditya II (799-847 A.D.),[7] more probably the latter. The separate mention of the Chālukya king in the grant shows that there was a different branch of the Chālukyas other than the Eastern Chālukyas. This may either be the Chālukya house of Vēmulavāḍa, which owed allegiance to the Rāshṭrakūṭas,[8] or the branch of the Chālukya house of Bādāmi to which the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa belonged. The predecessors of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, who had the boar emblem, must have been feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The Maurya king is also said to have the insignia of the boar. These Mauryas may have been later members of the Maurya house of the Koṅkaṇ, which is mentioned in the Aihole inscription of the Chālukya king Pulakēśin II (610-642 A.D.).[9]

Verse 22 of the grant refers to the insignia of the lord of the Gūrjaras as *phalakaṁ prativadhārya*. This faulty passage may be amended as *phalakaṁ prātihāryaṁ*, meaning a tablet (*phalaka*) having the figure of a *pratihāra* (door-keeper). The reference is to the Gūrjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj. The seals attached to the charters of these Pratihāras look like a tablet (*phalaka*), being a rectangular piece 6″ to 8″ broad and 10″ to 13″ long.[10] They bear a human figure facing full front under an arch. This figure has been taken to be the goddess Bhagavatī, since she is mentioned in the grants of the Pratihāra king Mahēndrapāla.[11] But we know from the Gwalior *praśasti* that the Gūrjara-Pratihāras were born in the family having the emblem of a *pratihāra* (door-keeper)[12] and a man under an arch is an apt representation of a door-keeper. About this adversary of Gōvinda III, verse 15 of our record says that he vanished at the mere sight of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king. The Gūrjara ruler was in all probability Nāgabhaṭa II, the son of Vatsarāja, mentioned in verse 22 of the Sanjan plates.[13]

The insignia of the kings of Kōsala and Avanti do not apear to be specifically mentioned in the grant unless we think that the word *vṛishabha* mentioned in connection with *Pallavēśvara* also relates to them.[14] The Pāṇḍava or Sōmavaṁśī kings of Kōsala had the representation of the bull on their

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 161, 165.

[2] Above, Vol. III, p. 158; Vol. XIV, p. 331.

[3] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 244-46.

[4] *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 164.

[5] Above, Vol. V, p. 131 ; Vol. IX, p. 48.

[6] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 246.

[7] *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 132-33.

[8] Ibid., pp. 13, 134.

[9] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 4 ff., verses 9 and 20.

[10] Above, Vol. V, p. 208 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 106 ; 139.

[11] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 112.

[12] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 107, text line 3 (*pratihāra-kētana-bhṛiti*). [See below, p. 137.—Ed.]

[13] Ibid., p. 244.

[14] See below, p. 137.—Ed.]

seals.[1] The ruler subdued by Gōvinda III may therefore be supposed to have belonged to this dynasty. Bhandarkar identified Chandragupta mentioned in line 22 of the Sanjan plates, where Kōsala is also mentioned amongst the subdued kingdms, as the ruler of this kingdom and suggested that he belonged to the Pāṇḍava family.[2] This suggestion was based on the dates assigned to the rulers of this family in the eighth and ninth centuries.[3] But many scholars place the Pāṇḍava kings in the sixth and seventh centuries.[4] Apart from this, Chandragupta is mentioned in the Sanjan plates along with Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II and Kōsala is mentioned there separately. So the two references cannot be related to one another. The ruler subdued by Gōvinda may not therefore have been a member of the Pāṇḍava family. We are inclined to identify the Vindhyan king Mārāśarva, mentioned in verses 17-18 of our record and in line 25 of the Sanjan plates as *Mahārāja* Śarva, with the ruler of Kōsala and his capital Śrībhavana with Śrīpura, modern Sirpur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. Śrībhavana lay near the Vindhya and the Narmadā. It is usually identified with Sarbhon in the Amod Taluk of the Broach District, Bombay.[5] But the Vindhyan range is far away from it.

It is a general belief among scholars that Avanti was under the Gūrjara-Pratihāras during this period. It is said that it was either the home territory or the original seat of power of the Pratihāra dynasty.[6] In support of this, the Ellora inscription of Dantidurga[7] and the Sanjan plates of Amōghavarsha are cited.[8] In the former, it is mentioned that Dantidurga made liberal rewards to various rulers at Ujjayinī and fixed his quarters in the Gūrjara palace in that city. In the Sanjan plates, it is said that Dantidurga performed a *hiraṇyagarbha* ceremony at Ujjayinī in which 'kings such as the Gūrjara lord and others were made door-keepers.' In the present record, we find Gūrjar-ēśvara and Avanti-nātha mentioned separately in verses 22 and 23 respectively and two different insignia are attributed to them. The king of Avanti was therefore different from the lord of the Gūrjaras. In verses 15 and 16 again the Gūrjara and Mālava kings are mentioned separately and Mālava and Avanti are identical. The Baroda plates[9] of Karka Suvarṇavarsha also distinguish between the kings of Mālava and Gūrjara. Thus the Rāshṭrakūṭa records make it clear that Avanti or Mālava was independent of the Gūrjara kingdom. The reference in lines 11-12 of our record to Vatsarāja, father of Nāgabhaṭa II, having taken shelter in Maru after his defeat at the hands of Dhruva, father of Gōvinda III, suggests that the original home of the Gūrjara-Pratihāras was in the Maru area. This is supported by the statement of Dakshiṇāṅkasūri, author of the *Kuvalayamālā*, that he composed the work in Śaka 700 (778 A.D.) at Jāvālipura (modern Jalor) which was then under the rule of Raṇahastin Vatsarāja.[10] In our opinion, Vatsarāja, who ruled Avanti in Śaka 705 (783 A.D.) according to Jinasēna's *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, was different from the Gūrjara-Pratihāra king of the same name.[11]

Gōvinda brought from Siṁhala a *nāma* which probably means here 'an image'. According to the Sanjan plates, he brought two images from there and had them installed in the temple of Śiva at Kāñchīpuram.[12]

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[1] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 114, 119.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 240.
[3] Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 258.
[4] *The Classical Age*, p. 220.
[5] *Bomb. Gaz.* Vol. I, Part I, p. 123 : Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 67 68, n. [See below, p. 140.—Ed.]
[6] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 102, 239.
[7] *ASWI*, Vol. V. p. 89, verse 26.
[8] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 243, verse 9.
[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 159, text lines 39-40.
[10] *ABORI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 397-98.
[11] [See below, pp. 137 ff.—Ed.].
[12] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 246, verse 34. [See below, p. 137.—Ed.].

The present record offers the earliest instance of the use of the name **Vaṅgāla.** It is also very interesting to find that the name of the ruler of the land is mentioned in this connection, which is not the case with the others. **Dharma,** the ruler of Vaṅgāla, may easily be identified with Dharmapāla (770-810 A.D.) of the Pāla dynasty. In the Sanjan plates also he is mentioned by name and is said to have surrendered himself to Gōvinda III along with Chakrāyudha, when the Rāshṭrakuṭa king was engaged in his northern campaign. The present record informs us additionally that Gōvinda III brought from him an image of the goddess Tārā. Tārā is one of the important deities of the Buddhist pantheon and Dharmapāla is known to have been a Buddhist. But the goddess has no place on the banner or insignia of the Pāla dynasty. The seals that are found with the Pāla records bear the emblem of the well-known *dharmachakra*, flanked by two deer. It is quite possible that Dharmapāla, at the time of his surrender to Gōvinda III, offered him an image of Tārā, the highly esteemed mother of all the Buddhas.[1]

## TEXT[2]

[Metres: verses 1, 21-24, 27-29, 31 *Anushṭubh*; verses 2, 6, 9 *Vasantatilakā*; verses 3-5, 7,-8, 10-20, 25 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 26 *Āryā*; verse 30 *Indravajrā*; verse 32 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

*First Plate*

1 ॐ[3] स [वोव्याद्वे][4]धसा धाम यन्नाभिकम[लं] कृतं(तम्) [।*] हरश्च यस्य कांतेंदु-
कलया कमलंकृतं(तम्) [॥१*] भूयो[5]भवद्द(द्वृ)हदुरस्थल[रा]-

2 जमानश्रीकौस्तुभायतकरैरुपगूढकण्ठ[: ।*] सत्यं(त्या)न्वितो विपुलचक्रविनिर्जितारिचक्रो-
प्यकृष्णचरितो भुवि कृष्ण-

3 राज[: ॥२*] पक्षच्छेदभयाश्रृ(श्रि)ताखिलमहाभूभृत्कुलभ्राजिता[द्*] दुर्ल्लंध्यादपरैं-
रनेकविमलै(ल)भ्राजिष्णुरत्नान्वितात् [।*]

4 यश्चालुक्यकुलादनूनविवु(बु)धव्राताश्रयो वारिधेर्ल्लक्ष्मीन्म(म्मं)दरवत्सलीलमचिरादाकृष्ट-
व[ा]न्वल्लभः [॥३*] तस्याभू-

5 त्तनयः प्रतापविसरैराक्रांतदिग्मण्डला(ल)श्चण्डांशो[:] सदृशोप्यचण्डकरताप्रह्लादितक्ष्मातलः
[।*] धीरो धैर्यधनो विपक्षवनि-

6 तावक्त्रांवु(बु)जश्रीहरो हारीकृत्य यशो यदीयमनिशं दिग्नाजि(यि)काभिर्धृतं(तम्)
[॥४*] ये(ज्ये)ष्ठोल(ल्लं)घनया(जा)तयाप्यमलया लक्ष्म्या

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[1] [See below, pp. 135 ff.—Ed.].

[2] From the original plates.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] Only faint traces of these letters can be seen on the plate.

[5] [The reading is *bhūpō*.—Ed.]

7 समेतोपि सन्ये(न्यो)भून्निर्मल्लमण्डलस्थितियुतो दोषाकरो न क्वचित् [।*] कण्णाधिस्थित-
दानसंनतिभृतो यस्यान्यदानाधिकं दा-

8 न(नं) वीक्ष्य सुल्जि(ज्जि)ता इव दिसं(शां) प्रांते स्थिता दिग्गजा[:] [।।५*]
अन्यैर्न्नं जातु विजितं गुरुशक्तिसारमाक्रांतभूतलमनन्यसम[ा]-

9 नमानं(नम्) [।*] येनेह व(ब)ध(द्ध)मवलोक्य चिराय गंगं दूरं स्वनिग्रहभियेव
कलिष्प्र[1]यातः ।[।६*] एकत्रात्मव(ब)लेन वा-

10 रिनिधिनाप्यन्यत्र रुध्वा(द्ध्वा) घनं निष्कृष्टासिभटोध(द्ध)तेन विहरा(र)द्ग्राहातिभीमेन
च [।*] मातंगान्मदव[ा]-

11 रिनिर्झरमुचष्प्रा[1]प्याननतात्पल्लवात्तच्चित्रं मदलेशमप्यनुदिन(नं) य[:*] स्पृष्टवान(न्न)
क्वचित् [।।७*] हेलाश्वी(स्वी)कृतगौ-

12 ड[रा*]ज्यकमलामतं(त्तं) प्रवेस्या(श्या)चिरात्(राद्) दुम्मार्गं मरुमध्यमप्रतिव-
(ब)लैर्यो वत्सराजं व(ब)लैः [।*] गौडीयं शरदी(दि)दुपादधवलच्छत्रद्व-

13 यं केवलं तस्माना(न्ना)हृत तद्यशोपि ककुभां प्रांते स्थिता(तं) तत्क्षणा[त्*] [।। ८*]
लव्ध(ब्ध)प्रतिष्ठमचिराय कलिं [शु](सु)दूरमु[त्सा]र्य सुध(शुद्ध)चरितैर्ध-

14 रणीतलस्य [।*] कृत्वा पुनः कृतयुगश्रृ(श्रि)यमप्यशेपं चित्रं कथं निरुपमः कलिवल-
(ल्ल)भोभूत् [।।९*] प्राभूधै(द्धै)र्यवतस्ततो निरुपमा-

15 दिदु(न्दु)र्यथा वारिधे[:*] शुधा(द्धा)त्मा परमेश्वरो[न्नतशिरः*] संसक्तपाद[:*]
सुतः [।*] पद्मानंदकरः प्रतापसहितो नित्योदयस्सोन(न्न)तेष्पू[1]र्व्वाद्रेरि-

16 व भानुमानभिमतो गोविन्दराज[:*] सतां(ताम्) [।।१०*] यस्मिन्सर्व्वगुणाश्रये क्षिति-
पतौ श्रीराष्ट्रकूटान्वयो या(जा)ते यादव-

17 वां(वं)शवं(वन्)मधु[रिपावा][2]सीदलंघ्यष्प[1]रै[: ।*] दृष्टाशावधयष्कृ[3]ता[:*] शु(सु)-
सदृशा दानेन येनोध(द्ध)[ता] मुक्ताहा[र]विभूषि[ता]

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[1] [The sign read as superscript *sh* is the *upadhmānīya.*—Ed.]

[2] These letters have broken away.

[3] [The sign read as superscript *sh* is the *jihvāmūlīya.*—Ed.]

18 [स्फुटमिति प्रत्यर्थिनो][1]प्यथि(र्थि)नां(नाम्) [॥११*] यस्याकारममानुपं त्रिभुवन-
व्याप[त्तिर]क्षोचितं कृष्णस्येव निरीक्ष्य यच्छति पि[त]-

19 [र्येकाधिपत्यं भुवः । आम्नां ता][1]न तवै[तद]प्रतिहता दत्ता त्वया कण्ठिका
कि[न्त्वाज्ञे]व मया धृतेति पितरं यु[क्त] व[चो]

*Second Plate, First Side*

20 योभ्यधा[त्] [॥१२*] तस्मि[न्] स्वर्गविभूषणाय जनके याते यशःसे(शे)-
पन[ा]मेकीभूय समुद्यतान्वसुमतीसंहारमाधित्स(त्स)या [।*] विच्छ[ायान्]

21 महसा व्यधत(त्त) नृपति(ती)नेकोपि यो द्वादश ख्यातानप्यधिकप्रतापविसरै[ः*]
संवर्त्तकोर्क्कानिव [॥१३*] येनात्यंतदयालु[नाथ][1]

22 निगडक्लेशादपास्यायतां(तात्) स्वं देशं गमितोपि दर्प्पविसराद्यप्प्र[ा][2]तिकूल्ये स्थितः
[।*] यावन्न भ्रुकु[टी] ललाटफलके

23 नित्योदय[स]मोन्नतेर्विक्षेपेण विजित्य तावदचिराद्बध(द्बद्धः) स गंग[ः*] पुन्नः(नः)
[॥१४*] संधायासु(शु) सि(शि)लीमुखां(खान्) स्वसमयाद्वा(द्वा)णा-

24 सनस्योपरि प्राप्तं वर्द्धितवं(बं)धुजीवविभवं पद्माभिवृध्या(द्ध्या)न्वितं(तम्) [।*]
सं(सन्)नक्षत्रमुदीक्ष्य यं स(श)रद्दृतु पर्जन्यवद्गूर्जरो न-

25 ष्ट[ः*] क्वापि भयान(त्त)था न समरं स्वप्नेपि पस्ये(श्ये)द्यथा [॥१५*]
यत्पादानतिमात्रकैकशरणामालोक्य लक्ष्मी(क्ष्मीं) निजां दूरान्मा-

26 लवनायको नयपरो यं प्राणमत्प्राञ्जलिः [।*] को विद्वां(द्वान्) व(ब)लिनो-
(ना) सहाल्प[व(ब)ल] कः स्पर्धां(र्द्धां) विधते(त्ते) परां नीतेस्तधि(द्धि)
फलं य-

27 दात्मपरयोराधिक्यसंवेदनं(नम्) [॥१६*] विद्व्या(ध्या)द्रेष्क[3]टके निवि[ष्टकटकं
श्रुत्वा चरै]र्यो निजैः स्वं देसं(शं) समुपागतं ध्रुवमिव ज्ञात्वा भि[4]

[1] These letters have broken away.

[2] [What has been read as superscript *sh* is the sign for *upadhmānīya*.—Ed.]

[3] [The sign read as superscript *sh* is the *jihvāmūlīya* —Ed.]

[4] This letter is redundant.

*i*

*ii, a*

Scale : Two-thirds

*ii, b*

*iii, a*

28 भिया प्रेरित: [।*] माराशर्व्वमहीपति[र्द्रुतम]गादप्राप्तपूर्व्वै[ष्प[1]]रैय(यं)स्येच्छामनु-
कूलया(यन्) कुलधनैष्पा[1]-

29 दौ प्रणामैरपि [॥१७*] नीत्वा श्रीभवने घनाघनघनव्याप्तांव(ब)रां प्रावृषं
तस्मादागतवं(वान्) सम(मं) नि[ज*]व(ब)ले(लै)-

30 रातुंगभद्रातटा(टम्) [।*] तत्रस्थ[:*] स्वकरस्थितामपि पुनन्नि(र्न्नि)स्ये(श्शे)षमा-
कृष्टवां(वान्) विक्षपैरपि चित्रमानति(त)रिपु-

31 य:(यं:) पल्लवानां श्रियां(यम्) [॥१८*] लेखाहारमुखोदिताध(र्द्ध)वचसा यत्रैत्य
वेंगीश्वरो नित्यं किंकरवद्व्यधादविरतं क-

32 र्म्मं श्व(स्व)शर्म्मेच्छया [।*] वाह्यालीवृतिरस्य येन रचिता व्योमाग्रलग्ना रुच:[2]
रात्रौ मौक्तिकमालिकामिव धृता मूर्ध-

33 स्थतारागणै[: ॥१९*] संत्रासात्परचक्रराजकमगात(त्त)त्पूर्व्वसेवाविधिव्याव(ब)धा(द्धा)-
ञ्जलिशोभितेन शरणं मूर्ध्ना

34 यदंह्र(ह्रि)द्वयं(यम्) [।*] यद्यद(द्द)त(त्त)पराध्य(र्द्ध्य)भूषणगणैर्न्नालंकृतं तत(त्त)था
मा भैशी(षी)रि[ति*] सत्यपालितयश:स्थित्या यथा

35 तद्गिरा [॥२०*] पाण्ड्यदेशाधिपान्मत्स्यं वृषभं पल्लवेश्वरा[त् ।*] च्चो(चो)-
लाद्व्याघ्रं गजं गंगाच्चापयष्टिं च केरला[त् ॥२१*] अंध्र-

36 चालुक्यमौर्येभ्यो वा(व)[रा]हं गूर्य(र्ज)रेश्वरा[त् ।*] त्फ(फ)लक(कं) प्रतिव-
धार्य[3] वृषभं पल्लवेश्वरा[त् ॥२२*] क्को(को)सलावंतिनाथा-

37 भ्यं(भ्यां) सि(सिं)हलादपि नाम—[4][।*] ताराभगवतिख्यातां[4] धर्म्माद्वंगालभूमिपात्
॥[२३*] इथ्य(त्थ)मेतान्यथान्यानि चिह्नान्यादाय

38 भूभुजा[म् ।*] गरुडांकं[4] जगतु(त्तुं)गो व्यधत(त्त) सकलं जगत् [॥२४*] यश्च-
ञ्चच(च्च)तुरंवु(बु)रासि(शि)रस(श)नां निष्कृष्टखड्ग-

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[1] [What has been read as superscript sh is the sign for *upadhmānīya*. —Ed.]

[2] [Better read *ruchā*. Kielhorn's views on the expression (above, Vol. VI, p. 245, note 1) do not appear to be satisfactory.—Ed.]

[3] See above, p. 126. [See below, p. 137.—Ed.]

[4] [See below, p. 137.—Ed.]

*Second Plate, Second Side*

39 स्फुरयति[1] भासुरितेन दक्षिणभुजाञ्चिह्नानि तैस्तैर्धृतं स्वस्यैकं भुवने प्यवत(त्त)[2]
गर(रु)डं श्रीवल(ल्ल)भ-

40 — ∪ —[3] [॥२५*] तेनेदमनिलविद्युच(च्च)ञ्चलमवलोक्य जीवितमसारं(रम्) [।*] क्षिति-
दानपरमपुण्यं प्रव-

41 र्त्तितो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदायोयं(यम्) [॥२६*] स च परमभटा(ट्टा)रकमहाराजाधिराज-
परमेश्वरश्रीमधा(द्धा)रावर्षदे-

42 वपादानुध्यातपरमभटा(ट्टा)रकमहाराजाधिराजः परमे[श्वरपृथ्वीवल्लभ]श्रीगोविन्दराजः
श्रीमत्प्रभूतवर्ष-

43 श्रीश्रीवल(ल्ल)भने(न)रे(रें)द्रदेव [:*] कुशली सर्व्वानेव यथासंव(ब)ध्यमानकां-
(कान्) राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटा-

44 युक्तकानियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादी[न्*] समादिशत्यस्तु व[:*] संविदितं यथा
श्रीशुगूदूरू[4]समा-

45 वासितेन मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुं(पु)ण्ययशोभिवृध(द्ध)ये फणींद-
(द्र)वां(वं)शाय र[5]वि-

46 राजितादित्यश्रीरिपुसेव्यवृ(बृ)हच्छिंदतिलकुलकेन[6] श्रीनागहरिराज्ञा[7] विज्ञप्तेन स-

47 ता इक्षुग्रामवास्तव्यत[:*] त्रैविद्यस्तमान्य[8] अं(आं)गिरसव(बा)र्हस्पत्यभारद्वाज-
सगोत्र[9]-

48 तैति(त्ति)रि(री)यसव्र(ब्र)ह्मचारिमारिदासचतुर्व्वेदपौत्राय परिवच्छरचतुर्व्वेदपुत्राय शिव-
नागभटा(ट्टा)-

49 य चंदगडे(ड)विषयांतर्ग्गतो नेसरिकाभिधानो ग्रामः तस्य चाघाटनानि पूर्व्वत[:*]
तारानदी

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[1] [No less than nineteen syllables on both sides of this word are omitted through oversight. The reading may be *sphuraty=artir=bhā°*. But one foot of the verse seems to be left out here and not after *dhṛitaṁ* below.—Ed.]

[2] [The reading is *vyadhatta*.—Ed.]

[3] [The reading is *Śrīvallabhaḥ śrīmukhaṁ(kham)*।—Ed.]

[4] [The reading is *Śūguṭūru*.—Ed.]

[5] [The reading is *vāṁ(vaṁ)ś-āṁva(ba)ra*.—Ed.]

[6] [Read *kula-tilakēna*.—Ed.]

[7] [The reading is *Nāgahastirājñā(jēna)*.—Ed.]

[8] [The reading is *Itshu(kshu)grāma-vāstavyā(vya)-traividya-sāmānyu*.—Ed.]

[9] [Read *°ny-Āṅgirasa-Bārhaspatya-Bhāradvāja-pravara-Bhāradvāja-sagōtra*.—Ed.]

50 संगम [क . जव . . का] दक्षिण[तः*] नि . . [1]ग्रामः हेमगिरि[:*] पश्चिम[तः*] दव्वर्णग्रामत[:] प्रपाः उत्तर[तः*] क्रि(कृ)-

51 ष्णगिरिं [. णिका[2]-वाभय . ग्रामः] ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणस्य मे(ने)सरिकाग्रामश्चाघाटनान्य-भिली(लि)ख्यंते शो(सो)द्रं-

52 गसपरी(रि)करः सदण्डदशापराधः सभूतोपात(त्त)प्रत्यायः शो(सो)त्पद्यमानविष्टि-क[:*] स-

53 धान्यहिरं(र)न्या(ण्या)देय[:*] अचाटभटप्रावेश्य[:*] सव्वर्वराजकीयानामहस्तक्षेपणीय आ-

54 चंद्राक्कर्णर्णवक्षितिसरित्पव्वर्वतसमकालीन[:*] पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यः

*Third Plate; First Side*

55 पूव्वर्वप्रत्तदेवब्रा(ब्रा)ह्म[ण*]दायरहितमभ्यंतरसिध्या(द्धया) भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन श[क*]-नृपकाला-

56 तीतसंवत्सरस(श)तेषु सप्तषु(सु) सप्ता(प्त)विंष(श)त्यधिकेषु तारणाभिधानसंव-त्सरे पौष(षा)-

57 सितत्रयोदस्यां(श्यां) कृष्णपक्षसं[क्रां]ती(ति)महापव्वर्वणि व(ब)लिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रा-तिथिप-

58 ञ्चमहायज्ञक्र(क्रि)योत्सर्प्पणार्थं स्नात्वाद्योदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितो यतोस्योचित-

59 या प्रदायस्थित्या भू(भु)ञ्जतो भोजयतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिदल्पापि

60 परिपंथना कार्या [।।*] तथागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैव्वर्वा सामाण्यं(न्यं) भू-

61 मिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युलो(ल्लो)लान्यनित्यैश्वर्याणि तृणाग्रलग्नजलविंदु-

62 चञ्चलञ्च जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्मदा(द्दा)योनुमंतव्य[:*] प्र-

63 तिपालयितव्यश्च [।*] यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छि(च्छि)द्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स प-

64 ञ्चभिर्महापातकै[श्चो]पपातकैश्च संयुक्त[:*] स्यादित्युक्तञ्च भगवता [वे]दव्यासेन व्यासेन [।*] ष-

[1] [The reading is *Niṭṭura*.—Ed.]

[2] This is written on an erasure. [The reading may be *pallikā*. Read *grāmasy=āghā°* below.—Ed.]

65 ष्टिवर्षसहस्रा[णि*] स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद[: ।*] आच्छेता(त्ता) चानुमंता च
तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥२७*] विन्ध्याटवीश्व(ष्व)तोया-

66 सु शुष्ककोटरवासिन[: ।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायंते भूमिदानं हरंति ये
[॥२८*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि[:*] सग-

67 रादिभि[: ।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) [॥२९*]
यानीह दता(त्ता)नि पुरा नरेंद्रैर्दानानि धर्मा-

68 र्थयशस्कराणि [।*] निर्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु[:*] पु[न*]-
राददीत [॥३०*] स्वदत्ता(त्तां) परदतां(त्तां) वा य-

69 त्नाद्रक्ष नराधिप [।*] महीं महिमता(तां) श्रेष्ठ दा[ना*]श्रे(च्छ्रे)योनुपा-
लनं(नम्) [॥३१*] इति कमलदलं(लां)वु(बु)विंदुलो[लां]

*Third Plate, Second Side*

70 श्री(श्रि)यमनुचि(चिं)त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च [।*] अतिविमल[म*]नोभि-

71 रात्मनीनैर्न्न हि पुरुषै[ष्प][1]रकीर्त्तयो वि[लो]प्या[: ॥३२*] श्री-

72 विषयपते[:*] पञ्च सहश्रा(स्रा)णि प्रतिवरिषं(र्षं) देयानि [।*][2]

73 श्रीदेवैयराणकदूतकं[3] लिखितं श्रीवत्सराजसु(सू)-

74 नुना श्रीअरुणादित्येन ॥

[1] [What has been read as superscript *sh* is the sign for *upadhmānīya*.—Ed.]
[2] [See below, p. 140.—Ed.]
[3] [Read °*rāṇakō dūtakaḥ* | —Ed.]

NESARIKA GRANT OF GOVINDA III, SAKA 727—PLATE II

*iii, b*

Scale : Two-thirds

## No. 20—NOTE ON NESARIKA GRANT OF GOVINDA III, SAKA 727

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 21. 7. 1959*)

Mr. P. L. Gupta has edited above, pp. 123 ff., the Nēsarikā grant issued by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III in Śaka 727 (805 A.D.). The inscription was previously published by Mr. G. H. Khare in his *Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan* (Marāṭhī), Vol. I, pp. 15-26, and commented on by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. G. S. Gai in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters, Vol. XXII, pp. 133-34 and Vol. XXIV, No. 1. Mr. Khare's transcript at pp. 18-23 of his work contains some lacunae ; but he suggested the readings for those gaps in an appendix at pp. 83-84. Dr. Majumdar, whose attention was drawn to Mr. Khare's transcript by Dr. B.V. Kolte of the Nagpur Mahāvidyālaya, was interested in the reference in the record to king Dharma of Vaṅgāla and suggested the reading of the letters in the gaps of the stanza in question. He did not notice that some of his readings were suggested by Mr. Khare himself in the appendix referred to above, probably because Dr. Kolte did not draw his attention to the latter. This fact was pointed out by Dr. Gai.

The importance of the inscription lies in verses 21-24 which mention the *chihnas* snatched away by king Gōvinda III from thirteen different rulers apparently defeated by him. Mr. Gupta has taken them to be the insignia of the particular families, to which the kings in question belonged, as found on the seals attached to their copper-plate grants. But, in regard to two of the thirteen rulers, he offers a different suggestion and thinks that Gōvinda III took away an image each from the kings of Siṁhala and Vaṅgāla. Dr. Majumdar is right when he says, "Most probably the reference is to royal banners with those emblems, which were surrendered by their owners and carried by Gōvinda III as trophies of victory or tokens of suzerainty." He concludes, "The fact.... that the kings were forced to surrender what was obviously their *lāñchhanas* or royal insignia seems to imply that Gōvinda III claimed suzerainty over them". But, as regards king Dharma of Vaṅgāla, Dr. Majumdar says, "It is of great importance to note .... that what was taken from Dharmapāla was not the *lāñchhana* or royal emblem, but the image of a goddess. This seems to put him in a different category." He then comes to the following conclusion : "The present ...... of an image of *Bhagavatī* Tārā .... presumably a Buddhist deity, to Gōvinda III, a staunch follower of Puranic religion, is also of great interest. But as we know, Amōghavarsha, son of Gōvinda III, has great leanings towards Jainism. Gōvinda III might have been attracted to Buddhism by his contact with the Buddhist Pāla ruler, Dharmapāla."

Unfortunately the suggestion of Dr. Majumdar and Mr. Gupta that Gōvinda III took away the royal insignia from most of the defeated kings but an image from a few of them is not supported by the language of the inscription which very clearly refers to the objects taken away from all the thirteen rulers as their *chihnas* or insignia (verse 24). This has been pointed out by Dr. Gai. The error of both Dr. Majumdar and Mr. Gupta lies in that they have no clear idea about the royal insignia of ancient Indian rulers and fail to distinguish between the crest represented on the seals of the kings and the emblem appearing on their banners.[1] Dr. Majumdar's conclusions based on the said faulty premise are of course equally unwarranted.

[1] Even today the emblems on the seal and the flag of the Government of India are not the same, the former being the lion-capital of an Aśōkan pillar and the latter a Charkhā wheel.



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The emblem on the seal of a family of rulers represented its crest or coat of arms, often called the *lāñchhana*. In some cases, the same emblem is also found on the coins issued by the kings in question, both seals and coins being called *mudrā*. But, although in many cases the same emblem is found on the seal and the banner of a royal family, often the banner of the rulers of a particular dynasty, generally called the *dhvaja*, bore a different emblem. Thus the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and Belgaum had the *Sindhura-lāñchana* or the elephant crest but the *Suvarṇa-Garuḍa-dhvaja* (i.e. the banner of the golden or gold-coloured Garuḍa), while the Kadambas of Banavāsi and Goa, who had the *Siṁha-lāñchhana* or the lion crest, had besides the *Śākhācharēndra-dhvaja* or *Vānara-mahādhvaja*, i.e. the monkey (i.e. Hanumat) banner.[1] The seal attached to the copper-plate grants of the Nanda or Nandōdbhava family of Orissa has the representation of a bull along with those of the sun and the moon and a conch-shell; but the kings of the family are described in their charters as having the *Sitadhātumaya-gōdhā-śikharīkṛita-lōhita-lōchan-āmbara-dhvaja* probably meaning a piece of cloth bearing the representation of a silver alligator above that of a snake or of two eyes in red colour.[2] Although, in the case of the Nanda or Nandōdbhava kings, some emblems seem to have been painted on a piece of cloth, it is difficult to determine whether the Garuḍa emblem of the Raṭṭas and the Hanumat emblem of the Kadambas were painted on cloth or were really images fixed to the top of poles for the convenience of carrying them. That the *dhvaja* was sometimes an image fixed to a pole seems to be indicated by the statement of Curtius that an image of Herakles (i.e. Vāsudēva-Kṛishṇa) was being carried in front of the infantry of Poros (i.e. the Paurava king) as it advanced against the Greeks led by Alexander the Great.[3] In this connection, it is interesting to note that some coins of the Imperial Guptas, who had the Garuḍa emblem on their *dhvaja* and seal and on several types of their coins, bear the representation of a standard surmounted by the figure of Garuḍa.[4] The epic and Puranic literature suggests that the image of the individual emblems of particular archers were fixed at the top of their chariots. In an excellent survey of this evidence, Hopkins has shown that *dhvaja* is sometimes used as a synonym of *kētu* but that sometimes the former means the whole arrangement including the staff and image or banner while the latter means only the symbol or banner. *Kētu* is also sometimes synonymous with *patākā* or flag, while *dhvaja* is the metallic top-piece of the staff, or that together with the staff. It has also been shown that the staff bore flags beneath the emblem.[5]

Another interesting fact is that sometimes a royal family had its *dhvaja* and *kētu* clearly distinguished or had more than one emblem for its *dhvaja*. Thus the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas claimed to have had the *Pāli-dhvaja* and the *Ōka-kētu* besides the *Garuḍa-lāñchhana*.[6] The bull-banner of the Pallava kings is referred to in Tamil literature, although in their inscriptions the Pallavas are sometimes stated to have had the *Khaṭvāṅga-dhvaja*, *Khaṭvāṅga* being 'a club with a skull on the top'.[7] Hopkins has shown that such was sometimes also the case with the individual emblems of particular charioteers according to epic and Puranic evidence. Thus Bhīshma had somtimes the *tāla-dhvaja* (banner of the palmyra tree) and sometimes the ensign of five yellow stars and a blue silk flag. Similarly Drōṇa had sometimes a *kamaṇḍalu* (pot) and sometimes a *vēdī* of gold for his ensign.[8]

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[1] *CII*, Vol. III, p. 151, note 4. [2] Cf. above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 326-27.

[3] J. W. Mc' Crindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 208.

[4] See Allan, *A Catalogue of Indian Coins* (Gupta), pp. 1 ff., Plate I, Nos. 1 ff.: cf. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 255.

[5] See 'The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India' in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. XIII (p. 243 ff.).

[6] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 387, 402.

[7] See *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 188, note 2; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p 319, note ; T. V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, pp. 85-86. The Guttas of Guttal had both the *vaṭavṛiksha-dhvaja* and the *Garuḍa-dhvaja* (*Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 578).

[8] Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

Verses 21-24 of the Nēsarikā grant read as follows :

*Pāṇḍya-dēś-ādhipān=matsyaṁ vṛishabhaṁ Pallavēśvarā[t *]*
*Chchō(Chō) lād=vyāghraṁ gajaṁ Gaṅgāch=chāpa-yashṭiṁ cha Kēralā[t *]*
*Aṁdhra-Chālukya-Mauryēbhyō vā(va)rāhaṁ Gūrya(rja)rēśvarā[t |*]*
*tpha(pha)lakaṁ pra(prā)tipa[d*]-dhāryaṁ vṛishabhaṁ Pallavēśvarā[t *]*
*Kkō(Kō)sal-Āvanti-nāthābhyaṁ(bhyāṁ) Siṁhalād=api nāma[kaṁ(kam |)]*
*[T]ārā[ṁ*] bhagavatiṁ(tīṁ) khyātāṁ Dharmād=Vaṅgāla-bhūmipāt ॥*
*Ithya(ttha)m=ētāny=ath=ānyāni chihnāny=ādāya bhūbhujāṁ(jām |)*
*Garuḍ-āṁkāṁ(kō) Jaga[t*]tuṁgō vyadhatta sakalaṁ jagat [ *]*

The passage *vṛishabhaṁ Pallavēśvarāt* may have been repeated unnecessarily, although it is possible that the defeat of two different Pallava rulers or of the same king on two different occasions is referred to. It may be noted that the Pallava king is mentioned twice elsewhere in verses 7 and 18.

It is stated in these stanzas that Gōvinda III carried away the following *chihnas* or insignia of his enemies : (1) the fish from the Pāṇḍya king ; (2) the bull from the Pallava king ; (3) the tiger from the Chōḷa king ; (4) the elephant from the [Western] Gaṅga king ; (5) the bow from the Kērala king ; (6-8) the boar from the Andhra (Eastern Chālukya), Chālukya and Maurya kings ; (9) a *phalaka* or board bearing [the figures of] the *pratipad* or kettle-drum and the *hārya* or snake from the Gūrjara king ; (10) the bull from the Pallava king ; (11-13) the *nāmaka* (i.e. the names of the individual rulers) from the Kōsala, Avanti and Siṁhala kings ; and (14) the celebrated goddess Tārā from Dharma, the king of Vaṅgāla.

There are several interesting features of this list. In the first place, the banners of the kings of Kōsala, Avanti and Siṁhala appear to have borne the names of the rulers in question. Secondly, the fish and the tiger are found on the seals respectively of the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas, though they appear along with other symbols and it is uncertain whether the *dhvajas* of the Pāṇḍyas and Chōḷas represented only the fish or tiger with the exclusion of the associate symbols on the seal. Thirdly, although the seal of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar bore the representation of the *Dharma-chakra* and has been referred to in their records as the *Dharma-chakra-mudrā*, we find from the inscription under study that the *dhvaja* of king Dharma, i.e. Dharmapāla, bore the figure of the goddess Tārā. Of course, as indicated above, it is difficult to say whether the figure of the goddess was fixed to the top of a pole or was painted on the flag cloth. But the idea that not the ensign but merely an image was carried away by Gōvinda III from Dharmapāla is unwarranted. Lastly, verse 4 of the Sāgartāl (Gwalior) inscription of Bhōja represents the Pratihāra family as *Pratihāra-kētana-bhṛit* (i.e. having the banner bearing the figure of the *Pratihāra*, probably meaning Lakshmaṇa, the door-keeper of Rāma), and, if it is believed that the same emblem was referred to in our record, we have to correct the passage in question as *phalakaṁ pratihār-āṅkam*. Since, however, such an emendation would look rather arbitrary and a royal family could have more than one emblem for their banners, it is difficult to be sure on this point. The claim of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king to have defeated the kings mentioned and carried away their respective banners may be exaggerated. But his court poet, who composed the above verses of the *praśasti*, seems to have possessed accurate knowledge as regards the *dhvajas* of the different rulers.

There are some other suggestions in Mr. Gupta's paper, with which we are inclined to disagree. We are not sure about the identification of Avanti and Mālava, which he has taken for granted. In the 7th century A. D., Hiuen-tsang and Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa made a clear distinction between Avanti and Mālava. According to the former, the kingdom of Wu-she-yen-na or Ujjayinī (i.e. the capital

of the Avanti country) was different from Mo-la-p'o or Mālava.[1] Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* likewise speaks of Vidiśā on the Vētravatī (i.e. Besnagar near Bhilsa) as the capital of Mālava and Ujjayinī on the Śiprā as the capital of Avanti.[2] The same tradition is followed by Yaśōdhara, the 13th century commentator on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, in his *Jayamaṅgalā* which explains Avanti as Apara-Mālava (i.e. West Malwa) and Mālava as Pūrva-Mālava (i.e. East Malwa), although the name Mālava has been assigned by this author to the whole of modern Malwa.[3] A late medieval work entitled *Shatpañchāśaddēśavibhāga* makes a similar distinction between the Avanti and Mālava countries.[4] It is therefore impossible to be sure whether the name Mālava has been used in the Rāshṭrakūṭa records in the sense of Avanti in all cases.

I do not understand why Vatsarāja, who was ruling over the Avanti country, or more probably from the city of Avanti (i.e. Ujjayinī), in Śaka 705 (783 A.D.) according to Jinasēna's *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, cannot be identified with the Pratihāra king of that name simply because the original home of the Gūrjaras was in the Maru or Marwar region and the kings of Avanti and Gūrjara are separately mentioned in inscriptions like the one under study. Hiuen-tsang in the 7th century mentions Pi-lo-mo-lo (i.e. Bhillamāla, modern Bhinmāl in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan) as the capital of Ku-che-lo, i.e. the Gūrjara country.[5] Similarly, in the 11th century Al-Bīrūnī mentions Bazana (i.e. Bayana in the Bharatpur District of Rajasthan) as the old capital of Gūrjaratrā (i.e. the Gūrjara country) and the doubtfully read Jadūra (probably modern Rājorgarh in the Alwar District of the same State, which was the headquarters of the Gūrjara Pratihāra chief Mathanadēva according to an inscription of 960 A.D.)[5] as its new capital. In Al-Bīrūnī's time, the capital of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra empire, which included the Gūrjara country with its capital first at Bayana and then at Rājorgarh, was at Kanauj. We do not know where the capital of the Gūrjara country was in Vatsarāja's time. But even if it was at Bhinmāl as in Hiuen-tsang's days, does it follow that the capital of Vatsarāja's empire, which certainly included the Gūrjara country, could not have been at Ujjayinī ?

Then comes the question whether Avanti could be mentioned separately when it formed a part of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra empire. In our opinion, even if Vatsarāja had his capital at the city of Avanti (Ujjayinī), the ruler, who governed the Avanti territory forming a part of Vatsarāja's empire, could have been described separately as the king of Avanti side by side with his Gūrjara-Pratihāra overlord. The Sirur iscription[6] of the time of Rāshṭrakūṭa Amōghavarsha I, dated Śaka 788 (866 A.D.), refers to the Rāshṭrakūṭa king to have been worshipped by the rulers of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha, Mālava and Vēṅgī (*Vaṅg-Āṅga-Magadha-Mālava-Vēṁg-īśair=abhyarchita-śāsana*), the same passage also occurring in the Nilgund inscription[7] of the same king's reign. But we know that, in the days of Amōghavarsha, the three countries, Vaṅga (South-East Bengal), Aṅga (East Bihar) and Magadha (South Bihar), were included in the empire of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. The reference is therefore to the governors or subordiante rulers in the said three territories forming provinces of the Pāla empire. This seems to be suggested by the fact that, according to the evidence of Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacharita* and its commentary, supported by that of the Sārnāth inscription of Kumaradēvī, the Chhikkōra chief Dēvarakshita and his successor Bhīmayaśas were

[1] See Watters, on *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 250-51, 242-43.

[2] Cf. *majjan-Mālava-vilāsinī ........ Vētravatyā parigatā Vidiś-ābhidhānā nagarī rājadhāny=āsīt* (Siddhantavagisa's ed., pp. 18-19) and *Śiprayā parikshiptā ...... vijit-āmara-lōka-dyutir=Avantish=Ūjjayinī nāma nagarī* (ibid., pp. 176-83).

[3] See the commentary on the *Kāmasūtra*, VI, 5, 22 and 24 (*Avantikā Ujjayinī-dēśa-bhavāḥ, tā ev=Āpara-Mālavyaḥ .... Mālavya iti Pūrva-Mālava-bhavāh*).

[4] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 51-52; Sircar, *Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 91-92.

[5] See *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 136-37 ; Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 202 ; cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 74.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 218, text line 6.

[7] Above, Vol. VI, p. 103, text line 8.

'the king of Magadha' (*Magadhādhipa* regarded as the same as *Pīṭhī-pati*, 'lord of Pīṭhī'), and the Rāshṭrakūṭa chief Mathana or Mahana was 'the king of Aṅga' (*Aṅgapa*) under king Rāmapāla, (c. 1084-1126 A.D.).[1] We may also refer to the Deoli plates[2] of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III (939-68 A.D.), in which the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch's command is stated to have been obeyed by the Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Gāṅga and Magadha kings standing at his door (*dvārasth-Āṅga-Kaliṅga Gāṅga-Magadhair-abhyarchchit-ājña*), the same stanza also mentioning Kṛishṇa III as the initiator of the Gauḍas in the vow of humility (*Gauḍānāṁ vinaya-vrat-ārppaṇa-guruḥ*), even though the Sārnāth inscription[3] of Kumaradēvī mentions Aṅga as a territory within Gauḍa. At the time of Kṛishṇa III, the Pāla empire comprised Aṅga or East Bihar and Magadha or South Bihar as well as Gauḍa, i.e. West Bengal in a narrow sense though the name was often used to indicate wider areas of Eastern India.

The importance of the mention of Dharmapāla as the king of the Vaṅgāla country or of the Vaṅgāla people has been rightly stressed by Dr. Majumdar. The reference, as he points out, certainly indicates that the home territory of the Pālas lay in Vaṅgāla. Dharmapāla's dominions comprised a number of territories lying in the present Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. It was rather difficult to designate his empire by a single territorial name. We know that he is sometimes called *Vaṅga-pati*, 'the lord of Vaṅga', as in the Sāgartāl inscription[4] of Bhōja, and sometimes 'the king of Gauḍa' as in the Sanjan plates[5] of Amōghavarsha I, because Vaṅga and Gauḍa forming parts of his empire were both well-known geographical names and the latter name was sometimes actually used to indicate wide areas of Eastern India since the 7th century when Daṇḍin, in his *Kāvyādarśa*, names the East Indian style of Sanskrit composition after Gauḍa. This was no doubt the result of the expansion of the Gauḍa kingdom under rulers like Śaśāṅka (first quarter of the 7th century) whose dominions included parts of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and for sometime also of U.P.[6] Gauḍa was thus a more appropriate name for the Pāla empire and not only are the Pāla kings called 'the lord of Gauḍa' very often in the records of their contemporaries but there is reason to believe that they themselves preferred the designation.[7] It is interesting to note that the tradition about 'the five Gauḍas', referred to in an inscription of 926 A.D. and in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (c. 1150 A.D.), developed in the early medieval period.[8] The extensive conquests of kings like Śaśāṅka and Dharmapāla appear to have contributed to its development.

The representation of Dharmapāla in the present record as the king of Vaṅgāla, which was a small tract of land in his vast empire, has to be regarded as a sort of sneer at the Pāla monarch who was one of the mightiest Indian rulers of his age. The personal name of the Pāla king has been mentioned only in this case apparently because Vaṅgāla as a geographical name was more or less unknown at the time while the name of Dharmapāla was famous. Its mention in the record incidentally shows that Vaṅga and Gauḍa were later annexations to the Pāla dominions.

There is another interesting aspect of this question. Vaṅgāla became famous in the political geography of India with the rise of the Chandras in the 10th century. These Chandras originally ruled over Chandra-dvīpa, i.e. Bāklā Chandradvīp in the Buckergunge District of South Bengal. About the third quarter of the 10th century they conquered Vaṅga, a name then often applied in a restricted sense to the territory around the Vikramapura region covering the present Munshiganj Sub-division of the Dacca District and the Madaripur Sub-division of the Faridpur District, although

[1] See Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 338-39.
[2] Above., Vol. V, p. 193, verse 13.
[3] Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 324.
[4] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 108, verse 10.
[5] Ibid., p. 214, verse 14.
[6] Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 129 ff.
[7] Cf., e.g., verse 13 of the Badāl pillar inscription (*Gauḍalēkhamālā*, p. 74.)
[8] Cf. above, Vol. XXIII, p. 46; *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 468.

in a general sense the name was applied to the whole of South-Eastern Bengal. About the 11th century, the Chandra king Gōvindachandra is called the lord of Vaṅgāla-dēśa which was apparently the original name of Chandra-dvīpa or the land around it. This is suggested by the fact that Abul Fazal's *Ain-i-Akbarī* explains the derivation of the name Bangāl (Vaṅgāla) from Bang (Vaṅga) as follows: "its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth throughout the province, which were called *āl*." Although the suggested derivation may be wrong and *Vaṅgāla* may have sprung from *Vaṅga* + Prakrit *āla* in the sense of a notable region in Vaṅga, the mention of the earthen mounds, no doubt meant for keeping off the encroachment of sea-water from the cornfields, certainly refers to a condition prevailing in the southernmost areas of Bengal including the Buckergunge region even today.[1] With the Chandra (i.e. Vaṅgāla) conquest of Vaṅga, the name Vaṅgāla became applied to Vaṅga (i.e. the expanded Chandra kingdom), although the name originally indicated merely a southern district of Vaṅga. That is why the Muslim authors of the 13th and 14th centuries sometimes referred to East and West Bengal together as Gaur-Bengāl (Gauḍa-Vaṅgāla). The solitary mention of Vaṅgāla in the pre-Chandra inscription under study shows, however, that the name Vaṅgāla was not entirely unknown in earlier times since the Early Pālas appear to have been sometimes regarded by their contemporaries as primarily the rulers of that tract. But it is interesting to note that the Pāla conquest of Vaṅga and Gauḍa did not popularise the name Vaṅgāla in the sense of the whole of Bengal. This is probably because the Pāla kings became soon well known as 'the lord of Gauḍa', a designation which was obviously more suitable to them and which they apparently chose in preference to 'the lord of Vaṅgāla'. The Chandras did not rule over any part of Gauḍa in the western half of Bengal.

Mr. Gupta's suggestion that Stambha, brother of Gōvinda III, should be regarded as different from the ruler of that name who rebelled against the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch, because the Maṇṇe plates recording a grant of Stambha himself refer to the rebellion, does not appear to be sound. As a subordinate ruler, Stambha applied for the issue of the grant to his overlord Gōvinda III and it was issued by the imperial record office so that he had himself little more to do with its issue.[2]

We also find it difficult to agree with the location of Mārāśarva's kingdom in Kōsala and the identification of his capital Śrībhavana with modern Sirpur. As a matter of fact, *Sarbhōn* is plainly a modification of *Śrībhavana* and Mr. Gupta's contention that it is far away from the Vindhya is wrong. Sarbhōn in the Broach District is not only near the Narmadā but also close to the Satpura range which was regarded as a part of the Vindhya in ancient times since 'the name Vindhya was loosely applied to the whole chain of hills from Gujarat to the Gaya District'.[3] There is epigraphic evidence to show that the rulers of Rajpipla in the Broach District called themselves 'kings of the Vindhyas'.[4]

An interesting statement in lines 71-72 of the inscription has escaped Mr. Gupta's notice. It says, "Five thousands are payable to the illustrious governor of the district per annum." The charter therefore records a *kara-śāsana*, the annual rent for the gift village being fixed at five thousand coins probably of copper. In this case, the village was not made a rent-free hoding in favour of the donee. Elsewhere we have discussed a large number of grants of this type found in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh.[5] Recently one such record was found in East Pakistan.[6] The present charter is the first of its kind from the Kannada-speaking area, noticed so far.

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[1] See *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 63.
[2] Cf. above, Vol. XXIII, p. 293.
[3] Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, 1932, p. 128.
[4] *Archæology 1959-60*, p. 56 (No. 19).
[5] See *JRAS.*, 1952, pp. 4 ff.; above, Vol. XXX, pp. 114-15. Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 51 ff.
[6] Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 152-53.

## No. 21—VERAVAL INSCRIPTION OF CHAULUKYA-VAGHELA ARJUNA, 1264 A.D.

(*Plate I*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 20. 8. 1959*)

This well-known inscription, originally from **Sōmanātha Pāṭan** in the former Junagarh State in Kathiawar but now fixed in a wall of the temple of Harshada Mātā (not Harshaṭa) at the neighbouring town of **Vērāval**, was edited by E. Hultzsch in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, 1882, pp. 241-45, without illustration. It was also transcribed in the *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, pp. 224 f.

Hultzsch's treatment of the inscription exhibits the carefulness and ability expected of him. His paper also contains a learned translation of the whole document. However, while going through Hultzsch's translation of the Vērāval inscription, I felt that he did not understand the meaning of some of the words and passages occurring in the record. I am therefore offering here my reading and interpretation of the inscription for the consideration of scholars. I have little to add to Hultzsch's introductory discussion excepting that Sanskrit *satka* (Pali *santaka*, 'belonging to') which has invariably been written in the inscription as *sakta*, is often noticed in the latter corrupt form in the documents quoted in the *Lēkhapaddhati* which is a medieval product of the Gujarat-Kathiawar region.[1]

The inscription begins with a *Siddham* symbol followed by a passage in prose and a verse in *Anushṭubh* (lines 1-2), both recording the author's obeisance to Viśvanātha (literally, 'the lord of the universe'). In the stanza in question, Viśvanātha is also called Śūnyarūpa (literally, 'one whose form is the void'), Viśvarūpa (literally, 'having various forms') and Lakshyālakshya (literally, 'visible and [at the same time] invisible' or 'scarcely visible'). The same Viśvanātha is again mentioned in the following passage in prose (line 2) as one to whom the followers of the Prophet Muḥammad were attached or devoted. This shows that the words *viśvarūpa*, etc., have been used to indicate Allah, the God of the Muhammadans. It is difficult to say whether, from this, the author of the record has to be regarded as a Muhammadan, although there is no doubt that he had an idea about the God of the Muhammadans and knew the meanings of a number of Arabic words.

Lines 2-4 quote the **date** of the inscription as **Sunday, the 13th of the dark fortnight of the month of Āshāḍha** in the year counted in accordance with the following four eras: (1) **year 662 of Rasūla Mahammada**,[2] the preceptor (*bōdhaka*) of the sailors (*nau-jana*) devoted to Viśvanātha (i.e., the Muslim sailors who were devotees of Allah and were present at the locality in question in connection with their business); (2) **year 1320 of king Vikrama**, (i.e., of the Vikrama Saṁvat); (3) **year 945 of the Valabhī (i.e., Gupta) era**; and (4) **year 151 of the Siṁha era**. The date corresponds to **Sunday, the 25th May 1264 A.D.**[3] The Hijrī era, described as the era of Rasūl Muḥammad, has been mentioned first because the transactions recorded in the inscription relate to a Muhammadan. But the month of the Muslim calendar has not been mentioned. The corresponding year of the Siṁha era, used in a few records of the Kathiawar region, shows that the era started in 1113 A.D. probably in commemoration of the annexation of South Kathiawar by the Chaulukya king Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (1094-1144 A.D.).[4]

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[1] See op. cit., pp. 98, 100, etc. Sanskrit *sakta*, with which *satka* is confused, has not exactly the same sense, although both the words may be used in the sense of 'attached to', 'relating to'. For *satka* in early medieval records, see, e.g., above, Vol. XXII, p. 98, text line 1; Vol. I, p. 164; etc.

[2] I.e., Rasūl Muḥammad. Arabic *Rasūl* means 'a messenger', Muḥammad being regarded by the Musalmāns as the messenger of God.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 180, No. 129.

[4] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part i, p. 176.

Lines 4-6 introduce the reign of the Chaulukya-Vāghēlā king *Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭ āraka ahārājādhirāja* **Arjunadēva** who was residing at **Aṇahillapāṭaka** (i.e.. his capital Aṇhilwāḍā, modern Pāṭan in the Mehsana District of Gujarat). The king is stated to have been endowed with all the royal epithets (*rāj-āvalī*) and enjoyed the titles *Niḥśaṅkamalla* (literally, 'the fearless wrestler'), *Arirājahṛidayaśalya* (literally, 'a dart in the heart of the hostile kings') and *Chaulukya-chakravartin* (i.e., the Chaulukya emperor). King Arjuna is also described as having obtained great prowess (*prauḍha-pratāpa*) as a favour (*vara*) from the god Umāpati (Śiva).

The next passage in lines 6-7 refers to the administration conducted by the king's subordinate whose name was *Mahāmātya* (literally, 'the great administrator or minister') **Māladēva** and who enjoyed the feudatory title *Rāṇaka*. Māladēva's official function is indicated by the passage *śrīśrīkaraṇ-ādi-sama ta-mudrā-vyāpārān=paripanthayati*, literally meaning, 'conducting all the business of the seal such as the making of *śrī-śrī* [at the beginning of documents] (i.e., the drawing-up of documents).' This was, however, the usual style of early medieval documents for introducing the king's principal administrator of the kingdom and his viceroy of a province.[1] Māladēva was therefore either Arjuna's chief minister or the chief administrator of his kingom or, more probably, the king's viceroy in charge of the administration of Kathiawar. The following passage in lines 8-9 refers to the administration (*pratipatti*) of the *Pañchakula* at **Sōmanāthadēvapattana** which is called Sōmanāthadēvanagara elsewhere in the inscription and is the same as modern Sōmanātha Pāṭan near Vērāval. The expression *pañchakula* indicates a board of administrators consisting of five [or more] members. It is the *Pañchāyat* of various parts of the country and is similar to the *Chauthiā* of Rājasthān. The *Chauthiās* were the 'town-magistrates' and a 'self instituted tribunal'. Tod says, "In every town there is an unpaid magistracy, of which the head is the Nagarsēṭh or chief citizen and the four Chauthiās, tantamount to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who hold their court and decide in all civil cases".[2] The same scholar further says. "Besides the resident ruler of the district, who was also a judicial functionary, there was ............ a special officer of the Government in each frontier Thana or garrison post. He united the triple occupation of embodying the quotas, levying the transit duties and administering justice, in which he was aided at the *Chabutrā* or court, by the assembling Chauthiās or assessors of justice. Each town and village has its Chauthiā, the members of which are elected by their fellow citizens and remain as long as they conduct themselves impartially in disentangling the intricacies of complaints preferred to them. They are the aids to the Nagarsēṭh or chief magistrate, an hereditary office in every large city in Rājasthān. Of this Chauthiā, the Paṭel (i.e. headman) and Paṭwari (i.e.. accountant) are generally members ............ these are the special and fixed council of each town, the general Pañchāyats are formed from the respectable population at large and were formerly from all classes of society".[3]

Thus the initial part of our inscription down to line 9 refers to the date of the record, on which the king of the country was Chaulukya-Vāghēlā Arjuna, Māladēva was the governor of Kathiawar and a *Pañchakula* was in charge of the administration of Sōmanāthadēvapattana where the inscription was written and engraved. The number of members of this *Pañchakula* is not indicated although two of the members are stated to have been : (1) *Para* Vīrabhadra described as a great teacher of the Śaiva doctrine called Pāśupata, as great among the great scholars and as one who was an incarnation of *dharma* and was called Gaṇḍa or as the best (*gaṇḍa*, literally 'a rhinoceros')[4] among people who were incarnations of *dharma* ; and (2) Abhayasiṁha who is called *Pāri* and

[1] See above, Vol. XXXII, p. 152 and note 2 ; p. 166.

[2] *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*. ed. Crooke, Vol. II, p. 682. The word *chauthiā* seems to be a modification of *chaturjātakīya* derived from *chaturjātaka* which was a board of four administrators. See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 193.

[3] Op. cit. Vol. I, p. 171.

[4] Cf. expressions like *nara-vyāghra*.

*Maham* both of which are abbreviated forms of the person's designations. *Para*, which is a contracted corrupt form standing for Sanskrit *purōhita* (i.e., a priest), occurs twice elsewhere in the inscription (lines 24 and 25). *Pāri* is a contraction of Gujarātī *Pārikha* (Sanskrit *Pārīksha* or *Parīkshaka*), often found in the epigraphic and literary records of the era in question.[1] It is now a surname amongst the people of the mercantile community. The *Lēkhapaddhati* uses *maham* as a contraction of *mahantaka* which is a term of respect among the mercantile communities of Gujarat and is sometimes explained as 'an accountant' or 'a clerk'.[2] Thus the Śaiva teacher Vīrabhadra, a priest of a local temple which may or may not have been the temple of Sōmanātha, was the head of the *Pañchakula* of Sōmanāthadēvapattana and his chief associate in the board of administrators was Abhayasiṁha of the mercantile class. Vīrabhadra and Abhayasiṁha are known from two other records from Kathiawar.[3]

Lines 9-11 introduce the chief figure involved in the transactions recorded in the inscription. He is *Nākhū* Nōradīna Pīrōja who was the son of *Khōjā Nau* Abū Brāhima of Hurmuja-dēśa and came to Sōmanāthadēvanagara in connection with his business when *Amīra* Rukanadīna was governing his chiefdom at the harbour (*vēlākūla*)[4] of Hurmuja. In this section, *Nākhū* stands for Arabic *Nākhudā* meaning 'the captain or commander of a ship'. *Khōjā* stands for Arabic *Khwājah* meaning 'a rich man or merchant'. As regards *Nau*, there are two words in our record, of which it may be a contraction, viz. *naujana* (a sailor) in line 2 and *nauvitta* (a leader or owner of a ship) in line 22. But Pīrōja, who is called *Nakhū* (i.e., Nākhudā) in lines 11, 18 and 20, is mentioned as *Nau* Pīrōja twice in line 33. Thus *Nau* stands for *Nauvittaka*, the same as Arabic *Nākhudā*. *Amīra* is Arabic *Amīr* meaning a commander, ruler or nobleman. Hurmuja is the island of Ormuz in the strait connecting the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, which is referred to in a document in the *Lēkhapaddhati* in the expression *Hurmajī-vāhana* meaning a ship from Ormuz.[5] The Arabic names mentioned in the section are Ruknuddīn, Abū Ibrāhīm and Nūruddīn Fīrūz (called Pīrōja or Fīrūz only in lines 17, 20 and 33).

The sentence ending in line 17 states that the said *Nākhudā* Nūruddīn Fīrūz secured a plot of land for doing whatever he wanted to do with it (*yath-ēshṭa-karma-karaṇīyatvēna*) together with the *nava-nidhāna* and in accordance with the principle of *sparśana*. Some scholars have explained *navanidhāna* occurring in many other inscriptions of the area in question as 'new taxes imposed for the first time at the date of the grant,'[6] although the real meaning seems to be 'a fresh assessment of tax'. The lexicons mention 'a gift or donation' among the many meanings of the word *sparśana*. Nūruddīn Fīrūz therefore seems to have received the plot of land as a gift, although he had to pay taxes for it. The said piece of land is stated to have been situated at **Mahājanapālī** lying in **Sīkōttarī** outside **Sōmanāthadēvanagara**. It is further stated that the land was secured from *Briha Rāja* Chhāḍā, the son of *Rāja* Nānasiṁha, in the presence of all the *jamāthas* as well as of the leading men (*mahajanalōka* probably standing for Sanskrit *mahallōka*) including the following persons: (1) *Bṛihatpurusha Ṭha* Palugidēva who was the *Pratyaya* of **Mahājana** (i.e., Mahājanapālī) attached to the *drōṇī* of Sōmanāthadēva,[7] (2) *Bṛihatpurusha Rāṇaka* Sōmēśvaradēva, (3) *Bṛihatpurusha Ṭha* Rāmadēva, (4) *Bṛihatpurusha Ṭha* Bhīmasiṁha and (5) *Bṛihatpurusha Rāja*

[1] Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 12; *Lēkhapaddhati*, pp. 102, 116.

[2] *Lēkhapaddhati*, pp. 100, 102.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 103 (verse 29), p. 107 (concluding section of the text). The first record mentions Gaṇḍa as a secondary name of Vīrabhadra while the second, dated V. S. 1328, speaks of the *pratipatti* or administration of Abhayasiṁha who was probably the head of the local *Pañchakula* at the time.

[4] See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 12; *JBRS*, Vol. XL, Part i, p. 12; *Lēkhapaddhati*, p. 113 (*vēlākula*).

[5] See op., cit. p. 113.

[6] Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 256.

[7] It is also possible to think that all or some of the persons mentioned along with Palugidēva were the *Pratyayas* of the land in question. As regards *drōṇī*, we have *dēra-dōṇi datā* in *A. R. Ep.*, 1959-60, No. B 173.

Chhāḍā. Chhāḍā who was present on the occasion of the donation of the land in favour of Nūruddīn Fīrūz seems to be the same as the person of that name who was the son of Nānasiṁha and one of those from whom Fīrūz secured the land. In this section, *jamātha* is Arabic *jamā'at* meaning 'the assembly or congregation [of Muhammadans in the Sōmanātha Pāṭan area]'. *Rāja* is a contraction either of *Rājaputra* (*Rāwat*) or *Rājakula* (Rāwal), both titles, the latter title of nobility being often used in the *Lēkhapaddhati*.[1] *Bṛiha* stands for *Bṛihatpurusha*, possibly the same as *Mahājana* (called *Mahajanalōka* in line 14), although the real meaning of the word in the present context is uncertain. *Ṭha* is an abbreviation of *Ṭhakkura*, a title of nobility, and is often noticed in the literary and epigraphic records of the area in question.[2] *Pratyaya* means 'a dependant or subject' and may mean 'a lessee' in the present context. The word *drōṇī* here apparently means an estate belonging to a temple.

The next sentence in lines 17-20 states that the said *Nākhū* (*Nākhudā*) Fīrūz, the supporter of his faith (*dharma-bāndhava*), having been extremely pious and in accordance with the opinion of the scripture of his own faith, caused a place of worship (*dharma-sthāna*) in the shape of a *mijigiti* (Arabic *masjid*, mosque) to be made within the area of the said plot of land for his own salvation (*ātmanaḥ śrēy-ōrthaṁ*) with the help of *Bṛiha Rāja* (i.e. *Bṛihatpurusha-Rājakula*) Chhāḍā mentioned above. The additional purpose underlying the deed is stated to have been the attainment of fame lasting as long as the sun and moon would endure. The mosque is stated to have been made facing the east. The expression *dharma-bāndhava* means 'one whose only friend is his religious faith.' It may possibly also mean 'persons who have become friends on an oath in the name of their religious faith.'[3] Taken in this sense, the passage would mean that Fīrūz was a great friend of Chhāḍā. The nature of the help given by Chhāḍā to Fīrūz in the construction of the mosque, besides the gift of the piece of land, cannot be determined.

The latter part of the inscription records certain grants made in favour of Fīrūz's mosque apparently by Fīrūz himself. The purposes for which these grants were made are stated in lines 21-24 to be as follows: (1) for the maintenance of the place of worship in the shape of the mosque; (2) for the daily provision of worship, light, oil and drinks [ in the mosque ]; (3) for [ the maintenance of ] the *mālima* (Arabic *muallim*, 'an instructor'), *mōdina* (Arabic *muazzin*, 'a public crier to prayers') and a monthly reader [ of the holy Qurān ]; (4) for the observance of particular religious festivals (*pūjā-mahōtsava*) like the *Barātisabi-khatamarātri* in accordance with the custom (*samāchāra*) of the leaders or owners of ships (*nau-vittaka*); and (5) for the annual [expenditure on] *chhōha* and *chūnā* and the repairs to the rents [in the building] and the wearing out [ of its parts ] (*bhagna-viśīrṇa-samārachana*). In this section, *Barātisabi* is no doubt the same as *Shab-i-barāt*, a Muslim festival observed in the night of the 14th of the month of Shābān in memory of dead ancestors. It is called 'the night of record (*barāt*)' as an angel is supposed on this occasion to inspect a register of the conduct of all living persons. The expression *khatamarātri* appears to mean the night when *Khatm* (literally, 'completion') is observed, i.e. when the reading of the entire Qurān is completed in a single night. *Chhōha* is Gujarati *chhō* meaning 'mortar' and *chūnā* is Sanskrit *chūrṇa* or lime, both required for the purpose of repairs and white-washing.

The gifts made in favour of the mosque, enumerated in lines 24-32, are the following: (1) the entire *Palladikā* belonging to the god Vakulēśvaradēva and consisting of houses facing different directions and covered with *triṇa-chchhādya* and *karēluka*, which was situated within Sōmanātha-dēvanagara and was secured from some persons including *Para* Tripurāntaka, the head of the temple (*sthānapati*) of the god Navaghanēśvaradēva, and Ratnēśvara, the *Para* of [ the temple of ]

[1] See op. cit., pp. 99, 101, 105; cf. p. 123.

[2] Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 12; *Lēkhapaddhati*, pp. 99, 101; cf. p. 126.

[3] Cf. expression like *dharma-putra* [above, Vol. XXXII, p. 340].

the god Vināyaka-bhaṭṭāraka : (2) another [*Palladikā*] which lay close to (*samētā*) a two-storeyed temple (*dvi-bhauma-maṭha*), had an unmutilated (*avyaṅga*) wall on the four boundaries, and had an exit and an entrance through gates facing the north as well as fixed boundaries and rights of enjoyment, though a house facing east and belonging to *Sūtra* (i.e., *Sūtradhāra*, ' an artisan ' or 'a member of the artisan community ') Kahnaā lying in the plot of land was excluded : (3) one oil mill [as well as] its *dāna* which was a *pala*-weight (4 *tolas*) [of oil out of each standard measure of oil pressed at the mill ] : and (4) two *haṭṭas* (shops or market-places), lying in front of the said mosque, secured from the following persons according to the *sparśana-nyāya* or principle guiding donations : *Praṭyaya* Nirmālya, Chhaḍā and Sōḍhala's son Kīlhaṇadēva as well as Lūṇasīha (Lavaṇasiṁha), Dharaṇi and Masuma who were the sons of *Tha* (i.e., *Thakkura*) Sōhaṇa, as also *Rāṇa* (i.e., *Rāṇaka*) Āsadhara (i.e., Āśādhara) residing at Bālyarthakarēṇa(?). In this section, *Palladikā* indicates a kind of temple property as another early medieval inscription of the area in question refers to the gift of a garden in a village as a *Palladikā* in favour of a temple.[1] In *triṇa-chchhādya*, *chhādya* is the same as Gujarātī *chhā* meaning ' thatch '. In our inscription *triṇachchhādya* seems to have been used in the sense of ' thatch.' *Karēlukā* is the same as Marāṭhī *kaul* meaning ' tile ', and has been used in the *Lēkhapaddhati* in the forms *karēluka*, *kārēluka* and *kvēlu*.[2] As already indicated above, *Pura* stands for Sanskrit *purōhita*, 'priest '. This is clear from the description of Ratanēśvara as the *Pura* of the god Vināyaka-bhaṭṭāraka. The word *dāna* has been used in the sense of ' a toll or tax ' in passages like *āgama-nirgama-dāna*, ' tax for importing and exporting ', occurring in the *Lēkhapaddhati*.[3] The persons named Nirmālya and others were *pratyayas* or lessees of the two *haṭṭas* secured by Fīrūz for his mosque. The items mentioned above are stated to have been granted [in favour of the mosque] with [libation of] water evidently by Nūruddīn Fīrūz who thus observed the Indian custom followed in making ceremonial offerings.

Among the concluding sentences in lines 32-40, the first states that, with the *āya-pada* (i.e., income or source of income)[4] indicated above Fīrūz's mosque should have to be kept up and maintained and its rents and worn out parts should have to be repaired so long as the moon, the planets and the stars endure, for the salvation of *Nau* (i.e., *Nauvittaka* or *Nākhudā*) Fīrūz. The next sentence states that whatever surplus remains [in the hands] of those who make payments out of the said income (or its source) for the upkeep and maintenance of the place of worship (i.e., the mosque) and for the expense of particular festivals and that of holy occasions should have to be sent to the places of worship at Makhā (Mecca) and Madīnā (Medina). It is interesting that Nūruddīn Fīrūz did not think of spending the surplus amount in some good cause in the land where the mosque was built but arranged for its dispatch to distant Mecca and Medina. The next sentence refers to the people responsible for handling the property of the mosque, i.e., the trustees of the property. It is stated that the income or its source as indicated above should be protected and the place of worship maintained jointly by the following assemblies or congregations [of Muhammadans] amongst others of their kind : (1) the congregation of the *Nākhuyā-nōrika* (probably, a mistake for *Nākhudā-nāvika*, ' owners or commanders of ships and sailors ') ; (2) the congregation of the *ghāṁchikas* (oil-men) belonging to the town (*śahara*), together with their *Khaṭiba* (Arabic *Khaṭīb*, ' preacher ') : (3) the congregation of the [Muslim] *Chūṇakaras* (*Chūrṇakāras*, i.e., lime-burners or white-washers) . and (4) the congregation of the *Musalmānas* (Musalmāns or Muhammadans) among the *patrapatis* probably meaning *Taṅgāwālās*. The word

[1] See Kadi grant in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 205-06.

[2] Cf. op. cit., pp. 115-16.

[3] Ibid., p. 124 ; cf. pp. 100, 103, 105.

[4] See ibid., pp. 99, 108.

*ghāṁchika* is the same as Gujarātī *ghāṁchi*, 'an oil-maker, an oil-dealer, one who expresses it or sells it'.[1] The word *shahr* meaning a city or town is of Persian origin.[2] In the present context, *samasta-śahara*, 'the entire city', no doubt refers to Sōmanātha-pattana. Hultzsch found here a reference to the followers of 'Alī. But Dr. Z. A. Desai doubts whether there was any distinct Shia community as such in the area and age in question.

The inscription ends with a benedictory stanza and an imprecatory passage in prose.

The epigraph reminds us of a well-known incident described by the Muslim chroniclers, e.g., Muḥammad 'Awfī, observing that 'he never heard a story to be compared with this'.[3] During the reign of Rai Jaising (i.e., the Chaulukya king Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, 1094-1144 A.D.), there was a mosque and a minaret at the city of Khambāyat on the sea-shore (i.e. at Cambay in the Kaira District of Bombay State). The Pārsī settlers of the locality instigated the local Hindus to attack the Musalmans of Khambāyat and the minaret was destroyed and the mosque burnt, eighty Musalmāns being killed in the course of the incident. A Muhammadan named Khatīb 'Alī, who was the *Khatīb* or reader of Khutba at the Khambāyat mosque, escaped and reached Nahrwala (i.e. Aṇahillapāṭaka) with a view to put up his case before the judicial officers of the king. The king's courtiers were, however, inclined to screen the culprits of the incident at Khambāyat. But, once when the king was going out ahunting, Khatīb 'Alī drew his attention and had the opportunity of placing in the king's hands a *Kasīda* in which he had stated the whole case in Hindī verse. As the king felt that Khatīb 'Alī might not get justice from his judges since 'a difference of religion was involved in the case', he himself visited Khambāyat in the guise of a tradesman and learnt all about the incident. He then punished two leading men from each of the non-Muslim classes such as Brāhmaṇas, Fire-worshippers (Pārsīs) and others, and gave to the Muhammadans of Khambāyat a lakh of Balotras (silver coins) to enable them to rebuild the mosque and minaret. Khatīb 'Alī was favoured with a present of four articles of dress. Indeed, instances of such religious toleration are rare in the history of the world.

## TEXT[4]

1 Siddham[5] | Ōṁ namaḥ śrī-Viśvanāthāya || Namasta(s=tē) Viśvanāthāya Viśvarūpa namō=stu tē | namas=tē sū(śū)nya-rūpāya

2 Lakshālaksha[6] namō=stu tē ||[7] śrī-Viśvanātha-prativa(ba)ddha-tau(nau)janānāṁ vō(bō)dhaka-**Rasūla-Mahaṁmada-saṁvat 662** ta-

3 thā śrī-nṛipa-**Vikrama-sa[ṁ*]**[8] **1320** tathā śrīmad-**Valabhī saṁ**[8] **945** tathā śrī-**Siṁha-saṁ**[8] **151** varshē **Āshāḍha-vadi 13 Ra-**

4 [vā*]v=ady=ēha śrīmad-**Aṇahillapāṭak**-ādhishṭi(shṭhi)ta-samasta-rāj-āvalī-samalaṁkṛita-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-

5 śrī-[9]Umāpati-vara-labdha-prauḍha-pratāpa-Nihśaṁkamalla-[9]Arirāyahṛidayasalya-śrī-Chaulukyachakravarti-ma-

[1] Wilson's Glossary, s. v.

[2] Ibid., s. v.

[3] Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II, pp. 162 ff.

[4] From impressions. The unnecessary *daṇḍas* to cover up some space at the end of the lines have been ignored in our transcript.

[5] Expressed by symbol.

[6] Better read *Lakshy-ālakshya*.

[7] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

[8] *Saṁ* is a contraction of *Saṁvat* which is itself an abbreviation of *saṁvatsara*.

[9] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

6 hārājādhirāja-śrīmat-[1]**Arjjunadēva**-pravarddhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē tat-pāda-padm-ōpajīvini

7 mahāmātya-rāṇaka-śrī-**Māladēvē** śrīśrīkaraṇ-ādi-samasta-mudrā-vyāpārān paripaṁthayat=īty=ēvaṁ kā-

8 lē pravarttamānē iha śrī-**Sōmanātta(tha)dēvapa[tta]nē** paramapāśupatāchārya-mahā-paṁḍitamahattara-dharmmamūrtti-

9 gaṁḍa-śrī-para[2]-Vīrabhadra-pāri°[3]-mahaṁ°[4]-śrī[1]-Abhayasīha[5]-prabhṛiti-paṁchakula-prati-pattau tathā **Hurmuja**-vēlā-

10 [kū]lē amīra[6]-śrī-**Rukanadīna(nē)** rājyē(jyaṁ) paripaṁthayati sati kārya-vaśāt śrī-[**Sō]ma-nāthadēvanagaraṁ** sa-

11 māyāta- **H[u]rmuja-dēśīya**-khōjā-nau°[7]-Avū(bū)-Vrā(Brā)hima[8]-suta-nākhū°[9]-Nōradīna-Pīrōjēna[10] śrī-

12 Sōmanāthadēva-drōṇī-pratibaddha-**Mahāyaṇā**(jan-ā)ṁtaḥpāti-pratyaya-bṛihatpurusha-ṭha°[11]-śrī-Palugidēva-

13 vṛi(bṛi)hatpurusha-rāṇaka-śrī-Sōmēśvaradēva-bṛihatpurusha-ṭha°[11]-śrī-Rāmadēva-bṛihat-purusha-ṭha°[11]-śrī-Bhīma-

14 sīha[12]-bṛihatpurusha-rāja°[13]-śrī-Chhāḍā-prabhṛiti-samasta-mahaṇalōka[14]-pratyakshaṁ tathā samasta-jamā-

15 tha[15]-pratyakshaṁ rāja°[13]-śrī-Nānasīha[12]-suta-v[ṛi](bṛi)ha°[16]-rāja°[13]-śrī-Chhā[ḍā]-prabhṛitīnāṁ pārśvāt śrī-**Sōmanātha-**

16 **dēvanagara**-vā(bā)hyē **Sīkōttaryāṁ Mahāyaṇa(jana)pālyāṁ** saṁtishṭa(shṭha)māna-bhūshaṁ(khaṁ)ḍaṁ nava-nidhāna-sahi-

17 taṁ yath-ēshṭa-kāma(karma)-karaṇīyatvēna sparśana-nyāyēna sam[upā]ttaṁ(ttam) ; tataḥ nākhū°[17]-Pīrōjē-

18 na sva-dharmma-śāstr-ābhiprāyēṇa paramadhārmmikēṇa bhūtvā ā-chandr-ārkkaṁ(rkka)-sthāyinī[18]-kīrtti-pra-[19]

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[1] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[2] This stands for Sanskrit *Purōhita*.

[3] *Pāri* is an abbreviation of Gujarātī *Pārikha*.

[4] *Maham* is an abbreviation of Gujarātī *Mahantaka*.

[5] *Sīha* is the Prakrit form of Sanskrit *siṁha*.

[6] *Amīra* stands for Arabic *amīr*.

[7] *Khōjā* is Arabic *Khwajah* and *Nau* is an abbreviation of *naujana* or more probably *nauvittaka* both occurring elsewhere in the inscription.

[8] Arabic *Abū Ibrāhim*.

[9] *Nākhū* stands for Arabic *nākhudā*.

[10] Arabic *Nūruddīn Fīrūz*.

[11] *Ṭha* is a contraction of *ṭhakkura*.

[12] Prakrit *sīha* stands for Sanskrit *siṁha*.

[13] *Rāja* is a contraction of the word *rājaputra* or more probably of *rājakula*.

[14] This is a corruption of Sanskrit *mahal-lōka*, i.e. *mahājana*.

[15] This a modification of Arabic *jamā'at* meaning an assemblage or congregation.

[16] This is a contraction of *brihatpurusha*.

[17] This is a contraction of Arabic *nākhudā*.

[18] Read *sthāyi-kīrtti*.

[19] The words *kīrti* and *prasiddhi* have been used here together as *yaśas* and *kīrti* are sometimes used (cf. *CII*, Vol. I, p. 18, note 7). We may also suggest that *prasiddhi* has been used here in the sense of *siddhi* or *prāpti*.

19 siddhy-arthaṁ(rtham) ātmanaḥ śrēyō-'rthaṁ [cha*] upary-ālāpita-bhūshaṁḍasya sthānē[1] pūrv-ābhimukha-mijigiti-[2]

20 dharmmasthānaṁ briha[3]-rāja[4]-śrī-Chhāḍā-sakhā(hā)yatvēna dharmma-bāṁdhavēna[5] kāritaṁ(tam) | nākhū[6]-Pīrōjēna

21 asya mijigiti-dharmmasthānasya varttāpan[7]-ārthaṁ prati-dinaṁ pūjā-dīpa-taila-pānīya[8] tathā mā-

22 lima-mōdina[9]-māsa-pāṭhaka[10] tathā nau-vittakānāṁ samāchārēṇa barātirā(śa)bi-khata-marāti(tri)-[11]

23 viśēsha-pūjā-mahōtsava-kārāpan[12]-ārthaṁ [ta]thā prati-varshaṁ chhōha-ch[ū]nā[13]-bhagna-viśīrṇṇa-samāracha-

24 n-ārthaṁ cha śrī-Navaghaṇē(ṇē)śvaradēvīya-sthānapati-śrī-para[14]-Tripurāṁtaka- tathā[15] Vināyaka-bhaṭṭāraka-

25 para-[14]Ratanēśvara-prabhṛitīnāṁ pārśvāt upātta(ttā) śrī-[Sō]manāthadēvanagara-madhyē śrī-Vaülēśva-[16]

26 radēvīya-samagra-palladikā[17] nānāmukha-tṛiṇachhā(chchhā)dya-kavēluk-āchhā(chchā)dita-gṛihair=upētā [|*] tathā utta-

27 r-ābhimukha-dvibhauma-maṭha-samēt=āparaṁ(rā) asyā madhyē sūtra[18]-Kānhaiā-sakta(tka)-pūrv-ābhimukha-gṛih-ai-

28 ka[ṁ*] bāhyaṁ chatur-āghāṭēshu avyagra[19]-prākār-ōpētā uttar-ābhimukha-pratōlī-pravēśa-nirgam-ōpē-

29 tā yath-āvasthita-chatur-āghāṭana[20]-viśuddhā yathā-prasiddha-paribhōgā [|*] tathā ghāṇī[21] 1 sakta[22] dāna[23] palaṁ[24] |

[1] Better read *bhūkhaṇḍa-sthānē.*

[2] This stands for Arabic *masjid* meaning a mosque.

[3] This is a contraction of *brihatpurusha.*

[4] *Rāja* is a contraction of the word *rājaputra* or more probably of *rājakula.*

[5] The intended reading may also be *tad-dharmma-bāṁdhavēna* [*nākhū-Pīrōjēna*].

[6] This is a contraction of Arabic *nākhudā.*

[7] Read *varttan°.*

[8] Read *pānīy-ārtham.*

[9] *Mālima* stands for Arabic *muālim,* 'an instructor', and *mōdina* for *muazzin,* 'a public crier to prayers'.

[10] Read *pāṭhak-ārtham.*

[11] This seems to stand for the Muslim festival called *Shab-i-barāt* and the night when *Khatam* (i.e., the completion [of the reading of the entire Qurān]) is observed.

[12] Read *karaṇ°.*

[13] *Chhōha* is Gujarātī *chhō,* 'mortar' and *chūnā* is Sanskrit *chūrṇa,* 'lime'.

[14] This stands for Sanskrit *purōhita.*

[15] This word is redundant.

[16] This is Sanskrit *Lakulē°.*

[17] This is a local word meaning a kind of temple property.

[18] This stands for Sanskrit *sūtradhāra.*

[19] Read *arghamna.*

[20] Better read *āghāṭa.*

[21] This is a Dēśī word for Sanskrit *taila-pēshaṇa-yantra.*

[22] Read *tat- atkam.*

[23] Read *dānam.* This is a Dēśī word standing for Sanskrit *śulka.*

[24] The intended reading is *taila-palaṁ cha*

## VERAVAL INSCRIPTION OF CHAULUKYA-VAGHELA ARJUNA, 1264 A. D.

Scale : Three tenths

30 tathā asyā mijigiti(tyāḥ) agrataḥ pratyaya[2]-Nirmmālya-Chhaḍā-Sōḍhalasuta-Kilhaṇadēva-tathā[1] ṭha-[2]

31 Sōhaṇasuta-Lūnasīha[3]-Dharaṇi-[Ma]sū[m]ā- tathā[1] [Bālyartha]karēṇ[4]-ādhishṭi(shṭhi)ta-rāṇa°[5]-Āsadhara-[6]prabhṛi-

32 tīnāṁ pārśvāt sparśanēn=[7]ōpāttaṁ haṭṭa-dvayaṁ(yam) evam=ētat [sarvam*] udakēna pradattaṁ(ttam) | anēna ā[ya*]-padēna

33 ā-chaṁdra-graha-tārakaṁ yāvat[8] nau°[9]-Pīrōja-sakta(tka)-mijigiti-dharmmasthānam=idaṁ nau[9]-Pīrō-

34 ja-śrēyō-'rthaṁ pratipālanīyaṁ varttāpanīyaṁ[10] bhagna-viśīrṇaṁ samārachanīyaṁ cha | anēna āya-

35 padēna dharmmasthānam=idaṁ varttāpayatāṁ[11] pratipālayatāṁ tathā viśēsha-mahōtsva-parva-vyayē

36 kurvatāṁ cha yat=kiṁchit śēsha-dravyam udgarati[12] tat=sarvaṁ dravyaṁ Mashā(khā)-Madīnā-dharmma-sthānē[13] prasthāpa-

37 nīya[m*] || asya dharmma-sthānasya āya-padaṁ sad=aiva jamātha-madhyē nākhuyā-nōrika[14]-jamātha[ḥ*] ta-

38 thā khatība[15]-sahita-samasta-sahara-sakta(tka)-ghaṁ(ghāṁ)chikānāṁ[16] jamātha[ḥ*] tathā chūṇa(rṇa)kara-jamātha[ḥ*] tathā pā(pa)-

39 tra-patīnāṁ madhyē Muśalamāna-jamātha-prabhṛitibhiḥ[17] samastair=api militvā āya-padam i-

40 daṁ pālāpanīyaṁ[18] dharmma-sthānam=idaṁ varttāpanīyaṁ[10] cha || Dātā cha prērakaś=ch=aiva yē dharmma-prati-

41 pālakāḥ | tē sarvē puṇya-karmmāṇō niyataṁ svargga-gāminaḥ | yaḥ=kō-'pi dharmma-sthānam i-

42 daṁ tathā āya-padam cha lōpayati lōpāpayati[19] sa pāp-ātmā pañcha-mahāpātaka-dōshēṇa li-

43 pya[tē] naraka-gāmī [cha*] bhavati

## Postscript

Dr. Z. A. Desai informs me that he is editing a damaged Arabic version of the inscription published above, which is found on a slab now fixed into the facade of the Qāḍī's mosque at

[1] The word is superfluous.

[2] This is an abbreviation of *ṭhakkura*.

[3] Sanskrit *Lavaṇasiṁha*.

[4] There may be a mistake here. Possibly we may suggest *karaṇa* for *karēṇa*.

[5] This is an abbreviation of *rāṇaka*.

[6] This stands for Sanskrit *Āśā*°.

[7] Better read *sparśana-nyāyēn*°.

[8] This word is redundant.

[9] This is a contraction of Sanskrit *navavittaka*.

[10] Read *vartanīyaṁ*.

[11] Read *vartayatāṁ*.

[12] The intended reading is *udgirati* used in the sense of *udgīrṇaṁ bhavati*.

[13] Better read *sthānēshu*.

[14] The intended reading may be *nākhudā-nāyaka*.

[15] This stands for Arabic *khaṭīb*.

[16] Hultzsch read *ghaṭṭika*, 'wharf-people', and *Śahada* for Arabic *Shahīd* meaning martyr in the sense of 'All the Martyr.

[17] Read *jamātha ity=ētat-prabhṛitibhiḥ*.

[18] Read *pālanīyaṁ*.

[19] The correct word is *lōpayati*.

Vērāval. The inscription is dated the 27th Ramaḍān, A.H. 6[62] (23rd July 1264 A.D.) and has been translated by him as follows: "God the Exalted may grant this to one who builds a house in the path of Allāh. [This auspicious mosque was built] on the twentyseventh of the month of Ramaḍān, [year sixtytwo ?] and six hundred from the migration of the Prophet, in the reign of the just Sulṭān and [the generous king] Abu'l-Fakhr (literally, 'the father of pride') Ruknu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn (literally, 'the pillar of the State and religion'), Mu'izzu'l-Islām wa'l-Muslimīn (literally, 'the glorifier of Islām and the Muslims'), the Shadow of God (*in the world*), the victorious against enemies, the (*divinely*) supported prince Abu'n-Naṣrat (literally 'the father of victory') Maḥmūd, the son of Aḥmad, may God perpetuate . . . . . . . and may his affair and prestige be high; in the city of Sūmnāt (i.e. Sōmanātha), may God make it one of the cities of Islām [and purify it from the infidelity and the idols and during the time of its ruler . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . who was his adviser with correct and beneficial (?) opinion . . . . . . . and who made efforts for this meritorious deed and also contributed generously (?) having been assisted by one named Chādā . . . . . . . son of Rāwat Nānsīh along with their great ones, one of whom is Railak Dev, the second Bīm Sīh Tākur, the third Sūmishwar Dev and the fourth Rām Dev, all of whom unanimously agreed to the construction of this magnificent great mosque—(is) one who is of a fortunate position, the great chief (*ṣadr*), the fortunate, the martyr, Najmu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn (literally, 'the star of the truth and religion'), the protector of Islām and the Muslims, father of kings and Sulṭāns, the chief (*sulṭān*) of the great men of the time, the guide of those who go astray in the world, the king of the kings of the covenant and the fulfilment, the master of generosity and liberality, Abū Ibrāhīm, son of Muḥammad Al-'Irāqī, may God illuminate his grave and make his (*resting*) place and bed agreeable to him, in obedience to our Lord's orders. The master of this good deed, is the great and respected chief (*ṣadr*), the king (*sulṭān*) of sea-men, the king of the kings of traders, Nūr'ud-Dawlat wa'd-Dīn (literally, 'the light of the State and religion'), the sun of Islām and the Muslims, the father of kings and Sulṭāns, the shelter of the great and the equals, the pride of the time, Fīrūz, son of Abū Ibrāhīm, may God perpetuate his glory . . . . . . . and endowed for the above mentioned mosque which is celebrated throughout the universe . . . . . . . . . . . . with the whole of its surroundings for the sake of Allāh, the Generous and for His abundant pleasure of the Great Lord . . . . . . . for the building of this great mosque, so that (*its*) building may be a proof of faith in the Manifest Scripture and in utmost accordance with the order of the Discrimination between Truth and Falsehood (i.e. the *Qurān*), wherein (*Allāh*) has said: Verily, he builds the mosques of Allāh, who believes in Allāh and in the Final Day (i.e. the Day of Judgment) and who establishes prayers and gives alms and does not fear any one except Allāh: very likely, they would be among the guided ones (*and the endowment is made*) for the benefit of the *Imām* (i.e. the leader of prayers) and its *Mu'adhdhin* (i.e. the caller to prayers) and the balance (*of the amount*), after the expenditure is made, will be sent to Mecca, may God guard it, and (*Madina*) the city of the Apostle of Allāh, may Allāh's salutations be on him, so that (*the said amount*) will be spent towards (*different*) items of expenditure. As for one who will help to nullify this good (*deed*) or try to defeat its purpose either by words or deeds or intention or demonstration, Allāh the Exhalted will know it from the sincerity of his heart and the defect of his belief . . .. the curse of God and the curse of the cursers and of the angels and of the people, (*and, in short*) of all will be on him. And (*as regards*) one who will change it after hearing of it, verily the sin will be on those who change it. Verily, God is the Hearer and Knower and Relenter and Merciful . . . . . . . . . . the Exalted Allāh, as He says in His Strong Mighty Book (the *Qur'ān*): Verily Allāh . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . and salutations of Allāh be on our chief Muḥammad and on his noble descendants."

# No. 22—INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF CHAULUKYA KARNA, V.S. 1354

(*1 Plate*)

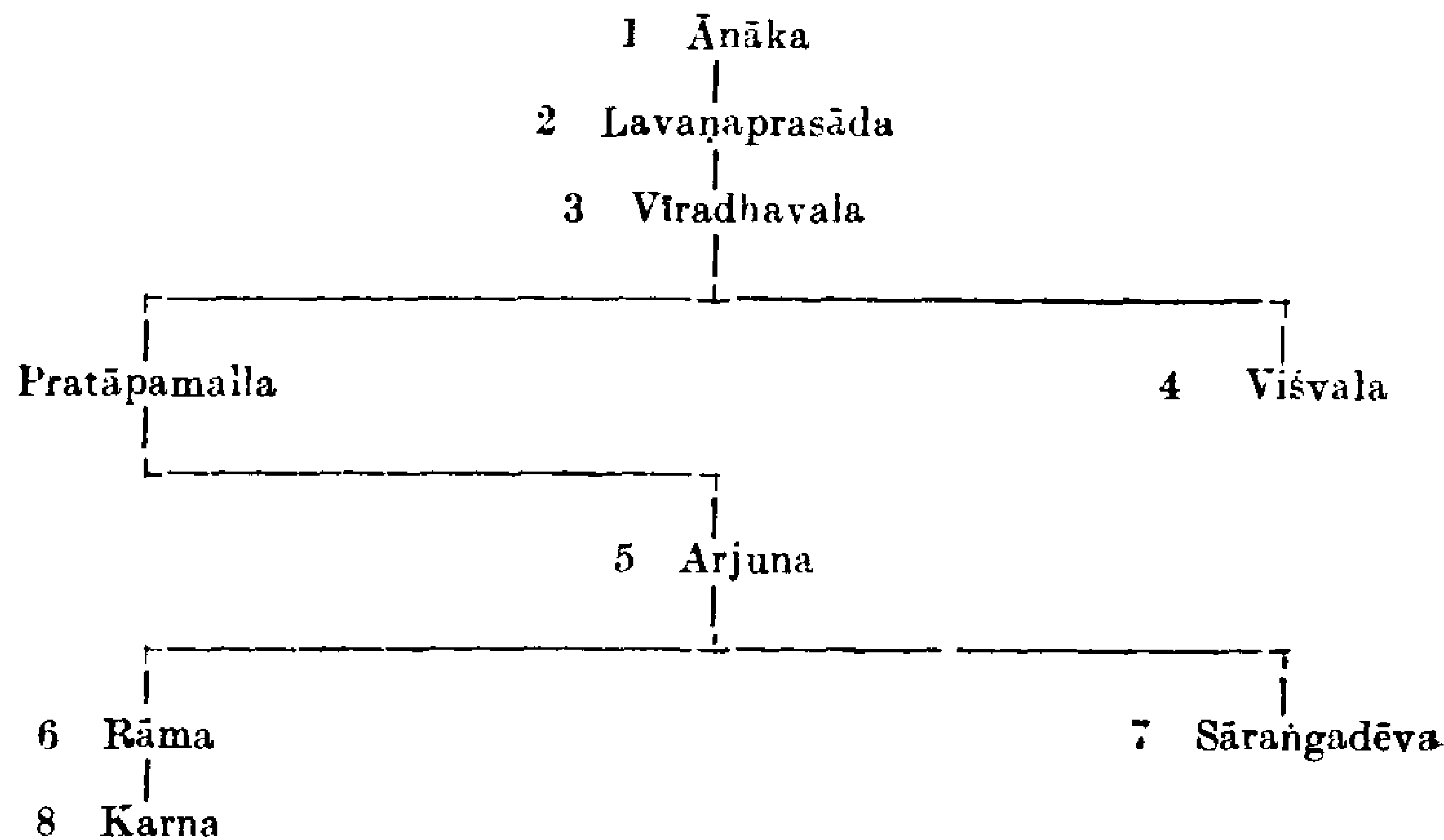
C. C. DAS GUPTA, DARJEELING

(*Received on 26.2.1959*)

This inscription was found on the wall of the Rāmjī temple at **Bhavnāth Mahādēo** in the former Idar State. I edit it from an inked impression supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India at my request.

The inscription measures 3 feet 6 inches in length and 6½ inches in breadth and consists of 12 lines of writing. The **characters** employed are Nāgarī of the 13th century A.D. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and the composition is in verse excepting small sections at the beginning and end. It is dated in **Vikrama Saṁvat 1354** (line 12) corresponding to **1297 A.D.**

The inscription belongs to the time of the **Vāghēla** branch of the **Chaulukya** dynasty (line 3, verse 5). The first ruler mentioned is **Ānāka** who is called Arṇōrāja in some other inscriptions.[1] There is no doubt that Ānāka is to be identified with Arṇōrāja as the inscription under study as well as the above-mentioned records give the name of his successor as **Lavaṇaprasāda.** The son and successor of Lavaṇaprasāda was **Vīradhavala** whose son and successor was **Viśvala.** There is no doubt that Viśvala is the same as Vīsaladēva mentioned in some other inscriptions.[2] His elder brother was **Pratāpamalla.** The late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar regarded Pratāpamalla as the younger brother of Vīsaladēva.[3] From this inscription, it is quite clear that he was the elder brother of Viśvala or Vīsaladēva. This suggests that, though Pratāpamalla was the elder son of Vīradhavala, he did not reign. Probably he breathed his last during the lifetime of his father leaving behind his son Arjuna. Viśvaladēva's successor is said to have been his nephew **Arjunadēva** who was succeeded by his son **Sāraṅgadēva** ; but this inscription suggests that Sāraṅgadēva was the successor of his elder brother **Rāma** and not of his father Arjuna. After Sāraṅgadēva, Rāma's son **Karṇa** became the ruler. The genealogy of the family thus stands as follows :




[1] Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 488, 1524.

[2] Ibid., Nos. 547, 549, 556, 557, 577.

[3] Ibid., p. 385.

The **object** of this inscription is to record the erection of a temple of the Sun-god by Vaijalladēva in memory of his parents. The genealogy of Vaijalladēva is given in the inscription in verses 22 ff. as follows: Rājiga; his son Rājyadēva; his daughter Nāladēvī; her son Vaijalladēva. The genealogy of another aristocratic family is given in verses 17 ff. and 30 as follows: Mahādēva; his grandson Muñjāladēva; his daughter Hrīdēvī; her son Saṅgrāma. Verse 33 mentions Subuddhi who belonged to another family and was the son of Sūtravēdha.[1]

So far as historical facts are concerned, there is one which is important. It is mentioned in line 9 where it is stated that king Viśvala defeated the ruler of **Dhārā** and destroyed the city of Dhārā. This shows that he defeated the Paramāra ruler whose capital was Dhārā.

## TEXT[2]

[Metres: verses 1, 2 *Sragdharā*; verses 3, 6 *Upēndravajrā*; verses 4-5, 8, 13-15, 17, 22-23, 26-27, 30-31, 33 *Anushṭubh*; verses 7, 9-10, 16, 18-19, 24 *Upajāti*; verses 11-12 *Indravajrā*; verses 20, 28 *Rathōddhatā*; verses 21, 32 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 25 *Vasantatilaka*; verse 29 *Śālinī*.]

[*Ōṁ*[3]] namō Vighnarājāya | Yēn=aitē dānavēṁdrā nija-kara-nikaraiḥ sūditāś=ch=āṁtarikshē |[4] nityaṁ pratyūsha-kālē rajanija-timiraṁ trāsitaṁ divya-bhābhiḥ | chakrē dhāmn=āṁgajēn=āvanitalam=aruṇa sadrō .......... chhidyā-dōrōsuka[5] prathama-samuditaḥ sapta-saptiḥ sa Sūryaḥ | 1 Trasya[ṁ]tē yasya nāmnā vividha-vidhi-kritā vyādhayaḥ pūrvva-dī-

2 ptāḥ |[6] saṁpadyaṁtē tath=aiv=ākhila-mala-rahitā[ḥ*] saṁpadaḥ śarma-sādhyāḥ | aiśvaryaṁ bhōga-yuktaṁ sakṛid api hridayē dhyāna-mātrēṇa sadyaḥ sō=yaṁ vṛiṁdārakō vaḥ samayatu duritaṁ bhūri-bhas-tīvra-Bhānuḥ | 2 Samasta-viśvasya vibōdhakarttā ghan-āṁdhakārasya tath=āśu haṁtā | abhīshṭa-kāryasya sadā vidhātā sa vō Raviḥ pātu sadā prabhātē | 3 Jagatāṁ mauli-māṇikyaḥ sur-āsura-namaskṛitaḥ |

3 prāṇināṁ prāṇadaḥ Sūryaḥ pātu vaḥ puṇya-karmmaṇaḥ | 4 **Chauluky-ānvaya-**saṁjātaḥ[7] **Ānākō** jagatī-talē | **Surāshṭraṁ** nija-nām=ēva śāsitaṁ nija[8]-vikramāt | 5 Tad-aṁga-bhūtaṁ **Lavaṇaprasādaṁ** dhura[ṁ*]dharaṁ vaṁśa-karaṁ[9] nṛipāṇāṁ(ṇām) | samud-dhṛitā yēna rasātal-āṁtāt[7] dvijāś=cha Vēdāś=cha punar=babhūvuḥ | 6 Tasy=āpy=abhūt=sūnur=udāra-kīrttēḥ śrī-**Vīra-**nāmā para-chakrama[r]ddī | arāti-saṁmōha-karaṁ cha yē-

4 na kṛitaṁ susārēṇa mah-āhavaṁ cha[10] | 7 Śrīmad-**Vīradhavalasya** putrō=bhūd=vīra-lakshaṇaḥ | śrīmat-**Pratāpamallas**=tu pratāp-ākrāṁta-maṁḍalaḥ | 8 Tasy=ānujanmā prathitaḥ pṛithivyāṁ śrī-**Viśval-**ākhyō nṛipatiḥ prachaṁḍaḥ | **Dhār-**ādhināthaṁ samarē vijitya puriṁ viśālāṁ sa babhaṁja Dhārāṁ(rām) | 9 Svasy=ēshṭa-vaṁdhōḥ[11] sakalaṁ tanūjaṁ tam=Arjun-ākhyaṁ nara-dēva-pūjyaṁ(jyam) | saṁsthāpya rājyē sakalaṁ gaṅgārṇavata[12] prapēdē

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[1] [See below.—Ed.]

[2] From impressions.

[3] [There is a *Siddham* symbol before this.—Ed.]

[4] [The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.—Ed.]

[5] [The reading is *aruṇaṁ sā[ṁ]dra-si[ṁ]dūra-varṇṇāṁ(rṇṇam) chhi[ṁ]dyād=vō rōra-kaṁdam*.—Ed.]

[6] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[7] [*Sandhi* has not been observed here.—Ed.]

[8] [Read *yēna*—Ed.]

[9] [Read °*bhūtō Lavaṇaprasādō dhuraṁ-dharō vaṁśa-karō*.—Ed.]

[10] [Read °*karaś=cha yēna kṛitaḥ susārēṇa mah-āhavaś=cha*.—Ed.]

[11] [The reading is *sva-jyēshṭa(shṭha)-baṁdhōḥ*.—Ed.]

[12] [The reading is *sakal-āṁga-pūr[ṇṇ]ē tataḥ*.—Ed.]

# INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF CHAULUKYA KARNA, V. S. 1354

Left Half

Right Half

(from Photographs)

5 **rāti-mukta-māṁsaḥ**[1] | 10 Tasy=āṁgajaḥ[2] saṁprati rājatē=[3]sau śrī-**Rāma-**nāmā nṛipa-chakravarttī | saṁtarpya dānair=dvija-sattamāṁś=cha yēn=āvaruddhō Balir=ugratha-(dha)nvā [|*] 11 **Śāraṁgadēva[ḥ*]** śuśubhē dharāyaṁ Rām-āuujō Lakshmaṇa-sanni-bhaś=cha | dushṭa-svabhāvaṁ samarē cha **Gōgaṁ** vidrāvayāmāsa dig-aṁtarēshu | 12 Śrī-Rāmād=aurasō jātaḥ **Karṇṇa-**nām=ēti[4] viśrutaḥ | śruti-śāstr-āvirōdhēna sō=yaṁ pālayati prajāḥ | 13........................tē..............

6 ma[5] bhavatu śāśvataḥ | gōtrē(trō)=yaṁ gauravaṁ yātu parjanyō varshatu dhruvaṁ(vam) | 14 **Chaulukya-**vaṁśa-vistāraḥ saṁkshēpāt=kathitō mayā | sāmagrēṇ=āsamarthō=haṁ stōtuṁ vistaratō guṇān | 15 Vakshyē samastaṁ **Dhaval-**aukasāṁ taṁ vaṁśaṁ yathā-pūrvvam=akalmashaṁ cha | rataṁ sadā Vishṇu-padē pavitrē[6] utkaṁṭhitaṁ Śaṁkara-pūjanē cha | 16 Śāṁḍilyē pravarē gōtrē Mahādēvō hy=abhūt=purā | Śaṁkar-ārādhanē yuktō dāna-dharma-parāyaṇa[ḥ | 17]..[7]

7 śvaraḥ kīrttimatāṁ varishṭaḥ[8] tasy=āṁga-bhūtaḥ prabalaḥ pramāthī | Sudhāṁśunā[tha]sya lalāṭa-dēśē vibhūshaṇasya chchhalatō=vatasthē[9] | 18 Tad-aṁga-bhūr=bhūtala-bhūshaṇō=yaṁ Muṁjāladēvō=mara-mārgga-gaṁtā | āśvāsya lōkaṁ kapilāṁ cha dhēnuṁ sa gō-grah-ārthē maraṇaṁ jagāma | 19 Khaḍga-tīvra-ghana-vā(bā)ṇa-saṁyutō yashṭi-sakti-vara-kuṁta-paṭṭiśaḥ | baddha-tūṇa-dṛiḍha-śṛiṁgiṇī-karō gō-grahē maraṇam=āśu sō='gamat |

8 20 Jātaḥ kāṁta-viśāla-bhāla-vadanō Muṁjāladēvō bhaṭaḥ kashṭaṁ kutsita-janma-jāla-gahanaṁ saṁtīryatē gō-grahē[10] | viṁdyād[11]=Bhārata-bhāratīṁ katham=ahaṁ Karṇṇaḥ suvīrō yathā sha(kha)ḍgaṁ pāṇi-talē nidhāya paramaṁ Sūryasya lōkaṁ gataḥ | 21[12] Kāśyapē vimalē gōtrē Rājigō=bhūn=mahāmatiḥ | raṁjitaṁ yasya rāgēṇa sakalaṁ gōtra-maṁḍalaṁ(lam) | 22 Tasy=ēha naṁdanō jātaḥ Rājyadēva[ḥ*] kriyā-pa-

9 [ra]ḥ | tasy=aikā duhitā jātā Nāladēv [13] īti viśrutā | 23 Atīva sā satya-ratā sukīrttiḥ[14] dharmē sthit-āpūrvva-satī-svabhāvā | tasyāḥ prajajñē ripu-mauli-śūlaḥ Vaijalladēvaḥ Śava-sakti[15]-bhaktaḥ | 24 Vairōchan-ārchana-ratō nara-tōshakārī Vaijalla ēsha nara-kīrttita-kīrttiḥ[16] kāṁtaḥ | dāna-pradāna-vimukhīkṛita-Kalpavṛikshaḥ śikshīkaraḥ sva-karayōr=balatō ripūṇāṁ(ṇām) | 25 Tēna śrī-**Bhṛigukuṁḍa-** .

10 **sya** jagatyāṁ dēva-vāsaṇē | mātṛi[17]-pitrōḥ samuddiśya kīritaṁ sūrya-maṁdiraṁ(ram) | 26 Gō-bhū-tila-hiraṇy-ādi pātrē datvā(ttvā) hy=anēkaśaḥ | Muṁjālasvāmidēvasya tēn=ākāri nikētanaṁ(nam) | 27 Saṁpadaḥ kalabha-karṇṇa-chañchalā jīvitaṁ cha

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[1] [The reading is *gatim=uttamām saḥ*.—Ed.]

[2] [There is an unnecessary *anusvāra* above the letter *jaḥ*.—Ed.]

[3] [The use of the Present Tense here is not happy, unless it can be believed that Rāma was still living when the inscription was composed.—Ed.]

[4] [Better read *Karṇṇō nāmn=ēti*.—Ed.]

[5] [The reading seems to be *Ēvaṁ rājñi sthitē Karṇṇē dharmō*.—Ed.]

[6] [*Sandhi* has not been observed here.—Ed.]

[7] [The reading of the lost letters may be *Mahē*°.—Ed.]

[8] [The intended reading is *varishṭhaḥ*. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.—Ed.]

[9] [The poet's conception in the second half of the stanza is not happy although he seems to mean that the person was dead and Śiva besmeared the ashes of his burnt corpse on the forehead or was the name of the person Nāgēśvara ?—Ed.]

[10] [Read *saṁtīrya tad-gō-grahē*.—Ed.]

[11] [Read *vindyām*.—Ed.]

[12] [Verses 19-21 contain repetitions of the same fact.—Ed.]

[13] [The name may be Nāladēvī, Anāladēvī or Ānāladēvī.—Ed.]

[14] [*Sandhi* has not been observed here.—Ed.]

[15] [The intended reading may be *Śiva-Śakti*.—Ed.]

[16] [Read *kīrtti*° for the sake of the metre.—Ed.]

[17] [Read °*vāsanē* | *mātā*°.—Ed.]

jalaj-āṁbu-dusthiraṁ(ram) | yauvanaṁ cha yuvatī-kaṭākshavat[1] vīkshya **yō='rkka-nilayaṁ** nyakārayat | 28[2] Vā da ................vad=bhānu....[3] tē ra[śmi]-

11 [j]ālaiḥ | yāvat=Sōma[ḥ*] sī(śī)tatām=āvahēta tāvad=Vaija prāpayasv=āśv=**abhīshṭaṁ**-(shṭam) | 29 Yasya[4] Vaijalladēvasya naṁdanā dēva-rūpiṇaḥ | Madanō **Maṁḍalīk-ākhyaḥ** Mahīpālō='th[=ājāyata][5] | 30 Sutā Muṁjāladēvasya Hrī[dēv=īty=a]bhidhīyatē | **sutaṁ** sā sukhavē[6] śūraṁ Saṁgrām-ākhyaṁ mahā-bhujaṁ(jam) | 31 Yasy=āsyē hi **virājatē** suvimalā vāmasya vāṇī dhruvā | [7] tasy=ēyaṁ[8] vihitā pra[śasti]..................**chhā** ................

12 ......rkka-tama-lakshmaṇa-yukta....palāś-ākshakhayā[9] | yō=sau kshāṁti-rataḥ **kalāsu** nipuṇaḥ kāvyēshu karttā svayaṁ(yam) | 32 Sūtravēdh[10]-āṁga-jātēna Nāyakēna Subuddhinā | iyaṁ praśastir=utkīrṇṇā prasādād=Viśva[karmaṇaḥ] | 33 Svasti śrī-nṛipa-Vikrama-kāl-ātīta-**saṁvat 1354** varshē **Śōbhana**-nāma-saṁvatsarē daksha(kshi)ṇ-āyana-gatē sūryē **Kārttika-śudi 11 Ravau** praśastir=iyaṁ....................[11] bhavatū(tu) | maṁgalaṁ[12]

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[1] [*Sandhi* has not been observed here.—Ed.]

[2] [Verses 26-28 contain repetitions of the same fact.—Ed.]

[3] [The reading is *Yāvad........yāvad=bhānu....*—Ed.]

[4] [Better read *Tasya*.—Ed.]

[5] [Better read *°ākhyō Mahīpālō='tha jajñirē*.—Ed.]

[6] [Read *sushuvē*.—Ed.]

[7] [The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.—Ed.]

[8] [Better read *tēn=ēyam*.—Ed.]

[9] [The reading seems to be *ch=Ārkka-sutēna lakshaṇa-yutā Vyāsēna mōksh-ākhya(śa)yā*. The following *daṇḍa* is superflous.—Ed.]

[10] [The reading is *Sūtra-Pēth°*.—Ed.]

[11] [The reading is *°iyam=alēkhi* [ ] *śubhkavē*.—Ed.]

[12] [The word *mahā-śrīh* appears to have been engraved after this.—Ed.]

# No. 23—NOTE ON INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF CHAULUKYA KARNA, V.S. 1354

D. C. SIRCAR and G. BHATTACHARYA, Ootacamund

(*Received on 5. 8. 1959*)

Dr. C. C. Das Gupta has published this inscription above, pp. 151 ff. The record, which is fixed in the wall of a temple at the village of **Dēsān** or **Bhavnāth** in the Beloda Taluk of the Sabarkantha District, Bombay State, was trascribed in the *Buddhiprakāśa*, 1910, under the name 'Muralīdhar Temple Inscription,'[1] and was also noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1935-36, p. 98.

The inscription is **very important** and its contents require to be properly analysed. This is the only known inscription of the time of the Chaulukya-Vāghēlā king **Karṇa II** (popularly known as Ghēlō or Ghēlarō, i.e. 'the insane' or 'the insane prince') who was ousted from the throne of Gujarāt by Alāuddīn Khiljī (1296-1316 A.D.), the Sulṭān of Delhi. According to Mērutuṅga's *Vichāraśrēṇī*, Karṇa II ruled from V.S. 1353 (1296-97 A.D.) to 1360 (1303-04 A.D.) while Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbarī* assigns to him a reign period of 6 years 10 months and 15 days.[2] The inscription under study, dated in V.S. 1354, was thus engraved in the second regnal year of the Chaulukya-Vāghēlā king. Karṇa II was defeated and ousted by the Muslims from his throne in 1299 A.D. but was finally and completely overthrown in 1304 A.D.[3]

The inscription is a *praśasti* composed in thirtythree stanzas in different metres by a poet named Saṅgrāma. But the author's style is rather poor. The rules of grammar have been ignored in many cases. Often he uses expressions and introduces ideas which are not quite satisfactory in the context (cf. verses 11, 18). Sometimes he repeats the same fact in several consecutive stanzas (cf. verses 19-21, 26-28) while elsewhere he forgets to state the reason why a family was introduced in the eulogy (cf. verses 16-21).

The epigraph begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by the *praṇava*. Next, after a passage in prose recording obeisance to Gaṇēśa, come four stanzas (verses 1-4) in lines 1-3 in adoration of the Sun-god. This is in consonance with the object of the record, which, as will be seen below, is the construction of a temple for the said deity.

Verse 5 of our record introduces a chief named **Ānāka** who is described as a scion of the **Chaulukya** family and as the ruler of **Surāshṭra,** i.e. Kathiawar. Ānāka is the same as Ānā or Arṇōrāja, the son of Dhavala, as known from some records.[4] The next stanza (verse 6) of the inscription mentions Ānāka's son **Lavaṇaprasāda** who is sometimes called Lūṇigadēva.[5] Verses 7-8 speak of **Vīra** or **Vīradhavala,** son of Lavaṇaprasāda, and of **Pratāpamalla,** son of Vīradhavala. No royal title is assigned to Pratāpamalla who did not reign.

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[1] See A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 468.

[2] Cf. Ray, *DHNI*, p. 1043.

[3] Cf. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 189.

[4] Ray, op. cit., p. 1027.

[5] See above, Vol. V, App. p. 36, No. 249; *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 228, line 5.

Verse 9 mentions king **Viśvala** as the younger brother of Pratāpamalla. Mērutuṅga's *Thērāvalī* represents Vīsala, another form of the name *Viśvala*, as a brother of Vīradhavala apparently through mistake.[1] Pratāpamalla is generally taken by scholars to have been a younger brother of Viśvala or Vīsala since Bühler explained king Viśvamalla's (i.e. Vīsala's) epithet *Pratāpamall-āvaraja* occurring in the Cintra praśasti as 'one whose younger brother was Pratāpamalla'.[2] But our inscription makes it clear that the said epithet should be understood not as a *Bahuvrīhi* but as a *Shashṭhī-Tatpurusha* compound in the sense of 'one who was the younger brother of Pratāpamalla'. Our record, however, does not mention Viśvala's other brother Vīrama[3] probably because the relations between Viśvala and Vīrama were hostile.

The same stanza of the inscription (verse 9) further states that Viśvala vanquished the king of **Dhārā** and destroyed that city. The successful encounter of the Chaulukya Vāghēlā ruler with the Paramāra king of Dhārā is referred to in other records. There is difference of opinion about the identity of this Paramāra ruler[4] and it is not possible to be sure on this point. Verse 10 gives the interesting information that Viśvala died after having installed **Arjuna**, who was the son of his elder brother (i.e. Pratāpamalla), on the throne. According to Mērutuṅga's *Vichāraśrēṇī*, Viśvala's successor Arjuna ruled from V.S. 1318 to 1331 (i.e. from 1261-62 to 1274-75 A.D.).

Verse 11 introduces Arjuna's son **Rāma** as a *nṛipachakravartin* or imperial ruler while the next stanza (verse 12) speaks of his younger brother **Sāraṅgadēva** as the vanquisher of **Gōga.** Since some inscriptions refer to Sāraṅgadēva's success against the Mālava kingdom,[5] it is possible to identify Gōga of our inscription with the Malwa ruler of that name, who is known from epigraphic and Muslim sources.[6] Mērutuṅga's *Vichāraśrēṇī* represents Sāraṅgadēva as the successor of Arjuna and assigns his rule to the period V.S. 1331-53 (from 1274-75 to 1296-97 A.D.). His elder brother Rāma, omitted by Mērutuṅga, probably ruled for a short time.

Verse 13 mentions **Karṇa,** the son of Rāma, as the reigning king. Mērutuṅga represents him as Sāraṅgadēva's successor ruling, as indicated above, in V.S. 1353-60 (i.e. from 1296-97 to 1303-04 A.D.). The next stanza (verse 14), which is damaged, contains the prayers of the author, one of which seeks that the family, no doubt meaning the Chaulukya family described before, might be glorious. In verse 15, the author of the eulogy states that he had to describe the Chaulukya family in brief because of his inability to deal with the qualities of the kings in details, meaning thereby that it was an impossible task.

The following section (verses 16-21) in lines 6-8 describes another family, the first of the stanzas (verse 16) referring to it as the dynasty of the Dhavalaukas, which is stated to have been devoted to both the gods Vishṇu and Śaṅkara (Śiva). The expression *Dhaval-aukasām* occurring in the inscription means 'of those who have their home at **Dhavala**'. This locality called Dhavala may be modern Dholkā in the Ahmedabad District, which is mentioned as Dhavalakapurī (also called Dhavalakkanagarī, Dhavalakkaka and Dhavalāṅka) and was the original capital of the Vāghēlā branch of the Chaulukyas.[7] It therefore appears that the family described in verses 16 ff. of our record was residing at Dholkā. Dhavalapurī was also the name of modern

[1] See *JBBRAS*, Vol IX, 1867-70, p. 155.

[2] Cf. above, Vol. I, pp. 272, 280 (text line 9).

[3] See Ray, op. cit., p. 1048.

[4] See ibid., p. 1037.

[5] Ibid., p. 1043.

[6] Cf. above, Vol. XXXII, p. 147, note 2; Majumdar, op. cit., p. 182.

[7] See Ray, op. cit., pp. 1020, 1027, 1030. The city of Dhavala may have been named after Ānāka's father Dhavala.

Dholpur, headquarters of the former State of that name lying near the Agra District of U.P.[1] But this Dhavala was far away from the findspot of the record under study.

Verse 17 introduces a person named Mahādēva of a family belonging to the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra,* who was a devotee of the god Śaṅkara (Śiva). The following stanza (verse 18) mentions his son whose name may be Mahēśvara. Verse 19 describes Muñjāladēva who was the son of the said person and died apparently in a fight with certain cattle-lifters for the protection of men and cows. The next stanza (verse 20) repeats that he died in connection with a case of cattle-lifting. Verse 21, with which the description of the Śāṇḍilya family comes to a close, also refers to Muñjāladēva's death in connection with cattle-lifting. The author of the eulogy does not state Muñjāladēva's relationship with the persons and facts mentioned in the following stanzas. But, as will be seen below, he was certainly the father of the hero of the *praśasti* which records the construotion of the temple for a god named after Muñjāla.

The following section in lines 8 ff. (verses 22 ff.) introduces the hero of the eulogy. Verse 22 states that there was a person named Rājiga born in a family belonging to the Kāśyapa *gōtra.* The next stanza (verse 23) introduces Rājiga's son Rājyadēva and the latter's daughter Nāladēvī, Anāladēvī or Ānāladēvī. The hero of the eulogy under study was Vaijalladēva, the son of this lady. Verse 24 represents Vaijalladēva as devoted to the god Śiva and the goddess Śakti (i.e. Pārvatī) as well as to Vairōchana. The word *vairōchana* means ' the son of Virōchana (i.e. the Sun-god) ', although the author's intention here seems to have been to mention the Sun-god himself. Verse 25 is also in praise of Vaijalladēva while the following stanza (verse 26) states that he offered many gifts of cows, land, gold, etc., and built a temple for the Sun-god in memory of his parents at a locality which seems to be called the abode of gods and was apparently situated in the neighbourhood of the **Bhṛigu-kuṇḍa,** no doubt the name of a sacred tank. It is difficult to say whether the temple built by Vaijalla is the same as the one on a wall of which the inscription under study is found. But there is little doubt that it was either the same temple or one built in the same neighbourhood. Verse 27 speaks of the construction of the temple of Muñjālasvāmidēva by Vaijalla. Although it is not clearly stated, it is certain that the Sun-god referred to in verse 26 is mentioned as Muñjālasvāmidēva in the following stanza, because verse 28 again refers to the construction of the Sun temple by the same person, the author's style being repetitive as already indicated.

The relations between the Śāṇḍilya and Kāśyapa families are not clearly stated in the inscription. But, as stated above, there is no doubt that Vaijalladēva, born of a lady of the Kāśyapa family, was the son of Muñjāladēva of the Śāṇḍilya family and installed the Sun-god Muñjālasvāmidēva named after his own father. Verse 29 contains a prayer to the effect that Vaija (i.e. Vaijalladēva) might fulfill the desires of supplicants.

Verse 30 speaks of the three sons of Vaijalladēva, viz. Madana, Maṇḍalīka and Mahīpāla, who may have been associated with their father in the building of the Muñjālasvāmin temple. The next stanza (verse 31) mentions a lady whose name seems to have been Hrīdēvī. She is stated to have been the daughter of Muñjāladēva and was apparently a sister of Vaijalladēva. The stanza also mentions her son Saṅgrāma who was a warrior. Verse 32, which is damaged, mentions Saṅgrāma as a poet and states that the eulogy under study was composed by him. The same stanza also mentions Arka's son Vyāsa who was either identical with Saṅgrāma or was the person responsible for writing the lines to be engraved on the stone with a view to facilitating the work of engraving. Verse 33 says that the *praśasti* was engraved by an intelligent

[1] Cf. ibid., pp. 1055, 1058-59.

person named Nāyaka by the grace of Viśvakarman. The engraver is stated to have been the son of Sūtra-Pētha, probably meaning *Sūtradhāra* Pētha.

The **date** is recorded in a passage in prose following verse 33 in line 12. It is given as the **expired Vikrama Saṁvat 1354, Śōbhana, Dakshiṇāyana, Kārttika-śudi 11, Sunday.** Kārttika-śudi 11 in V.S. 1354 was Sunday the **27th October 1297 A.D.** But the year, according to Jupiter's 60-year cycle as counted in North India, was Śubhakṛit and not Śōbhana which fell in the following year.

Among **geographical names**, the inscription mentions the land of Surāshṭra, the locality called Dhavala and a tank called Bhṛigu-kuṇḍa. Their location has been discussed above.

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MGIPC—S1—4 DGA/59—1-8-61—450.

# No. 24—KHANDELA INSCRIPTION OF YEAR 201

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 8.7.1959*)

The inscription under study is engraved on a stone slab lying in the house of a Mahājana at Khaṇḍēlā in Shēkhāvāṭī which was a District of the former Jaipur State in Rajasthan. It was noticed by G. H. Ojha in the *Annual Report on the Working of the Rajaputana Museum*, Ajmer, for the year ending 31st March 1935, pp. 2 and 9 (No. 2). There are two inked impressions of this inscription in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, which were apparently received from Ojha. My attention was drawn to this epigraph for two reasons. In the first place, the date of the record has been read in Ojha's report as the year 701 although the reading is very clearly 201. He refers the year to the Vikrama era and assigns the inscription to 644 A.D. which appeared to me to be somewhat earlier than the date suggested by the palaeography of the epigraph. Secondly, the palaeography of the inscription is remarkably similar to that of the Sakrāī (Sakarāya-mātā) temple inscription,[1] which comes from the same neighbourhood, and a person named Ādityanāga, son of Vōdda, is actually mentioned in both the Khaṇḍēlā and Sakrāī epigraphs. It therefore appeared to me that the date of the Khaṇḍēlā record might throw some light on the various readings suggested by different scholars for the date of the Sakrāī inscription, viz. V.S. 879 (822 A.D.) by D. R. Bhandarkar,[2] V.S. 749 (692 A.D.) by G. H. Ojha,[3] and V.S. 699 (642 A.D.) by B. Ch. Chhabra.[4]

The inscribed area on the stone slab measures about 18 inches in length and about 12 inches in height. There are only eleven lines of writing. The inscription is neatly and beautifully engraved. But the preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory in all parts of the surface of the slab. The letters in the central section of the right side of the lower half are rubbed off. The **characters** belong to the Siddhamātṛikā script (i.e. Northern alphabet) of the **8th or 9th century A.D.** and they closely resemble, as indicated above, those of the Sakrāī inscription. The top *mātrā* of the letters is a scooped out triangle with its apex downwards. The letter *ḍ* in °*krīḍa*° (line 1 ; cf. also *Maṇḍa*° in line 11) is interesting as it resembles the form of the letter in Jain Nāgarī.[5] On palaeographical considerations, both the Khaṇḍēlā and Sakrāī inscriptions can be assigned to a date midway between the Kanaswa inscription[6] of 738 A.D. and the Sāgartāl (Gwalior) inscription[7] (c. 850 A.D.) of Pratihāra Bhōja of Kanauj. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in verse with the exception of a few sentences at the end in line 11. The word *utpanna* in line 8 (verse 6) has been used in the sense of *utpādita*. Such solecisms are sometimes noticed in epigraphic literature.[8] In point of **orthography** also the epigraph under

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[1] Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 27 ff. Sakrāī is only 14 miles to the north-west of Khaṇḍēlā.

[2] *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March 1910, pp. 12, 28, 56-57. See also Bhandarkar's List, No. 23.

[3] *Annual Report on the Working of the Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, for the year ending 31st March 1934, pp. 2 and 7 (No. 1).

[4] Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 27 ff. and Plate.

[5] See Filliozat in *L'Inde Classique*, Vol. II, p. 694.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, Plate facing p. 58.

[7] *ASI*, A.R., 1903-04, Plate facing p. 280.

[8] See above, Vol. XXX, p. 122.



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study resembles the Sakrāī inscription. Some consonants following *r* have been reduplicated. Final *m* at the end of the halves of stanzas have been wrongly changed to *anusvāra* while *anusvāra* has been wrongly changed to the guttural nasal in *vaṅśē* in line 4.

The **date** of the record, quoted at the end of the last line, reads *Saṁvat 201 Chaittra-śudi* ........., the number of the *tithi* having broken away after *di*. Considering the palaeography of the inscription, we have no doubt that the year of the date should be referred to the **Harsha era** starting from 606 A.D. so that the **year 201** would correspond to **807 A.D.**[1] As expected, the date of our inscription throws welcome light on the disputed date of the Sakrāī inscription. The **object** of our inscription is to record the erection of a temple by Ādityanāga, son of Vōdda. The same Ādityanāga, son of Vōdda, was one of the eleven persons forming a committee that was responsible for the construction of a *maṇḍapa* in front of the temple of the goddess Śaṅkarā (i.e. the modern Sakrāī or Sakarāyamātā) as recorded in the Sakrāī inscription. The two inscriptions therefore belong to the same period and cannot be separated by a long interval.

We have seen that Ojha read the date of the Sakrāī inscription as V.S. 749 without noticing that Bhandarkar had previously read it as V.S. 879. Chhabra does not notice Ojha's reading, but comments elaborately on the reading of the date offered by Bhandarkar. Bhandarkar says, " The reading of the first cipher of the date, viz. 8, is certain ; but I am by no means sure regarding the two following ciphers as they are entirely new and not known to us from previous records." The third figure is, however, clearly 9 as now known from several inscriptions.[2] Chhabra points out that Bhandarkar's reading of the date of the Sakrāī inscription is admittedly tentative, the only point in its support being that there was an intercalary Āshāḍha in V.S. 879 as required by the inscription. He then observes, " Nevertheless, there is one glaring discrepancy which would compel its rejection. ......... the script of the present epigraph bears a close resemblance to that of the Madhuban plate[3] on the one hand and to that of the Kudārkōṭ stone inscription[4] on the other. The date of the first is the year 25 of the Harsha era, equal to A. D. 630-1, while the second has been assigned, on more or less equally sure grounds, ' to about the latter half of the seventh century A. D.' Now if the similarity of script is not to be taken lightly, we cannot afford to assign our record to the first half of the ninth century, or to A.D. 822 to be precise, which would be equivalent to V.S. 879. That would remove it from the other two by close on two hundred years in point of time. And palaeographically speaking, that is an impossibility." It is contended that one of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions[5] exhibits little difference between the signs for 6 and 8 (resembling *hā* and *ha* respectively) and that the figure 9 written in the Kārītalāī inscription[6] of Lakshmaṇarāja resembles the second of the three figures in the date of the Sakrāī inscription. Chhabra therefore suggests the reading of the date of the Sakrāī inscription as V.S. 699. Unfortunately Chhabra's views on the reading of the figures used in the Sakrāī inscription as well as on the palaeography of the record are, in our opinion, clearly wrong.

In the first place, the first of the three figures, which looks like *hrā*, was quite confidently read by Bhandarkar as 8 and there can be no doubt about the correctness of this reading.[7] The third figure is undisputedly 9. Thus the date refers to the ninth century of the Vikrama era.

[1] I do not think that the year can be referred to the Bhāṭika era fabricated by the Bhāṭī kings of Jaisalmer long after its epoch in the 7th century. See above, Vol. XXX, p. 7 and note 4.

[2] See Ojha. *Bhāratīya Prāchīn Lipimālā*, Plate LXXV (lower half).

[3] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 155 ff. and Plate.

[4] Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 179 ff. and Plate.

[5] Above, Vol. XX, p. 21 and Plate, text line 2. Attention is also drawn to the sign for 6 looking like *hā* in the Komarti plates of Chaṇḍavarman (above, Vol. IV, Plate facing p. 145).

[6] Ibid., Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 334.

[7] See Ojha, op. cit., Plate LXXII (upper half). This reading is now supported by the date of the Khaṇḍēlā inscription.

The second figure was read by Bhandarkar as 7 probably because there was an intercalary Āshāḍha in V.S. 879 as required by the date of the Sakrāī inscription. The figure may be regarded as having some resemblance with the sign for 7 as found in certain early medieval inscriptions in which the second curve, however, stands below the first and not to the right of the first as in the Sakrāī inscription.[1] It has somewhat closer resemblance with the figure for 6 found in some epigraphs in which also the right curve is considerably lower.[2] But in V.S. 869 there was no intercalary Āshāḍha, although such an irregularity may not preclude the possibility of the reading altogether.

Secondly, the palaeography of the Sakrāī inscription is certainly later than the Madhuban plate of 631 A.D. This will be clear to anybody who cares to compare the forms of the letters *k*, *g*, *ṅ*, *n*, *p*, *m*, *y*, *r* and *ś* as found in the Madhuban plate with those of the corresponding letters in the Sakrāī inscription. Again, the letters *g*, *n*, *p*, *m*, *ś* and *s* of the Sakrāī epigraph exhibit slightly more developed forms than the same letters in the Kanaswa inscription[3] of 738 A.D., while letters like *j* and *p* have more developed forms in the Sāgartāl (Gwalior) inscription of Bhōja (c. 836-85 A.D.), which has to be assigned to the middle of the ninth century A.D., than in the Sakrāī epigraph. Likewise, letters like *ṅ*, *m* and *ś* in the Sakrāī record exhibit somewhat earlier forms than the said letters in the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka, dated V.S. 894 (837 A.D.).[4] Thus the Sakrāī inscription can be quite confidently assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to a date between 738 and 837 A.D., i.e. near about 800 A.D. Bhandarkar's reading assigning the inscription to 822 A.D. is therefore no palaeographical impossibility although its ascription to the seventh century on palaeographical grounds is certainly unwarranted.[5]

The Khaṇḍēlā inscription under study, which is a *praśasti* written in 9 stanzas, begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by two stanzas (verses 1-2) in adoration of the god Śaśiśēkhara or Śūlapāṇi (i.e. Śiva). Both the stanzas refer to the Ardhanārīśvara aspect of Śiva. The adoration to Śiva is in consonance with the subject of the eulogy, which was the construction of a Śaiva shrine. Verse 2 is interesting from the mythological point of view. It states that the sight of Bhavānī (i.e. Pārvatī) at his side, when Kaiṭabhāri (i.e. Vishṇu) had gone to a festival along with Skanda (Kārttikēya) and Gaṇapati (Gaṇēśa) with a view to amusing the youngsters, aroused great passion in Śiva and that is why he absorbed her in half of his body. There seems to be an indirect allusion here to the conception of Pārvatī as the sister of Kṛishṇa. According to a well-known Puranic tradition, Vasudēva, father of Kṛishṇa, gave child Kṛishṇa to Nanda-gōpa in exchange for the latter's child daughter whom afterwards Kaṁsa tried unsuccessfully to kill.[6] This daughter of Nanda-gōpa, the foster father of Kṛishṇa, was Pārvatī herself. The poet has created a happy scene of a brother attending a festival along with his sister's young sons leaving their mother with her husband at home. The introduction of the god Vishṇu in this section may be due to the fact that the author of the *praśasti* was devoted to that god.

Verse 3 introduces a merchant (*vaṇik*) of the Dhūsara community (*vaṁśa*), by name Durga-vardhana. The Dhūsara community of *Śrēshṭhins* is also known from the Sakrāī inscription and the Dhūsaras are stated to be a well-known community of the Jaipur area of Rajasthan.[7]

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[1] See Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prāchīn Lipimālā*, Plate LXXV (lower half). Cf. also Plate LXXII, upper half, Section V.

[2] Ibid., Plate LXXVI (lower half).

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, Plate facing p. 58.

[4] See above, Vol. XVIII, Plate facing p. 96.

[5] Chhabra's contention that the Sakrāī inscription is one of the earliest to use the decimal system of writing numbers is untenable in view of his wrong reading of the date of the record.

[6] Cf. *Vishṇu Purāna*, V, 2-3; *Agni Purāṇa*, XII; *Bhāgavta Purāṇa*, X, i, 3-4; *Dēvī Bhāgavata*, IV, 23; etc.

[7] Cf. above, Vol. XXVII, p. 29; *Annual Report of the Working of the Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, for the year ending 31st March 1934, p. 2.

Persons bearing the surname Dhūsara now call themselves Bhārgava Brāhmaṇas though they are suspected by the people to have been originally Bāniās. This suspicion is proved to be a fact by both the Sakrāī and Khaṇḍēlā inscriptions. The next stanza (verse 4) speaks of Durgavardhana's son Dhaṅgaka[1] while verse 5 mentions Vōdda who was the son of Dhaṅgaka. Verse 6 introduces Ādityanāga as the son of Vōdda and the latter's wife Nāgujā. It is interesting to note that Ādityanāga's name ends with the word *nāga*, though his family does not claim to have belonged to the Nāga lineage. It may be pointed out in this connection that similar names ending in *nāga* are also noticed among Brāhmaṇas in early records. Thus the Bōndaka grant[2] of king Mahāśiva Tīvara (close of the sixth century A.D.) of South Kōsala mentions a Brāhmaṇa named *Bhaṭṭa* Ravināgasvāmin. Such names may be classed with other Brahmanical names like Nāgaśarman[3] and regarded as indicating respect for snakes rather than Nāga origin.

The father of Nāgujā is also mentioned in verse 6; but his name cannot be satisfactorily deciphered owing to the initial letters being rubbed off. Verse 7 continues the description of Ādityanāga as an extremely liberal person and the next stanza (verse 8) states that he built a temple for the god Śiva and the latter's consort, the goddess Pārvatī, for the merit of his parents and himself. It is not clear whether the reference is to the composite form of Śiva and his wife, which is known as Ardhanārīśvara. It is, however, possible to think that such was the case since, as we have seen above, the composite form of the god and goddess is referred to in both the stanzas (verses 1-2) in the *maṅgala* section at the beginning.

Verse 9, with which the *praśasti* concludes, contains a prayer for the long life of the temple. The above is followed by a few sentences in prose in the last line. It is stated that the eulogy was the composition of *Dīkshita Bhaṭṭa* Satyaghōsha and that it was engraved by a person named Maṇḍana. Satyaghōsha was no doubt a Brāhmaṇa. The record concludes with the date which has already been discussed above.

There is no geographical name in the record. The temple was built apparently at Khaṇḍēlā which seems to have been the native village of the merchant Ādityanāga.

TEXT[4]

[Metres: verses 1, 6-9 *Anushṭubh*; verse 2 *Sragdharā*; verse 3 *Vasantatilaka*; verses 4-5 *Āryā*.]

1 Siddham[5] [||*] Śaṁ karōtu Śiv-āyatta-dēh-ārddha[ḥ*] Śaśiśēkharaḥ | mahātmā vō bhav-āmbhōdhi-magna-lōk-ābhaya-pradaḥ || [1*] Skandasy=ākrīḍa-

2 n-ārthaṁ Gaṇapati-sahitasy=ōtsavē Kaiṭabhārēr=yātasy=āvēkshya pārśv[ē][6] jaghana-kucha-bhar-ābhōga-ramyāṁ Bhavānīṁ(nīm) | kṛitvā dēh-ā-

3 rddha-bhājaṁ Smara-śara-vidhuras=tāṁ sukh-ākshipta-chittaḥ pāyād=vaḥ Śūlapāṇiḥ prakaṭita-pulakaḥ[7] svēda-dhaut-āṅga-bhūtiḥ || [2*]

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[1] Ojha read this name as Gaṅgaka.

[2] See above, pp. 113 ff.

[3] See, e.g., the Chammak plates of Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 243). Similarly the names Gōṇḍaśarman mentioned in the same record and Kaivartaśarman of the Sultanpur plate of 441 A.D. (above, Vol. XXXI, p. 64) do not appear to indicate the Gōṇḍ and Kaivarta origin of the Brāhmaṇas in question.

[4] From impressions.

[5] Expressed by symbol.

[6] The sign of medial ē is imperfectly formed.

[7] There is an unnecessary mark above *la*.

KHANDELA INSCRIPTION OF YEAR 201

Scale : One-half

4 Āsīd=vaṇiṅ=mahati nirmmala-Dhūsarāṇāṁ vaṁśē[1]=khilē jagati gīta-guṇaḥ kshamāvān | svachchhaḥ sva-vitta-pa[2]ritōshita-

5 vipra-sārthō yō Durggavarddhana iti prathitaḥ pṛithivyāṁ(vyām) || [3*] Bhūri-guṇa-ratna-parikara[ḥ*] suvṛittat-āchāra-kānti-sampannaḥ |

6 muktā-guṇa iva vimalas=tasy=ābhūd=[Dha]ṅgakaḥ sūnuḥ || [4*] Tasy=āpy=abhavat=putraḥ [sa*] sa-kala-ka[lādhipa]-vigrahaḥ sau-

7 myaḥ | śaśalāñchhana iva Vōddaḥ Kali-kāla-kalaṅka-nirmmuktaḥ || [5*] Nāgujā [tasya bhāry=ā]..tadēva[3]- [su]t=āna-

8 ghā [|] tasyām=Ādityanāg-ākhyas=tēn=ōtpannaḥ[4] sut-ōttamaḥ || [6*] Phala-pradō.... ............ja-gaṇ-āśrayaḥ [|]

9 Kalau yaḥ sarvva-lōkasya Kalpa-druma iv=āparaḥ || [7*] Tēn=ēdaṁ bhavanaṁ bhaktyā [Śivayōr[5]=bhava-hāriṇō]ḥ | pittrōḥ pu-

10 ṇya-vivṛiddhy-artham=ātmanaś=cha nivēśitaṁ(tam) || [8*] Yāvach=Chhēshō dharāṁ dhattē Lakshmīṁ cha Madhusūdanaḥ | P[ārvvatīṁ] Pārvvatīśaś=cha tāvad=ā-

11 stām=idaṁ kshitau || [9*] kṛitir=iyaṁ Dīkshita-Bhaṭṭa-Satyaghōshasya || samutkīrṇṇā Maṇḍanēna || **Saṁvat 201[6] Chaittra-ś[udi]**......[7]

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[1] Read *vaṁśē*.

[2] There is an unnecessary mark looking like a superscript *t* with *pa*.

[3] The reading may be *bhāry=ābhūd=Dhitadēva*. In that case, the name of Nāgujā's father was Hitadēva.

[4] Read °*s=tasmāj=jātaḥ* to avoid the grammatical error in *tēn=ō'pannaḥ*.

[5] This dual form has been used to indicate both Siva and his consort.

[6] The triangular top *mātrā*, found with most of the letters, was also incised by the engraver inadvertently and unnecessarily in the place for the figure 2.

[7] The numerical figure or figures after *di* cannot be made out owing to the concluding part of the line being broken away.

# No. 25—INSCRIPTION FROM NAVALI, SAKA 936

SHRINIVAS RITTI AND B. R. GOPAL, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 21. 4. 1959*)

Navali, the findspot of the inscription[1] under study, is a small village on the bank of the river Krishṇa in the Lingsugur Taluk of the Raichur District of Mysore State. From the inscriptions in the village, we learn that it was known as a *tīrtha-sthāna* or holy place and is even today visited by a number of Hindus on the day of the *Makara-saṁkramaṇa* for a dip in the holy waters of the river flowing by the village and called *uttara-vāhinī*. The present inscription was found on a slab of stone lying behind the temple of Jaṭāśaṅkara. It is in a good state of preservation though a portion of the left side of the stone is broken off and, as a result, a few letters are lost in lines 13-27. The inscription contains 27 lines in all.

The record does not exhibit any palaeographical or orthographical peculiarity worth noting. Its **date** is **Śaka** [9]36, **Ānanda, Vaiśākha śu.3, Monday,** regularly corresponding to the **5th April 1014 A. D.**

The epigraph refers itself to the reign of **Vikramāditya V** and mentions **Jayasiṁha** (*i.e.* Jayasiṁha II Jagadēkamalla of the Western Chālukya family) as governing the division of **Eḍedoṛe Two-thousand** and states that Jōgaśivāchārya of **Karaḍikal** made a grant of land for worshipping the foot-prints (*pādukā*) of his (*i.e.* Jayasiṁha's) preceptor who became one with Śiva (*i.e.* died) at the *tīrtha-sthāna* of **Navile** on the **eighth day of Kārttika-bahuḷa** of the cyclic year **Paridhāvi** (*i.e.* the **10th November 1012 A. D.**). The gift land was purchased by paying money to three *sthānapatis* of the temple of Jeḍeyaśaṅkara, including Māṇikēśvara-bhaḷāra.

The date of the inscription is one of the latest for the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya V.[2] Jayasiṁha II, the governor of the Eḍedoṛe division, is described as the *pāda-paṁkaja-bhramara* of **Tribhuvanamalladēva** (*i.e.* Vikramāditya V) to whom all the usual Western Chālukyan titles are ascribed. Jayasiṁha's epithet *Komaragajakēsari* also suggests that he was yet a prince.[3]

There is no doubt that at the time our record was incised, Vikramāditya V was ruling and his brother Jayasiṁha II was the governor of a division under him. An inscription[4] at Rūgi in the Indi Taluk of the Bijapur District dated the 20th February 1015 A.D., *i.e.*, ten and a half months later than the record under study, refers to the brother of Vasudhaikamalla Ayyaṇa without mentioning the former's name. This brother of Ayyaṇa may be identified with Jayasiṁha II. In that case, the accession of Jayasiṁha must have taken place between the 5th April 1014 A.D. and the 20th February 1015 A.D.[5] If Ayyaṇa's brother referred to in the Rūgi inscription is not identified with

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[1] *A. R. Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B. 170.

[2] There is a record at Gonahāḷu in the Bellary District (*SII*, Vol. IX, Part i, No. 79) belonging to the reign of Vikramāditya V and dated in Śaka 93[6] . . . . . . . . Śrāvaṇa (July 1014 A.D.). In *A. R. Ep.*, 1932-33 (No. B 722), the same date is read as Śaka 935.

[3] An inscription from Maski, dated Śaka 932 (1010 A.D.), gives Jayasiṁha the same title (*A.R. Ep.*, 1953-54, No. B 244).

[4] *A. R. Ep.*, 1937-38, B. K. No. 59.

[5] [The Rūgi inscription of the 20th February 1015 A.D. does not mention Jayasiṁha II. It records the gift of a chief named Dēvaṇarasa who is described as the bee on the lotus feet of Vasudhaikamalla Ayyaṇa and apparently also as the *tamma* or brother of the same king. The writing on one face of the pillar abruptly stops with the word *tammaṁ* in order to give Dēvaṇarasa, described with a number of epithets on another of its faces, a special importance as the donor. This kind of introduction of the reigning monarch and his subordinate is not at all uncommon in the Indian epigraphic literature. It is interesting to note that Dēvaṇarasa is also described as *Aṇṇabanṭa* (i.e. the soldier or servant of his brother, i.e. Ayyaṇa). There is no evidence to suggest that Dēvaṇarasa was just another name of Jayasiṁha II and. even if it was, Ayyaṇa's brother who was the donor of the grant recorded in the Rūgi inscription was ruling as a subordinate of Ayyaṇa who was then the reigning king. The importance of the Rūgi inscription lies in the fact that it is the only record of the reign of Vasudhaikamalla Ayyaṇa so far discovered. His brother and viceroy Dēvaṇarasa is as yet unknown from any other source.—Ed.]

**Jayasiṁha** II, the latter's earliest date would be Śaka 937, Rākshasa, Uttarāyaṇa (*i.e.*, the 24th December 1015 A.D.) supplied by a record[1] from Siḍenūr in the Dharwar District.

The **geographical names** mentioned in the epigraph are Eḍedoṟe 2,000, Navile and Karaḍikal. Eḍedoṟe was a stretch of country lying between the rivers Kṛishṇā in the north and Tuṅgabhadrā in the south and comprising a large part of the present Raichur District.[2] Navile is the present Navali, the findspot of our record. Karaḍikal is Karaḍkal near Liṅgsugūr.

TEXT[3]

1 Svasti Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrīpṛithvīvallabha-mahārā-

2 j-ādhirāja-Paramēsva(śva)ra-paramabhaṭṭāraka **Satyāsra(śraya)-**

3 **kuḷa-tiḷaka Chāḷuky-ābharaṇa** śrīmat-**Tribhuvanamalladēva**-pā-

4 da-paṁkaja-bhramaraṁ komara-gaja-kēsari kī[r]tti-vidyā-

5 dharaṁ mma(ma)llik-āmōdaṁ mmā(mā)rppaḍe bhīmaṁ kōdaṇḍarāvaṁ(mam) ga-

6 ṇḍaroḷgaṇḍaṁ tēja-mārttaṇḍaṁ gaṇḍa-baṁgāṟan=ārōha-kada-

7 bbukam[4] Śrīmaj-**Jayasiṁghadēvar=Eḍadoṟe** yil-chāsiramu-

8 maṁ dushṭa-nigraha-visi(śi)shṭa-pratipāḷaneyindam=āḷdu sukha-

9 saṁkathā-vinōdadi[ṁ] rājyaṁ geyyuttum=ire tad-rāja-guru-bha-

10 **ṭṭārakar=Pparidhāvi saṁvatsarada Kārttika bahuḷa ashṭa-**

11 **mi Sōma[vā]radoḷ** tīrtha-sthānan=**Navilēya** Jeḍeyasaṁ(śaṁ)-

12 [ka[5]]ra-dēvara dakshiṇamū[r*]ttiyoḷ=si(ḷ=Śi)va-samānar=ā-

13 [do][5]ḍ=avara pādukaṅgaḷa pūjā-nimitya(tta)diṁ **Sa(Śa)ka-varsha**

14 **[9][6]36 neya Ānanda-saṁvatsarada Vaisā(śā)kha su(śu) 3 Sōma-**

15 **[vā]raṁ** [||*] Svasti Yama-niyama-svādhyāya-dhyāna-dhā-

16 [raṇa][7]-mōn-ānushṭā(shṭhā)na-parāyaṇa-samādhi-saṁpannar=appa

17 [śrī]mat=Karaḍikalla Jōgasi(śi)vāchāryar **Navile-**

18 **[ya Je]**[8]ḍeyasaṁ(Śaṁ)karadēvara sthānapati Māṇika-bhaḷārarggaṁ

19 .. [bha]ḷārarggaṁ Tṛi(Tri)bhuvana-bhaḷārarggam=aṁtu sthānapati-bhaḷāra-

20 ... rgge 6 gadyāṇa honnaṁ koṭṭu sarvva-bāda(dhā)-parihāramu[ṁ]

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[1] *A. R. Ep.*, 1935-36, B. K. No. 92.

[2] Above, Vol. XII, p. 296.

[3] From impressions.

[4] Read *kadaṁbakaṁ*.

[5] This letter is lost.

[6] The figure 9 is partly broken away

[7] These letters are broken off.

[8] The letter *yā* is broken away *Je* is partly seen.

21 [sarvva-na][1][ma]syamum=āgi mellā[2] kālakkam=ava[r]=kkād-ūḍuva-

22 .. .. .. tti yoṁ[da]neya vṛittiyāgir=āchaṁdr-ārkka-tā-

23 .. .. .. ṁtu dhārāpūrba(rva)kaṁ koṇḍa kariya nelaṁ mma(ma)ttar=ppattu

24 .. .. nivēsa(śa)nav=oṁdu || Kāla-kāl-āṁtarado]=ī vṛitti-

25 .. .. .. .. .. Bāṇarāsiyoḷ[3] kavileyan=aḷid=a[ni]tu dōshaṁ sā-

26 [rgguṁ || Sva-dattāṁ para-datt][1]āṁ vā yō harētu(ta) vasundharāṁ(rāṁ|) shashṭir=vari(r)-

27 [sha-sahasrāṇi][1] [vi]shṭhāyāṁ jāyatē kṛimi[ḥ ||*]

## Postscript

While the above article was going through the press, Shri Gopal copied, in November 1960, another inscription of **Vikramāditya V** at **Nandikandi** in the Sangareddi Taluk of the Medak District, Andhra Pradesh. The epigraph, which is in Kannaḍa language and alphabet is dated **Śaka 936, Ānanda, Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti, Thursday,** corresponding to the **23rd December 1014 A.D.** The *saṁkrānti*, however, falls on the following day, *i.e.*, **Friday**. The record is important in that it supplies the latest date known so far for **Vikramāditya V.** The date is about 8 months later than the Navali inscription and 5 months later than the Gonahāḷu record referred to above while the gap between the date of the present record and that of the Rūgi inscription would be just two months.

[1] The letters are lost

[2] Read *ellā*.

[3] *I.e.*, *Vāraṇāsi*.

# No. 26—TWO GRANTS OF EARLY GUHILAS

(*2 Plates*)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(*Received on 12. 9. 1959*)

About the beginning of September 1959, I received for examination one set each of impressions of two copper-plate grants from a gentleman named Rāṭhōḍ Sūrajmal Vāgḍiā of Surmākā Chauhiā at **Dungarpur** in Rajasthan, who was formerly the Archaeologist of the old Dungarpur State. I was told that the impressions were sent to me at the instance of Mahārājkumār Dr. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau. But they were not quite satisfactory and I wanted the original plates for examination. Mr. Vāgḍiā, however, informed me that the original plates could not be secured. He also could not give me any details regarding the findspot of the inscriptions and the circumstances leading to their discovery. The only information I received from him was that about eleven years ago, shortly after the merger of the Dungarpur State, when Mr. Vāgḍiā was no longer an officer of the State, a Bhil brought the plates to him and that, since he was then not in a position to purchase them, he prepared an impression of each of the inscribed faces of the plates and returned them to the Bhil whose address unfortunately he forgot to take down. Considering the importance of the records, they are edited in the following pages from the impressions referred to above. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Mr. Vāgḍiā and the Mahārājkumār.[1]

Both the inscriptions are apparently engraved on the inner sides of two plates held by two rings each. The first record is engraved on plates measuring about 11·5 inches in length and 5·6 inches in height. The plates, on which the other epigraph is incised, are each about 14·6 inches long and 4·78 inches high. The first inscription contains 26 lines of writing, 14 on one plate and 12 on the other. There are 27 lines in the second epigraph, 12 of which are engraved on the first plate and 15 on the second. The impressions show two ring-holes (about ½ inch in diameter) near the lower margin of the first plate and the upper margin of the second in the first inscription, the intervening space being about 4·2 inches wide. The ring-holes in the corresponding parts of the two plates of the second inscription are much smaller and the space intervening between them is about 5·6 inches. There are also two other holes and traces of a third near the other margin of both the plates in this record.

The **characters** of both the inscriptions belong to the Siddhamātṛikā (i.e. Northern) alphabet of the seventh or eighth century A.D. They closely resemble the alphabet of such inscriptions of the Rajasthan area as the Vasantgadh (old Sirohi State) inscription[2] of Varmalāta, dated V.S. 682 (625 A.D.), the Samoli (old Udaipur State) inscription[3] of Śīlāditya, dated V S. 703 (646 A.D.), the Nagda (old Udaipur State) inscription[4] of Aparājita, dated V.S. 718 (661 A.D.), the Jhalrapatan (old Jhalawar State) inscription[5] of Durgagaṇa, dated V. S. 746 (689 A D.), and the Kanaswa (old Kotah State) inscription[6] of Śivagaṇa, dated V. S. 795 (738 A. D.). It is well known that some letters of the Nagda inscription of 661 A.D., e.g. *ś*, exhibit more developed forms than in later

[1] The Mahārājkumār informs me that Mr. Vāgḍiā expired on the 20th September soon after he had received back the impressions returned by me.

[2] Above, Vol. IX, Plate facing p. 190.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XX, Plate facing p. 99.

[4] Ibid., Vol. IV, Plate facing p. 30.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, Plates between pp. 180 and 181.

[6] Ibid., Vol. XIX, Plate facing p. 58.

records like the Jhalrapatan inscription of 689 A.D. but that the former epigraph also shows the use of both the earlier tripartite and the later bipartite form of the letter *y* side by side. It is interesting to note that this latter palaeographical feature of the Nagda inscription, which is expected in a West Indian record of the middle of the seventh century, is also a characteristic of the first of the two inscriptions under study, in which the earlier form of *y* is generally and its later form rarely used. This fact shows beyond doubt that the first of our two inscriptions cannot be assigned to a date much later than the **middle of the seventh century A. D.** As will be seen below, the second inscription is 35 years later than the first and has to be referred to the **close of the same century.**

Although the preservation of the writing is not satisfactory, both the records were very carefully engraved as in the case of the other epigraphs of the Rajasthan area, referred to above. The writing in both the records is of the ornamental type. A few points of palaeographical interest, besides what has been said above, may be noticed here. Both the inscriptions use the letter *b* in some cases, though it is often written by the sign for *v*. Of initial vowels, the first inscription has *ā* in line 22, *i* in lines 3 and 5, and *ē* in line 3. In it. *upadhmānīya* (lines 5, 7, 12) and *jihvāmūlīya* (line 9) have been indicated respectively by two separate globular marks placed side by side above *p* and by a symbol looking like superscript *v* joined with subscript *k*. Numerical symbols for 2, 8, 10 and 40 occur in this record. In the second inscription, the characters of which closely resemble those of the other epigraph, we have the initial vowels *a* (lines 3, 5, 21), *ā* (lines 6, 22), *i* (lines 7, 8) and *u* (lines 14, 15). The final consonant *t* occurs once in line 4 and final *n* several times in lines 10 and 11. *Jihvāmūlīya* (line 9) has the same shape as in the other inscription. But *upadhmānīya* (twice in line 19) has a form which looks somewhat more developed than in the other epigraph and is generally found in contemporary records of the area.

The **language** of both the records is Sanskrit and, excepting the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas, they are written in prose. Both the records are written in ornate prose and Kāvya style, though the style of the second epigraph is more ornate than that of the first. As regards **orthography,** both the inscriptions often reduplicate a consonant in conjunction with *r* and sometimes use the guttural nasal for *anusvāra* before *ś*. The use of class nasals is noticed in many cases. Final *m* has been wrongly changed into *anusvāra* at the end of the halves of stanzas in both the epigraphs. The letter *dh* has been reduplicated before *y* in lines 6 and 13 of the first record and lines 4 and 18 of the second and, in the first inscription, *v* has been reduplicated in *saṁvatsara* in line 24.

Both the grants were issued by the subordinate rulers of the **Guhila dynasty of Kishkindhipura,** the first in the **year 48** by **Bhāvihita,** who was the son of a brother of a chief named **Dēvagaṇa,** and the second in the **year 83** by **Bābhaṭa** who appears to have been a son of the said Dēvagaṇa. Both Bhāvihita and Bābhaṭa represent themselves as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of Dēvagaṇa. But, although Bābhaṭa ruled later than the ruler Bhāvihita, the latter is not mentioned in the second inscription. It is difficult to say whether Bhāvihita occupied his paternal uncle's throne and was later overthrown by a son of the latter. It is, however, clear that the dates mentioned in the two records, viz. years 48 and 83, have to be referred to an era and considering the fact that the first epigraph has to be assigned to the middle of the seventh century and the second to the close of the same century, there is no doubt that they have to be referred to the **Harsha era** of 606 A.D. Thus the first record was issued in **653 A. D.** and the second in **688 A.D.**

We know from Al-Bīrūnī that the Harsha era was prevalent in the Kanauj-Mathura region as late as the first half of the eleventh century A.D. when it was also mentioned in the Kashmirian almanacs. The Shahpur (Patna District, Bihar) inscription of the time of Ādityasēna, whose father Mādhavagupta is known to have been a subordinate of Harsha (606-47 A.D.), is dated in the year 66

which can only be referred to the Harsha era. These facts and the dates of a number of inscriptions referred to below show that an era was counted from Harsha's accession in 606 A.D.[1] The use of this era in Rajasthan during its first century is indicated not only by the two inscriptions under study but by the Kōṭ (old Bharatpur State) inscription[2] of the year 48 (653 A.D.) and the Dhulev (old Udaipur State) plate[3] of a chief named Bhētti, which is dated in the year 73 of the same era corresponding to 678 A.D. The ruling families of the eastern areas of Rajasthan must have owed allegiance to Harsha till Harsha's death in 647 A.D. although, as will be seen below, it is difficult to determine as to whom they offered allegiance after the middle of the seventh century. Later use of the same era in different parts of North India is indicated by the Hund or Und (on the Indus) inscription[4] of the year 158 (763 A.D.), Punjab inscription[5] of the year 184 (789 A.D.), Khandela (old Jaipur State, Rajasthan) inscription[6] of the year 201 (806 A.D.), Khajuraho (old Chhatarpur State, Bundelkhand) inscription[7] of the year 218 (823 A.D.), the Ahar (Bulandshahr District, U.P.) inscription[8] containing dates between the years 258 and 298, Pehoa (Karnal District, East Punjab) inscription[9] of the year 276 (881 A.D.) and Panjaur inscription[10] of the year 563 (1168 A.D.).

The inscriptions are very **important** inasmuch as they are amongst the earliest epigraphic records of the Guhilas and reveal the existence of three hitherto unknown rulers of an unknown branch of the **Guhila family** ruling from a city called **Kishkindhipura**. The early Guhilas were associated with the country of Mewar, i.e. the present Udaipur Division of Rajasthan, while the copper plates under study were apparently discovered in the old Dungarpur State lying to the south of that area. Kishkindhipura of our inscriptions is not therefore the same as Kekind in the old Jodhpur State (lying to the north-west of the Udaipur Division), which is called Kishkindhā in the inscriptions found at the place.[11] Our Kishkindhipura must have been a locality in the Udaipur-Dungarpur region. It may be noted that *Mahārāja* Bhētti's plate referred to above, which was discovered at Dhulēv (Ṛishabhdēv), near Kalyāṇpur in the Bhomat District of the Udaipur Division bordering on the Dungarpur region, was issued from Kishkindhā located at the site of a ruined city in the vicinity of Kalyāṇpur. There is no doubt that Kishkindhipura of our record is identical with Kishkindhā of the Dhulēv plate. This city was apparently the capital of the branch of the Guhila family in question and Bhētti was very probably a member of the same house.

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[1] For the Harsha era, see *IHQ*, Vol. XXVII. pp. 321 ff.; Vol. XXIX, pp. 72 ff.

[2] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1391.

[3] Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 5 ff. The date of this record was assigned by Mirashi to the Bhāṭika era (ibid., pp. 2 ff.). But this era is known to have been used only in the Jaisalmer region several centuries later. The epoch of the Bhāṭika era falls very near to that of the Hijrī era. The Bhāṭī kings of Jaisalmer appear to have fabricated the Bhāṭika era, named after their family, by solarising the Hijrī reckoning in their own way. The calculation of the years of the Bhāṭika era seems to have been based on the fact that V. S. 679-80=622-23 A.D. (i.e. Hijrī 1) was regarded as its first year, which was solar unlike that of the Hijrī year which was lunar. In the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to explain the use of the Bhāṭika era of Jaisalmer in other parts of Rajasthan and in such distant areas as Bihar, U. P., Bundelkhand and the Punjab region, though the use of the Harsha era in those parts is explainable.

[4] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 97-98. D. R. Sahni read the date as 168.

[5] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1406; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 29.

[6] Above, pp. 159 ff.

[7] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1408; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 31.

[8] Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1410, etc.; above, Vol. XIX, pp. 58 ff.

[9] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1412; above, Vol. I, pp. 186 ff.

[10] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1421; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 32.

[11] Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 199, 208. Cf. the Kishkindhikā district mentioned in a few inscriptions from the old Chamba State, Punjab (ibid., Nos. 1819-20; Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, pp. 152, 156 f.).

The earliest known Guhila records are believed to be the Samoli inscription of the time of Śīlāditya, dated 646 A.D., and the Nāgdā inscription of the time of Aparājita, dated 664 A.D., although the identification of Śīlāditya with the Guhila prince of that name is not beyond doubt since it is not impossible to identify the ruler mentioned in the Samoli inscription with Harsha Śīlāditya of Kanauj, who ruled from 606 to 647 A.D. over wide areas of Northern India apparently including considerable parts of Rajasthan. Guhila Śīlāditya again may have been named after his father's overlord Harsha Śīlāditya as in certain other cases known to us.[1] In any case, the first of our two inscriptions, which is dated in 653 A.D., is at least the second earliest record of the Guhila family even if it is not exactly the earliest. Thus the Guhilas of Kishkindhipura were ruling side by side with the Guhilas of Mewar in the seventh century A.D., both houses probably originally owing allegiance to Harsha. The rule of the three kings of the Guhila house of Kishkindhipura known from the two records under study, viz. Dēvagaṇa, Bhāvihita and Bābhaṭa, may be roughly assigned respectively to the second, third and fourth quarters of the seventh century A.D. Another member of the family was *Rājaputra* Ghōrghaṭasvāmin who is known from the second of our records and may have been a son of Bābhaṭa. But whether he ever ascended the throne is more than what can be said without further light on the subject. *Mahārāja* Bhētti of the Dhulēv plate of 673 A. D., ruling between Bhāvihita and Bābhaṭa, may have been a son or younger brother of the former or an elder brother of the latter. Two other members of the same family appear to have been Paḍḍa and Kadachhi, known from the undated Kalyāṇpur inscriptions noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, Nos. B 498 and 499, of whom the former was probably a predecessor of Dēvagaṇa and the latter apparently a successor of Bābhaṭa.

We have seen above that the rule of the chief Dēvagaṇa can be assigned roughly to the second quarter of the seventh century A.D. and that, at that time, king Harsha of Kanauj was ruling over extensive areas of Northern India no doubt including the major part of Rajasthan. Paḍḍa and Dēvagaṇa thus appear to have been Harsha's feudatories. But it is difficult to say to whom Bhāvihita, Bhētti and Bābhaṭa, who issued charters without specifically mentioning their overlord and were ruling semi-independently in the second half of the seventh century, owed their more or less nominal allegiance. If, however, it is believed that Śivagaṇa of the Kanaswa inscription of 738 A. D. was a feudatory of the Maurya dynasty known also from the Mathurā inscription of an earlier date, it is possible to suggest that it was these Mauryas who succeeded in extending their suzerainty over the major part of Rajasthan after the death of Harsha.[2]

### 1. Grant of Bhāvihita, [Harsha] Year 48

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by the word *svasti*. Next comes the reference to **Kishkindhipura** whence the charter was issued. Lines 1-2 then introduce the dynasty of the **Guhilaputras** (i.e. Guhilas) and a chief named **Dēvagaṇa** belonging to that dynasty is next mentioned in lines 2-6. Among the epithets applied to the Guhilaputra family and to Dēvagaṇa, nothing deserves mention excepting that Dēvagaṇa is described as a devout worshipper of Mahēsvara (Śiva) and as one who acquired all the *mahā-śabdas*, the latter epithet indicating his subordinate position.

Lines 6-9 introduce another ruler named **Bhāvihita** as the donor of the grant and as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of **Dēvagaṇa** while line 11 refers to Dēvagaṇa as the *pitṛivya* (father's brother) of Bhāvihita. This ruler is also called *samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda* which indicates his subordinate status. The order of Bhāvihita in respect of the grant was addressed to the following classes of subordinates (lines 9-10) : *rājan* (subordinate chief), *rājaputra* (son of a *rājan*), *rāja-sthānīya* (viceroy), *pratīhāra* (officer in charge of the gate of the palace or capital), *pramātṛi* (an officer

[1] Cf. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp 177, 248, note 1 ; Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. xiv.

[2] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 18 ; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 210.

in charge of measuring the king's share of grains), *balādhikṛita* (commander of forces), *chaurōddharaṇika* (police officer to deal with cases of theft), *dāṇḍapāśika* (head of a group of policemen), *śaulkika* (collector of customs duties), *prātisāraka* (a gate-keeper or a collector of tolls),[1] *gamāgamika* (messenger), *chāṭa* (chief of a group of *Pāiks*), *bhaṭa* (*Pāik*) and *sēvaka* (attendant).

Lines 11-17 describe the grant proper. It is stated in lines 11-12 that the grant was approved by **Bhāvihita** having regard to a *brahmadāya* (rent-free holding enjoyable by Brāhmaṇas) created by means of a charter issued by his uncle **Dēvagaṇa**. This shows that the grant had been originally made by Dēvagaṇa and was later merely ratified by his nephew and successor Bhāvihita. The grant is also stated to have been made for the increase of the fame and merit of Dēvagaṇa. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Asaṅgaśarman who was the son of Indraśarman and belonged to the Ḍauṇḍāyana *gōtra*, Vājasanēya [*charaṇa*] and Mādhyandina [*śākhā*]. He was a resident of **Kūragirikā**, though his family hailed from **Ujjayanī**. The grant was made with a view to make a provision for the performance of *bali*, *charu*, *sattra*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra*, etc., by the donee. The name of the village granted cannot be deciphered. But it is stated to have been situated in the **Purapaṭṭa** *vishaya* (district). It is difficult to say whether Purapaṭṭa was really a geographical name or the reference is to the *paṭṭa-vishaya* used in the sense of the metropolitan district around the *pura* meaning the capital city of Kishkindhipura. In the latter case, it was the same as the Kishkindhipura *vishaya* mentioned in the second of our records. The grant was a permanent one made according to the *bhūmi-chchhidra* principle and was to be enjoyed by the donee and his descendants, though he had no right over lands previously granted in the village in favour of gods and Brāhmaṇas. The donee's privileges included the enjoyment of *uparikara* (minor taxes or tax on temporary tenants), of any income that might arise out of changes in the natural or climatic conditions (*bhūta-vāt-ādi-pratyāya*) and of fines for the ten [minor] offences. The gift village was also made free from the entrance of the *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* (Pāiks and Piādas and the leaders of groups of them).

Lines 18-20 contain the donor's request to the future rulers of the land for the maintenance of the gift and a curse against the person who might be responsible for its resumption. This is followed in lines 20-24 by some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas as the sayings of *Vēdavyāsa* Vyāsa. The date is quoted in lines 24-25 as the **year 48** (both in words and numerical symbols), **Bhādrapada-sudi 12** (both in words and numerical symbols). Line 25 also mentions Pūrṇa who is stated to have written the document under orders apparently from the donor. The last line of the record (line 26) contains the copy of the signature (*sva-hasta*) of the illustrious **Bhāvihita**. This refers to the donor's signature on the original document later engraved on the plates.

As regards the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, we have already dealt with Kishkindhipura whence the charter was issued and Purapaṭṭa-vishaya in which the gift village was situated. Kūragirikā, called Kūragirī in the other epigraph, cannot be identified. But Ujjayanī, whence the donee's family hailed, is the same as modern Ujjain in the former Gwalior State now in Madhya Pradesh.

## TEXT[2]

*First Plate*

1 Siddhaṁ[3] svasti [|*] **[Kishki]ndhipurāch**=chharad-indu-kiraṇ-āvadāta-vipula-yaśasi praṇipatita-jan-ārtti-chchhēda-kāriṇi nirava-

[1] This designation occurs in the *Lēkhapaddhati* (G. O. S. ed.) and has been explained at one place as a gate-keeper (op. cit., p. 124) and at another as a toll-tax collector (ibid., p. 129).

[2] From a set of impressions.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

2 sēshit-āmittra-mahimni **Guhilaputtr-ānvayē** sakala-jana-manōharayā chandrikay=ēva kīrtyā bhuvana-ma[ṇḍa]-

3 laṁ vikāsayann=iva[1] san-manā ēva[2] kalaṅka-dōsha-rahitaḥ kula-kumuda-vana-lakshmī-vivō-(bō)dhanaś=chandramā iv=āparō ya

4 .. .. .. .. .. sraya-viśēsha-lōbhād=iva sakalair=ābhikāmi[kai]r=itaraiś=cha guṇair=upētaḥ samara-vidhi-viśāradaḥ ripu-

5 [varggai]r=apīḍita-dharmm-ārtha-kāma-nishēvī samyak-prajā-pālan-ābhiratas=Trilōchana iva para-pura-grahaṇa-dakshaḥ=parama-

6 [mā]hēśvarō=vāpt-āśēsha-mahāśavda[ḥ](bdaḥ) śrī-**Dēvagaṇas**=tat-pāda-kamala-yugal-ānu-ddhyātō ravir iv=ōdaya-kālā[d=ē]-

7 v=ānurakta-sakala-maṇḍalaḥ pravihata-ripu-tamaḥ-prasarō vividha-vimala-guṇa-gaṇ-ābhirāma-mūrttir=mūrtta iva

8 Kāmadēvō Bōdhisatva(ttva) iva yath-ābhilashit-ārtha-sampādana-prīṇit-ārthi-varggaḥ samadhigata-pañch-mahāśabdaḥ śrī-**Bhā-**

9 **vihitaḥ**=kuśalī sarvvān=ēva rāja-rājaputra-rājasthānīy-ōparika-kumārāmātya-pratīhāra-pramātṛi-balādhikṛi-

10 ta-chaurōddharaṇika-dāṇḍapāśika-śaulkika-prātisāraka-gamāgamika-chāṭa-bhaṭa-sēvak-ādīn=samanubōdhayaty=astu

11 vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathō(thā) mayā sva-pitṛivya-śrī-**Dēvagaṇā(ṇa)**-pādīya-śāsanā[d]vra(d=bra)-h[m]adāyam apēkshya tasy=aiva ya-

12 śaḥ-puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē **Ujjayanī**-vinirggata-**Kūragirikā**-sāmānya[3]-Ḍauṇḍāyana-sagōttra-Vājasanēya-sa-

13 [brahma]chā[riṇē] Māddhyandināya Brāhmaṇ-Ēndrasarmma-puttra-Brāhmaṇ-Āsaṅgaśa-rmmaṇē |[4] **Purapaṭṭa**-vishay-āntarg[g]ata ..

14 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. grāmaḥ sva-sīmā-pari[chchhinnaḥ] s-ōparikaraḥ sa-bhūta-vā[t-ā]ti(di)-pratyāyaḥ sa-bhōga-bh[āga]-

*Second Plate*

15 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. sa-daś-ā[parādhaḥ] a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśyō bali-charu-sattra-vaiśvadēv-āgnihō-

16 [tra] .. .. .. .. .. ṇ-ārthaṁ[5] pūrvva-datta-dēva-brahma-dāy-ādi-rahita ā-chandra-ārkk-ārṇṇava-sari-

17 [t-kshit]i-sama-kālīnaḥ puttra-pauttr-ā[n]vaya-krama-bhōgyatayā bhūmichchhidra-nyāyēn=āgrahārō=nujñātō yatō=

18 [vaga]my=āsmad-vaṅśyai(vaṁśyai)r=anyair=vv=āgāmi-nṛipatibhir=anila-vidhūta-kāśa-tūla-lava-chañchala[ṁ] jīvitam=avagachchha[dbhi]-

19 .. .. .. .. .. yaśaś=chirāya chichīshubhir=ēsha dāyō=numantavyaḥ pālayitavyaś=cha | yō v=ājñāna-ti[mi]-

20 [ra-pa]ṭal-āvṛita-matir=āchchhindyād=āchchhidyamānaṁ v=ānumōdēta |[4] sa pañchabhir=mmahāpātakaiḥ saṁyuktaḥ syād=u[kta]-

21 ñ=cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāsēna Vyāsēna || Shashṭi[r=vva]rsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] āchchhēttā ch=ānu-

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[1] The word *iva* here is redundant.

[2] Read °*mana iva*.

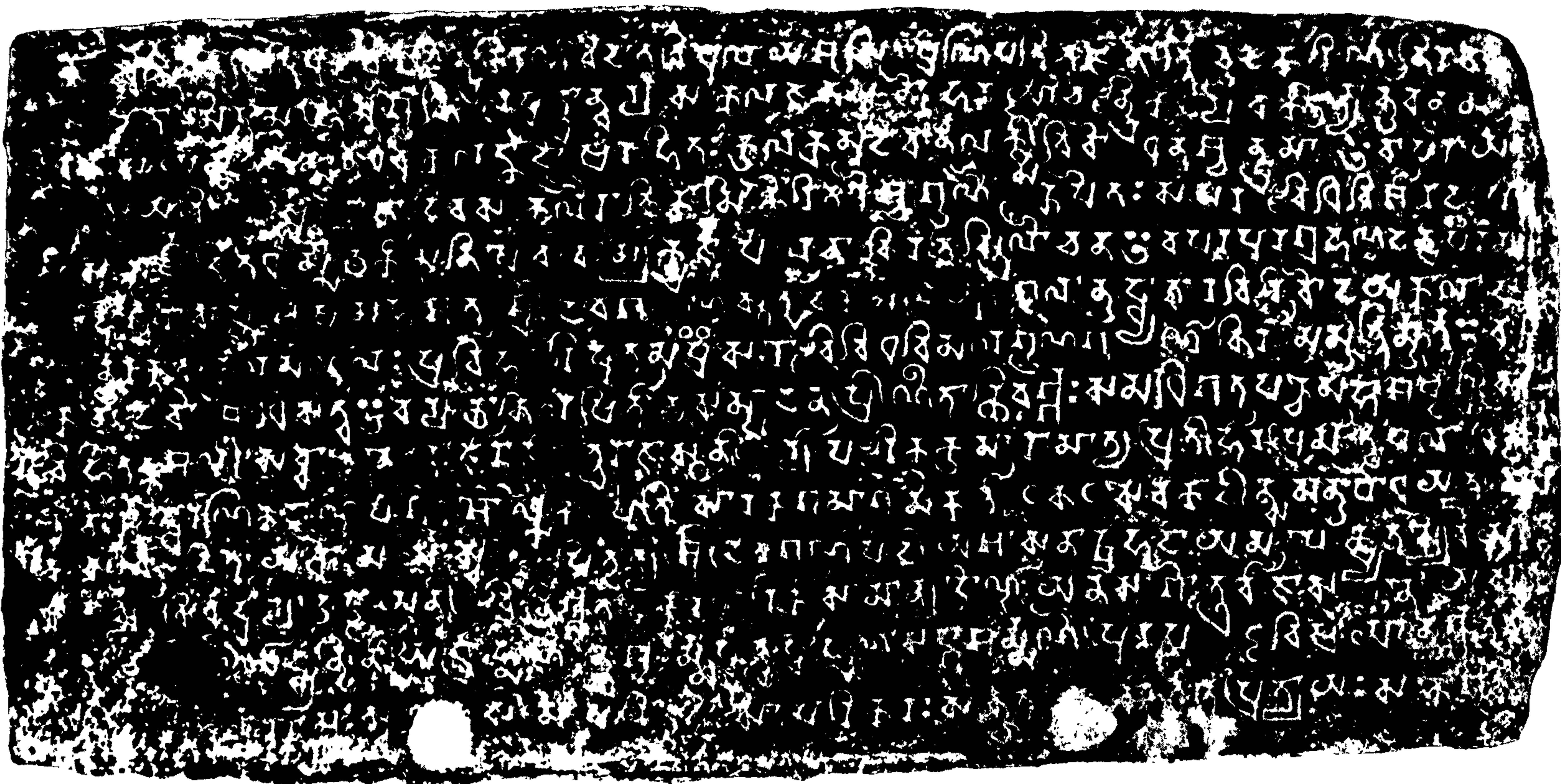
[3] The expression has been used to indicate the sense of *vāstavya*. Cf. line 17 of the other inscription edited below.

[4] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[5] The word seems to be *utsarppaṇ-ārthaṁ*.

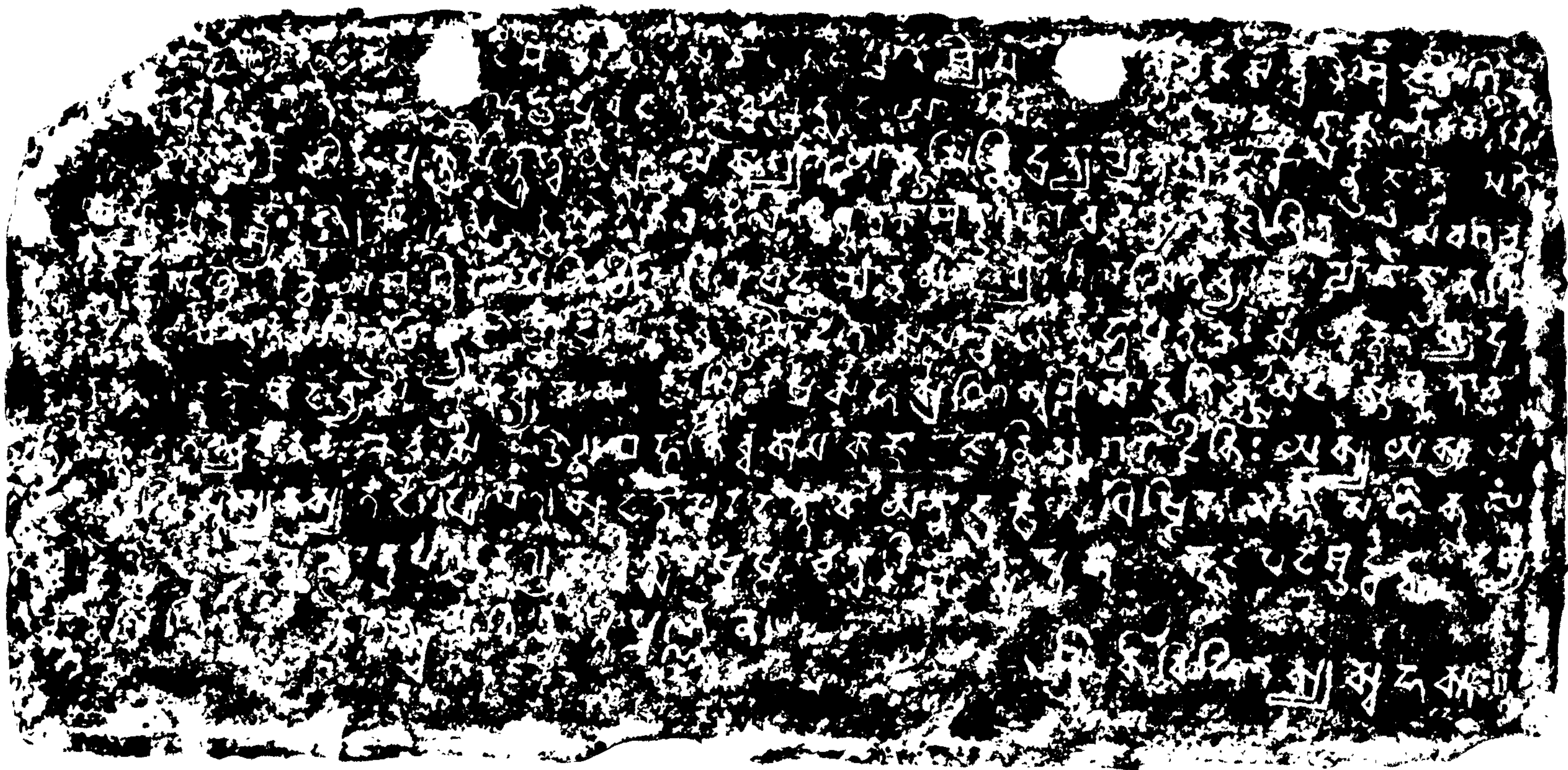
TWO GRANTS OF EARLY GUHILAS—PLATE I

1. GRANT OF BHAVIHITA, [HARSHA] YEAR 48



Scale : Three-fifths

*ii*



22 mantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt ||[1] Babubhir=vvasudhā bhū(bhu)ktā rājani(bhi)s=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya ya-

23 [dā] bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira | mahīṁ mahībhujāṁ

24 śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ(nam) || **Saṁvvatsarēshv=ashṭachatvāriṁśa-(riṁśa)tsu 40 8 Bhādrapada-śuddhē dvādaśyāṁ**

25 **[10] 2** likhitañ=cha tat-sva-mukh-ājñapta-Pūrṇṇēna ||

26 śrī-**Bhāvihitasya** sva-hastaḥ ||

### 2. Grant of Bābhaṭa, [Harsha] Year 83

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol and the word *svasti* which are followed by the reference to **Kishkindhipura** whence the charter was issued. The dynasty of the **Guhila** kings is then described in lines 1-3 and the chief named **Dēvagaṇa** belonging to that dynasty is mentioned in lines 3-4. There is nothing of historical importance in the description of the family and the ruler. Lines 4-9 introduce another chief named **Bābhaṭa** who is the donor of the charter, as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of the said Dēvagaṇa and as one who acquired the five *mahā-śabdas*. The second epithet represents Bābhaṭa as a feudatory ruler.

The donor's order in respect of the grant recorded in the document was addressed to the following classes of subordinates and subjects : *nṛipa* (subordinate ruler), *nṛipasuta* (son of a subordinate chief), *sandhivigrahādhikṛita* (minister for war and peace), *sēnādhyaksha* (leader of forces), *purōdhas* (priest), *pramātṛi* (officer in charge of the measurement of the royal share of the produce), *mantrin* (minister), *pratīhāra* (officer in charge of the gate of the palace or capital), *rājasthānīya* (viceroy), *uparika* (governor), *kumārāmātya* (minister enjoying the status of a prince), *vishaya-bhōga-pati* (officers in charge of *vishayas* or districts and *bhōgas* or subdivisions)[2], *chaurōddharaṇika* (officer dealing with cases of theft), *śaulkika* (collector of customs duties), *rājapurusha* (royal agent), *vyāpṛitaka* (head of an administrative division or department), *dāṇḍapāśika* (head of a group of policemen), *chāṭa* (leader of a group of Pāiks), *bhaṭa* (Pāik), *prātisāraka* (gate-keeper or collector of tolls), *grāmādhipati* (head of a village), *drāṅgika* (probably, officer in charge of a watch-station), the agriculturist house-holders as well as the people of the area in question headed by the merchants and Brāhmaṇas and also the *karaṇikas* (members of the scribal community). The gift land consisted of two plots situated in the village called **Mitrāpallikā-grāma** which seems to have formed a part of **Maṇḍalāchchhaka** within the **Kishkindhipura** *vishaya* (district). The expression *Maṇḍalāchchhaka* does not appear to indicate a *maṇḍala* or subdivision called Achchhaka.

The boundaries of the two plots of gift land are described in lines 13-15. Both the plots of land were situated near the eastern border of the village called Mitrāpallikā-grāma. The first plot belonged to Pāhaka and Pābhaka (or was called Pāhakapābhaka) and consisted of five standard measures of land (*pāñchika-parimāṇa*). It was bounded in the east and south by an embankment linking it with the lower part of Mitrāpallikā-grāma while to its west lay the *pānīy-ōpāvarta* (possibly a reservoir of drinking water) belonging to (or by name) Rōṅgaraka and a part of the embankment of the tank belonging to (or by name) Pāhaka. To the north of the plot, there was a path leading to the wood at Śakapālī and Śōdhana. The second plot consisted of land around a well, which was in the possession of certain persons including Gōpāla. To its east stood a *sōḍhaka* (possibly a tree

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[1] The metre of this verse and the following two stanzas is *Anushṭubh*.

[2] *Bhōgapati* does not appear to be the same as *bhōgika* meaning a *Jāgīrdār* but may also have been an officer in charge of the *Jāgīrs* in the State.

called by that name) in the marshy land belonging to the blacksmiths and to its south was another *sēḍhaka* standing on the main road of the district (*vishaya-vartanī*) but belonging to the plot. In the west and north, the plot was bounded by a field belonging to Maṇḍalāchchhaka. Line 16 states that the boundaries were determined by Ushara, Vāhēka, *Mahattara* Saṅgilaka and others. The grant was made according to the principle of *bhūmi-chchhidra* and Pāiks and the leaders of groups of them were prohibited from entering the gift land which carried with it the privileges of the permanent enjoyment of incomes like those arising out of changes in the natural and climatic conditions, the taxes in cash (*hiraṇya*) and the share of grains and the periodical offerings payable to the king.

The grant was made in favour of five Brāhmaṇas who were brothers, viz. Gōpāditya, Gōpāḍhya, Dēbhaṭa, Ḍhōṇḍha and Gōpasvāmin, who were the sons of Gōpa of **Kūragirī**. The donees belonged to the Dāṇḍāyana *gōtra* and the Vājasanēya [*charaṇa*] and Mādhyandina [*śākhā*]. The grant was made for providing the Brāhmaṇas with the means for the performance of their duties relating to the five *mahā-yajñas* for the increase of the merit and fame of the donor and his parents. Whatever had been previously granted in favour of gods and Brāhmaṇas was, however, excluded from the gift land which was granted with libation of water.

Lines 20-22 contain the donor's request to the future rulers for the preservation of the grant and a curse against one who might resume it. This is followed in lines 22-24 by some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas.

The name of the city of **Kishkindhipura** occurs again at the end of line 24. Since, however, the following letters are mostly damaged, the context is not clear. But it seems that the rule of (i.e. from) Kishkindhipura is referred to here. Lines 25-26 state that the document was written by *Sāndhivigrahika* Pāhēka on the **full-moon day of Kārttika in the year 83** (in words only) and that the *dūtaka* (executor of the charter) was *Rājaputra* **Ghōrghaṭasvāmin.** The record ends with the representation of the signature of the illustrious **Bābhaṭa** which, as indicated above, must have been put by the donor on the original document later incised on the plates.

The **geographical names** mentioned in the epigraph are, besides the city of Kishkindhipura and the district of the same name around the city, the village of Mitrāpallikā probably forming a part of Maṇḍalāchchhaka, and Kūragirī which is mentioned in the other record as Kūragirikā. I am not sure about their exact location.

## TEXT[1]

### *First Plate*

1 Siddham[2] Svasti [1*] **Kishkindhipurāt Guhila**-narādhipa-vaṅśē(vaṁśē) guṇa-maṇi-gaṇa-kiraṇa-rañjita-daś-āśē |[3] surapati-dhāmni[4] sthēyasi mahīyasi pravaraka .. .. ..

2. .. .. .. .. śrī-bhāji samunnatimati bhōgi-mahāsatva(ttva)-saṁśraya-vidhau |[5] durllaṅghyē=tigarīyasy=ādhva[ra*]-pūt-āśēsha-bhūlōkē || mudita-dvija-gaṇa-jushṭē=va[śi]shṭa-bhū-bhu-

3 kti .. .. ta-dāyē | anavarata-mitra-maṁḍala-parigaman-ōdbhāsini prathitē || sach-chhāyā(yō) dvija-vasatiḥ su-prāpa-mahāphalō manōhārī śrīmān=ṛijur=āśrita-jana-tṛishṇā-klama-tāpa-vini-

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[1] From a set of impressions.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[4] Better read *dhāmn=īva.*

[5] The marks of punctuation in this as well as the following lines are in most cases unnecessary.

# TWO GRANTS OF EARLY GUHILAS—PLATE II

## 2. Grant of Babhata, [Harsha] Year 83

*i*

Scale : Three-fourths

*ii*

[illegible]

4 **hantā** | samabhilashita-phala-saṁpat-saṁpatti-kṛid=utsṛitō ruchira-patraḥ Mērāv=iva Kalpataruḥ śrī-**Dēvagaṇō** nṛipatir=āsīt [||*] tach-charaṇa-kamala-yugal-ānuddhyātas= sajjana-niyat-āvagītaḥ śārad-[ā]-

5 mala-sakala-maṇḍala-śaśi-kara-nikar-āvadāta-yaśāḥ udayād=ēva jana-hitō mahā-mahībhṛich-chhirō-nihita-charaṇaḥ anurakt-āmala-maṇḍa[la]-virājitō jita-tama[ḥ*]-prasaraḥ amalīkṛita-sarvv-ā[śaḥ]

6 [ku]la-[ka]mal-ākara-vivarddhita-śrīkaḥ dōsh-āntakaraḥ para-bala-kumuda-vana-vikāsa-hati-hētuḥ | sa[ka]la-bhuvan-aika-tilakas=samasta-tējasvi-tējasāṁ hartā | āvirbbhavat-pratāpō yō .. .. .. ..

7 bhānur=iva || chandana-surabhi-parimalaḥ pṛithu-kaṭaka[ḥ] unnataḥ sthirō=kshōbhyaḥ Malaya-mahīdhara iva yō=nēka-mahābhōgināmva(nāṁ va)satiḥ | gāmbhīryavān=ala[ghu]s=samasta-ratn-āśrayō mahā-

8 satvaḥ(ttvaḥ) yaḥ sthiti-pālana-paramō lāvaṇya-yutaḥ payōdhir=iva bhadra-prakṛitir=udagraḥ sad-vaṁśaś=śaktimān=bhayānakaḥ dig-gaja iva yaḥ satata-prachchhanna-dān-ā[mbu-pavitra-karaḥ]

9 sa(su)-prathita-puṇya-kīrttiḥ=Kārtta-yuga-nṛip-ātirikta-guṇa-nikaraḥ | samupārjjita-paṁ-[cha]-mahāśabdaḥ śrī- **Bābhaṭa[ḥ]**=kuśalī || sarvvān=ev=ātmīyān=nṛipa-nṛipasuta-sandhi-vigrahādhi-

10 kṛitān sēnāddhyaksha-purōdhaḥ-pramātri(tṛi)-mantri-pratīhārān | rājasthānīy-ōpari[ka-kumā]-rāmā[tya]-vishaya-bhōga-patīn chaurōddharaṇika-śaulkika-rājapurush-ādī[n] sa[rvva]-

11 purushānścha[1] || vyāpṛitaka-dāṇḍapāśika-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prātisāraka-prabhṛitīn grāmādhipati-drāṅgika-prati[vāsi]-kuṭumbinaś=ch=aiva || Brāhmaṇa-vaṇik-purōgāḥ prakṛitīr=jā[na-padān]

12 karaṇikānśchāpi[2] | anyāṁś=cha yathā-nyāyaṁ vō(bō)dhayat=īty=astu vō viditam || yathā mayā **Kishkindhipura-vishay**-āntarggata-**Maṁḍalāchchhakē** **Mi[trā]palli[kā-grāmē]**

*Second Plate*

13 grāmasya pūrvva-sīmni Pāhaka-Pābhak-ābhidhāna-pāṁchika-parimāṇaṁ kshētraṁ ||[3] yasya pūrvva-pārśvē dakshiṇa-pārśvē ch=ānusaṁtata ēv=ādhastana-Mitrāpallikā-[grāma ].. ..

14 sandhi-saitūkaḥ[4] paśchimē Rōṅgaraka-pānīy-ōpāvarttaḥ=Pāhaka-taḍāgikā-pāly-ēka-dēśaś=cha || uttarē Śakapālī-Śōdhana-sva(stha)-vana-mārggas=tath=ātr=aiva Gōpā[la] .. ..

15 ḍamātra-bha(bhu)kti-pramāṇaḥ[5]=kūpa-kachchhō yasy=āpi pūrvva-pārśvē lōhakāra-kachchha-sēḍhakō |[6] dakshiṇē vishaya-vartany-abhyantarē sva[7]-sēḍhakaḥ paśchimē uttarē cha Maṇḍalā[chchaka-kshētram=i]-

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[1] Read °*shāṁś=cha.*

[2] Read °*ṇikāṁś=ch=āpi.*

[3] The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

[4] Read *sētukaḥ.*

[5] The word *pramāṇa* seems to be a mistake for *parimāṇa.*

[6] The *daṇḍa* is wrongly inserted.

[7] Read °*bhyantara-stha*°.

16 ty=ĕvam=ētad=ubhayam=apy=**Ūshara-Vāhēka-mahattara-Saṅgilaka-pramukhō(kh-ā)dishṭa-**chatur-āghāṭana[1]-viśuddhaṁ | sa-śēvaraṁ[2] sa-bhūtā(t-ō)pātta-pratyāyaṁ sa-hiraṇy-ādēyaṁ sa-bhōga-bhāgaṁ |[3]

17 sarvv-ādāna-saṁtam bhūmichchhidra-nyāyēn=ā-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśyam=ā-chandr-ārkka-kālikaṁ putra-pautr-ānvaya-krama-bhōgyaṁ |[3] **Kūragirī-sāmānya-Brāhmaṇa-Gōpa-**putrēbhyō Brāhma-

18 ṇa-Gōpāditya-Gōpāḍhya-Dēbhaṭa-Ḍhōṇḍha- |[3] Gōpasvāmi-prabhṛitibhyō[4] Vā(Dā)ṇḍāyana-sa-gōtra-Vāji(ja)sanēya-sabrahmachāri-Māddhyandinēbhyaḥ=pañchabhyō=pi bhrātṛibhyaḥ=pañcha-mahāyajñi(jñī)yā-

19 nāṁ karmmaṇām=utsarpaṇ-ārthaṁ pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē pūrvva-pratto-dēva-brahmadāy-ābhivarjjam=udak-ātisarggēṇa brahmadāyaḥ pratipāditam[5]=ity=avagamy=āmīshā-

20 m=idaṁ yu(bhu)ñjatāṁ bhōjayatāṁ krishatāṁ karshayatāṁ v=āsmad-vaṁśajair=anyair=vv=āgāmi-nṛipatibhis=sāmānya-bhū-pradāna-phalēpsubhir=nna kaiśchid=vyāghātē pravartti-tavyaṁ(vyam) || kamala-dala-nilīna-

21 vāri-sam-āsthiratarам=ētam=avētya jīva-lōkaṁ(kam) anumatir=anupālanaṁ cha kāryaṁ śaśi-kara-chāru-yaśaś-chichīshubhiś=cha || yas=tv=ajñānād=āchchhindyād=āchchhidya-mānaṁ v=ānumōdēta sa

22 pañchabhir=mmahā-pātakais=saṁyuktaḥ syād=uktaṁ cha || Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [||*][6] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādi-

23 bhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁdharāṁ(rām) | kapilā-śata-ghātīnām=ēnas=sampratipadyatē || Vindhy-āṭavīshv=a-tōyāsu śushka-kōṭara-

24 vāsinaḥ [|*] krishṇāhayō-bhijāyantē brahmadāy-āpahāra[k]ā[ḥ*] || Pūrvva-dattāṁ dvijāti-bhyō yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira | mahīṁ mahībhṛitāṁ śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupāla-nam=iti || **Kishkindhipura-**pra[va]-

25 . . . . . . . . [7]**saṁvatsarē tryaśītitamē Kārttikyām**=adya likhitam=idaṁ sāndhivigrahika-Pāhēkēna [|*] dūtakaś=ch=ātra rājaputra-

26 **Ghōrghaṭasvāmī** ||

27 śrī-**Bābhaṭasya** sva-hasta[ḥ] ||[8]

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[1] Better read *āghāṭa*.
[2] Read *sa-śaivaraṁ* or *sa-śaibaraṁ* supposed to refer to a levy in kind (Ghoshal, *H. Rev. Syst.*, p. 220); but *śaivara* may be Marāṭhī *śērī*, 'arable land originally excluded from the village assessment' (Wilson's Glossary)
[3] The *daṇḍa* is wrongly inserted.
[4] Better read °*svāmibhyō*.
[5] The goes with *ubhayam* in line 16.
[6] The metre of this verse and the following four stanzas is *Anushṭubh*.
[7] The damaged *aksharas* may have been °*varddhamāna-vijaya-rājya*.
[8] This is written to the right of lines 25-26.

## No. 27—CHIRUVROLI GRANT OF HAMBIRA, SAKA 1383

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR AND K. H. V. SARMA, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 14. 11. 1959*)

This is a set of five copper-plates discovered in the year 1941 by the inhabitants of the village of **Nemalikallu** near Rāvela in the Sattenapalli Taluk of the Guntur District while they were digging the earth. A ring with the **seal** bearing the emblem of an elephant, said to have been found with the plates, is now missing. The inscription was noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1941-42, as C.P. Nos. 4-5, and was published, with the exclusion of the Oriya part, by N. Venkataramanayya in the Telugu Journal *Bhārati*, Vol. XVIII, Part II, pp. 515 ff.

Three of the five plates of the set bear writing in **Telugu characters** on both the sides (IA—14, IB—18, IIA—15, IIB—15, IIIA—17, IIIB—17) and the fourth plate contains four lines in **Oriya** on one side only, the last plate having no writing at all. The plates are not of uniform size. The first three plates bearing writing in Telugu characters measure about 10¾ inches in length and 6 inches in height and have slightly raised rims. But only two of them (plates I-II) contain the ring hole (about ⅜" in diameter) towards the left margin. The third plate has a circle of the same dimension engraved at the proper place ; but it was not drilled through for the ring to pass. In spite of this fact, the writing on this plate suggests that it was a part of the charter engraved on the first and second plates. It is interesting to note in this connection that the third plate contains the names of a number of donees in addition to the list of donees enumerated on the second plate. These three plates together weigh 180 *tolas*. The other two plates are smaller in size. One of them bearing writing in Oriya characters measures about 8½ inches in length and 5½ inches in height whereas the other plate having no writing is 9 inches in length and 6 inches in height. These two plates, which do not appear to have belonged to the same charter, together weigh 50 *tolas*.

On the reverse of the first plate towards the right lower margin, there is the conventional representation of a sword which is generally found at the end of the charters of the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis of Orissa. This stands for the king's signature on the original document, later inscribed on the copper plates. Similar representations are also found on the fourth and fifth plates. The plates are not numbered.

**The palaeography of the Telugu part** of the epigraph very closely resembles that of the grants of Raghudēva and the Veligalani grant of Kapilēśvara published above.[1] No distinction is made between the medial signs of *i* and *ī*, of *e* and *ē* and of *o* and *ō*. The letter *ḷ* resembles the modern form of *k*. There is a vertical stroke on the top of the letter *ṛ* in words like *Mēḷlamiṛu Chiṛuvrōlu, Yaṛaguṁṭala, Yaṛu-bhaṭṭa*, etc. The sign of aspiration is used only in some cases. The letters *th* and *dh* are distinguished clearly as in *kathitaṁ* (line 31) and *saṁrakshaṇ-ārthaṁ* (line 72) and *Mādhava* (line 53) and *Gaṁgādhara* (lines 63, etc.), etc. Another feature of the palaeography of the record is that, in some cases *ry* and *rv* are written with the full form of *r* instead of its superscriptal form while subscriptal forms of *y* and *v* are added to it ; cf. *sarvāṇi* (line 18), *Timmayāryā bhyāṁ* (lines 30-31), *bhāryā* (line 64), etc. *Anusvāra* is invariably used for final *m* and the class nasals. The **characters of the Oriya section** are similar to those of the Oriya writing in the Veligalani grant referred to above.

[1] Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 1 ff. ; pp. 275 ff.

The record is **trilingual** having four sections, the first and the third of which are in Sanskrit (written in Telugu characters), the second in Sanskrit verse and Telugu prose, and the fourth in Oriya prose. There are a few interesting words in the Telugu part of the second section. In the compound words *Bayyanāju-kōḍe* (line 21) and *Nāṁgaḷa-kōḍu* (lines 27-28), the word *kōḍu* means a rivulet or an artificial canal. The word *aḍusu* in *aḍusuṁ-gāluva* (line 25) is used in the sense of 'dirty water'.

The **date** of the charter is quoted in two places. At the beginning of Section II (lines 15-16), it is expressed by the chronogram *Rām-ēbha-lōka-dvijapati*, i.e. **Śaka 1383, Vṛisha, Bhādrapada, Kuhu** (i.e. *amāvāsyā*) and **Bhṛigutanaya-dina**, i.e. Friday, regularly corresponding to the **4th September 1461 A.D.** Again in Section III (lines 72-73), it is quoted by a different chronogram *chandr-ākshi-nāg-ārṇava* and the cyclic year Vṛisha without further details. The word *akshi* in this chronogram refers to the three eyes of Śiva and is popular in this numerical sense in Eastern India. It is also interesting to note that the principle of *vāmā gati* has been ignored in the formation of this chronogram. The Śaka year quoted here is 1384 which has to be regarded as current since it is equated with the cyclic year **Vṛisha** corresponding to the expired Śaka year 1383.

Section I contains adoration to gods and the description of the donor and his ancestry. It consists of 7 stanzas in lines 1-14 on the first side of the first plate. Section II begins with the date and describes the gift village and its boundaries in lines 15-32 engraved on the second side of the same plate. It ends with some benedictory and imprecatory verses. Section III gives the list of the donees and their shares (in lines 33-96) on both the sides of the remaining two plates. The fourth section in Oriya was intended to give the gist of the grant as in the Veligalani charter of Kapilēśvara referred to above. But, as will be seen below, the contents of the Oriya part suggest that it belonged to a different grant.

**Section I** begins with the auspicious sentence *śubham=astu* which is followed by two verses, one in adoration of the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu and the other invoking the protection of the crescent moon worn by Śiva. Verse 3 describes the Sun, in whose race, according to the following stanza (verse 4), a great king named **Kapilēśvara** was born. Verse 5 referring to Kapilēśvara's military prowess states that, as a result of the noise of his drums filling up the whole universe, **Hampā** trembled, **Dhārā** was disturbed, the horses fled from **Kalabarigā** and **Ḍhillī** was occupied by savage women. The same verse with slight variation is also found in the above-mentioned Veligalani grant of Kapilēśvara, which is earlier than the present charter by three years. The next two stanzas in our record (verses 5-6) introduce the donor **Hambīra-kumāra** as the son of the said Kapilēśvara and describe his heroism and valour. This section ends with *maṁgaḷa-mahāśrī-śrī-śrī[ḥ*]*.

The name of the donor is spelt *Hamvīra* in our record as well as in some other Gajapati epigraphs found in the Telugu-speaking region. But the correct spelling is *Hambīra* which is a modified form of *Hammīra*, the early Indian modification of Arabic *Amīr*. The introduction of *vīra* in place of *bīra* in some records of the Andhra region is an attempt at Sanskritisation. A more drastic attempt in the same direction is noticed in the inscription under study in two stanzas (verse 6 in lines 9-12 ; verse 11 in lines 29-31) wherein the name has been spelt as *Ahamvīra*. But, as will be seen below, the correct pronunciation of the name with *b* in place of *v* is also indicated in some epigraphs of the South, which in certain cases replace the initial syllable *haṁ* by *aṁ*. The last-noted characteristic is of course due to the tendency of non-aspiration in the Dravidian languages.

**Section II** (lines 15 ff.) begins with the date (verse 8) discussed above and states that **Hambīra-bhūpa** granted the village of **Chiruvrōli** together with **Mēḷḷamirṟu**, situated on the bank of the river **Krishṇā**, to a number of Brāhmaṇas, the gift village being named after the donor. In the following stanza (verse 9), it it said that the boundaries of the gift village, Pratāpa-Haṁbīrakumāra-satpura (i.e. Hambīrapura), are given in the language of **Andhra** (i.e. in Telugu). Having

mentioned the boundaries in Telugu (lines 19-25). This section is closed with three verses in Sanskrit, the first of them requesting the future rulers to protect the gift of Hambīra-kumāra and the second stating that the charter in question was drawn up (*kathita*)[1] under the orders of Hambīra-nṛipa by Śrīkānta and Timmayārya who received one share each [out of the gift land]. The third stanza is one of the usual imprecatory verses often found in epigraphic records. The section ends with *maṁgaḷa-mahā-śrī[ḥ*]*.

The **boundaries** of the gift village are enumerated as follows : towards the west lay Āvalaṅka to the west of which stood the mounds of the Gaṁgapūṇḍlis ; to the north of Āvalaṁka were also the same mounds ; to the east of Āvalaṁka was the northern boundary of Bōlā's field ; to the east of that field stood the northern end of Gopāla's fields ; to the east of those fields lay the northern boundary (i.e. bank) of Bayyarāju's canal ; towards the north-east of the junction of Chiṟuvrōli and Meṟakanapalli stood the eastern bank of the fields of Arujābayyari ; to the east of that field lay the boundary of Vellāṇi : Muttala-chēnu and Kēśavarāya's field formed the eastern boundary of the fields of Chiṟuvrōli, Merakanapalli and Mēḍalamirti ; to the south-east corner lay Ṛellulaṁka and to the south of that was the Kṛishṇavennā (Krishṇā) ; to the south of Mōṁdumūḍi and Chiruvrōli lay Eḍlalaṁka to the south of which there was a drain ; then Telipallāṁ forming the boundary of Chiṟuvrōli and Jaitarājupālem ; the river Krishṇā was the southern boundary of Mēḍalamirti which formed a *grāma-grāsa* ; to the west is Māmiḍikuṁṭa and to its north, lay the northern bank of the tank called Pūramma ; to the east [of the gift village] was the canal called Nāṁgaḷa-kōḍu.

**Section III** begins with a verse referring to the enumeration of the donees and their shares in the village of **Chiṟuvrōli** *alias* **Hambīrapura.** The enumeration of the donees on the third plate, which looks like a later addition to the charter, does not seem to be a continuation of the list of donees on the second plate. It appears that the donees of the original grant, mentioned on the second plate, received only half of the village, the other half being allotted to another set of donees at a slightly later date. The principal donee among the first set of Brāhmaṇas was Gaṇapati, who was the son of Gaṅgādhara of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and received six shares, the largest for a single donee enumerated in the said part of the document. Naishadhīya Aubhaḷa, the first of the donees mentioned on the third plate, who was apparently the brother of Gaṇapati mentioned above, seems to have been the principal recipient of the gift land amongst the second set of donees since he not only received the largest number of shares amongst them but is also described with much greater detail than any of the other donees. Some of the family names of the donees are the same as those mentioned in the Veligalani grant of Kapilēśvara and are still prevalent in Andhra Pradesh. The enumeration of the donees is not consistent in mentioning the *gōtras*, *pravaras* and the names of their fathers. In addition to the shares allotted to the 106 Brāhmaṇa donees, two shares were given to the local deities Kēśavadēva and Sagarēśvaradēva making the total number of donees 108. Nearly half of them received one share each while more than a dozen of them received two shares each though, in some cases, several donees enjoyed a single share together. The following received more than two shares : (1) Yaṟaguṁṭala-Bhāskara-bhaṭṭa, son of Kēśava-bhaṭṭa of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and Yajurvēda—5 ; (2) Gaṇapati-bhaṭṭa, son of Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭṭa of the same *gōtra*—6 ; (3) Naishadhīya Aubhaḷa, son of Gaṅgādhara of the same *gōtra*—10 ; (4) Ghaḍiyāraṁ-Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭṭa—5 ; (5) Penumarti-Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭṭa of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*—4 ; and (6) Yaṟajaṁṭala-Chiṭi-Kēśava-bhaṭṭa—3.

On the first side of the third plate the genealogy of the donee Aubhaḷa of the Naishadha or Naishadhīya family is described with special reference to his scholarship and learning. It is said that, in the Naishadha family belonging to the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, there was a learned Brāhmaṇa named

[1] The word *kathita* is used in the same sense in the Raghudēvapura grant (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 11).

Gaṅgādhara who was well-versed in the Vēdas and whose wife was a lady named Aubhaḷa. They had a son named Aubhaḷa-sūri who was famous for his learning in all the *śāstras* and for his virtuous deeds. In the **Śaka year 1384** (current), **Vṛisha**, he received the grant of **Chiṟuvrōli from Hambīra**, the son of the **Gajapati** king **Kapilēśvara**, for the maintenance of learned Brāhmaṇas (*sakala-vibudha-saṁrakshaṇ-ārtham*). This seems to suggest that Aubhaḷa-sūri received the grant of the village of Chiṟuvrōli from Hambīra, which was renamed Hambīrapura after the donor, and that shares of the gift land were divided among the various Brāhmaṇas. Aubhaḷa had a brother named Gaṇapati who was a poet famous for his scholarship. The two brothers are stated to have been living together at Chiṟuvrōli, granted by the ruler.

**Section IV** in Oriya engraved on the obverse of the fourth plate speaks of **Vēḷiki-grāma** which was a *grāma-grāsa* (i.e. land granted for maintenance) made in favour of certain Brāhmaṇas and of the 85 shares of the village allotted to the donees, the foremost of them being Ugīmīdāsa, Varaku-sōmayāja, Tagā-bhaṭṭa and Talu-bhaṭṭa, which were made *Sarva-mānya* (i.e. a rent-free holding). This section appears to have belonged to a different charter. That this record also belonged to the Gajapati dynasty is indicated by the representation of the sword on the plate.

This is the only copper-plate grant of the Gajapati prince Hambīra so far discovered. His stone inscriptions have been found at Zakkampūḍi,[1] Yenikipāḍu[2] and Koṇḍapalli,[3] all in the Krishna District, and at Warangal.[4] Except the last record, others have no date. The Warangal inscription is dated on the 2nd February 1460 A.D., i.e. about a year earlier than the charter under study. The prince's name is given in the above inscriptions as Hamvīra-kumāra, Haṁvīra-nṛipa or °bhūpa, Aṁbidēva-rāja, Aṁbbīradēva-kumāra-mahāpātra and Kumāra-Haṁbīradēva. Ferishta calls him Ambur Rāy and states that he was a cousin of the Rāy of Orissa.[5] But the inscriptions of Hambīra definitely state that he was the son of Gajapati Kapilēśvara.[6]

Prince Hambīra was a great general and helped his father Kapilēśvara in the latter's southern campaigns. According to the Anantavaram grant,[7] Hambīra subdued the kings of the south under his father's orders and washed his sword covered with the blood of his enemies in the waters of the southern ocean. Two inscriptions at the village of Muṇṇūr[8] in the South Arcot District enumerate the names of the important forts and areas such as Koṇḍavīḍu, Koṇḍapalli, Addaṅki, Vinukoṇḍa-daṇḍapāṭa, Paḍavīḍu, Vaḷudilampaṭṭu-uśāvāḍi, Tiruvārūr, Tiruchchirāpalli and Chandragiri, which were captured by him. These records are dated in Śaka 1386, Tāraṇa, Mithuna śu. 3, Thursday, Pushya, corresponding to the 7th June (f. d. t. ·21, f. d. n. ·25) of 1464 A.D., and state that Dakshiṇa-Kapilēśvara-mahāpātra, the son of Hambīra, granted some lands for the Aṁbbīra-bhōga and for the repairs to the temples of Tīrumūlaṭṭānamuḍaiya-mahādēva and Perumāl-

[1] *SII*, Vol. X, No. 728.

[2] Ibid., No. 740.

[3] Ibid., No. 729.

[4] *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, No. 53. There is an incomplete Tamil inscription (*A. R. Ep.*, 1937-38, No. B 87) in the Raṅganāthasvāmin temple at Srirangam, dated Śaka 1386, Svabhānu (1464 A.D.), which was wrongly assigned to Hambīra-kumāra-mahāpātra. Actually it belongs to his son Dakshiṇa-Kapilēśvara-kumāra-mahāpātra.

[5] *Tārīkh-i-Ferishta*, trans. Briggs, p. 487.

[6] *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 1088 mentions Hambīra-kumāra-mahāpātra as the son of Saṇḍudēva-mahāpātra of the Sūrya-vaṁśa. Whether our Hambīra was the same as this person and was therefore an adopted son of Kapilēśvara is difficult to determine in the present state of our knowledge. See above, Vol. XXXII, p. 5, note 1; *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 286-87. Verse 18 of our record (lines 70-73) mentions Hambīra as the *bhāgya-putra* of the Gajapati king Kapilēśvara although elsewhere in the record the former is repeatedly referred to as the latter's son. The real implication of the expression *bhāgya-putra* is not clear. But it lends some colour to the possibility of Hambīra having been an adopted son of Kapilēśvara.

[7] Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 8, note 3.

[8] *A. R. Ep.*, 1919, Nos. 51 and 92.

Purushōttama at the same village. The above arrangement for the *bhōga* or food offerings to the deity mentioned was made by the son in his father's name. The inscriptions mention Dakshiṇa-Kapilēśvara-mahāpātra as the *parīksha* (i.e. governor) of the area in question. The city of Kāñchī and the fort of Udayagiri also fell in the hands of the Gajapatis. Hambīra's own inscription[1] in the fort of Warangal and the Warangal inscription of his cousin Raghudēva prove that Warangal[2] together with some other forts in Telengana were annexed to the Gajapati kingdom. In all his campaigns, Hambīra was greatly helped not only by his kinsmen but also by many Andhra generals like Gajarāo Tippa,[3] Tammarāja Basava[4] and Dāmera Timma.[5]

The Gajapati conquest of the Tamil areas of the south is regarded by many scholars as a sudden raid followed by a speedy withdrawal.[6] But there is epigraphic evidence to show that it lasted for nearly a decade. Attention may be drawn in this connection to a number of Tamil inscriptions found in the Arcot region[7] which refer to the *Oḍḍiyan-galabai*, i.e. the confusion caused by the Oriyas. These are all dated between 1471 and 1473 A.D. and record how the worship and the celebration of festivals had been given up at the temples and their *maṇḍapas*, *gōpuras*, etc., were affected. It is also stated that these were all restored by Ammamarasa, the agent of king Sāḷuva Narasiṁha of Vijayanagara. There is, however, no reason to believe that it was the Oriya invaders and their Andhra associates who were directly responsible for the demolition of temples and the plunder of temple property[8] since they were also devotees of the same deities and there is evidence of their munificent gifts to the various temples in the Telugu and Tamil areas. The two inscriptions at Muṇṇūr[9] referred to above, which are earlier by 8 years, state that the Oriya governor granted some land for the repairs of the local temples. Whether the invaders had reasons to be unsympathetic to certain temples in the area or the results of the negligence of the priests during the period of Oriya occupation were attributed to the foreign conquerors by the partisans of the Vijayanagara king cannot be determined. But the expression *Oḍḍiyan-galabai* seems to have been applied to the period of Oriya occupation by the Vijayanagara partisans who were not favourably disposed towards the Oriyas.

According to the *Kaṭakarājavaṁśāvali*, Kapilēśvara had several sons.[10] From the inscriptions we know only two, viz. Purushōttama (born of Pārvatī) and Hambīra.[11] According to tradition, Purushōttama was chosen as the successor of Kapilēśvara out of the latter's many sons including Hambīra who was older than Purushōttama.[12] Thus the succession to the Orissa throne was disputed after the death of Kapilēśvara. Hambīra who had greatly contributed to the military success of his father in the south would have expected the throne. This seems to have led to a civil war in Orissa immediately on the death of Kapilēśvara. Ferishta says, "In the year 876

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[1] *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, No. 53.

[2] Ibid., No. 55.

[3] *Mack. Mss.*, No. 15-4-3. p. 113, quoted by Sastri and Venkataramanayya, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. II, p. 86, No. 72.

[4] *Vishṇupurāṇam*, Canto I, verse 41 ; cf. Sastri and Venkataramanayya, op. cit., p. 98, No. 76.

[5] *Mack. Mss.*, No. 15-4-3, p. 167 ; cf. Sastri and Venkataramanayya, op. cit., p. 86, No. 73.

[6] Sastri and Venkataramanayya, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 121-22 ; Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions*, p. 225.

[7] *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, No. 1 ; 1906, No. 93 ; 1919, No. 310 ; 1928, No. 287, 1934-35, No. 111, 1936-37, No. 262, 1937-38, No. 416.

[8] Cf. Sastri and Venkataramanayya, op. cit., p. 121.

[9] *A.R.Ep.*, 1919, Nos. 51 and 92.

[10] Cf. Sastri and Venkataramanayya, op. cit., p. 84. Elsewhere in the same work as well as in the *Kaifiyat of Jagannātham*, the number of Kapilēśvara's sons is given as 18 (ibid., pp. 94 and 96).

[11] In *Nellore Dist. Ins.*, Vol. III, Udayagiri Nos. 38, 40 and 41, Tirumala Kātarāya is referred to as *pina-taṁḍri* and *chikkappa* of Pratāparudra Gajapati.

[12] *Mādalā Pāñji*, ed. Mahanti, pp. 47 ff. ; Sastri and Venkataramanayya, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 94 ff.

(1471-72 A.D.), Ambur Ray, cousin of the Ray of Oorea, complained to Mahomed Shah that the Ray being dead, Mungul Ray, a brahmin, his adopted son, had usurped the government in defiance of his prior claim to its inheritance ; and Ambur Ray now promised, if the king would assist him with troops to regain his right, he would become his tributary. Mahomed Shah, who had a great desire to possess the territory of Oorea including Rajmundry and Condapilly....directed him (Nizam-ool-Moolk Mullik Hussun Bheiry) to proceed with a considerable army to that quarter. On the borders of Orissa, he was joined by Ambur Ray with his troops, who became the guide of the army against Mungal Ray. The usurper was defeated, and Ambur Ray placed in possession of his hereditary dominions. Nizam-ool-Moolk, accompanied by Ambur Ray, now proceeded against Condapilly and Rajmundry, both which places he reduced and,......having established proper military garrisons to ensure their security, he permitted Ambur Ray to depart to his own country, himself returning with much booty to court."[1]

Ferishta's account, however, does not agree with epigraphic and literary evidence, according to which Kapilēśvara was succeeded by his son Purushōttama and not by a Brāhmaṇa named Mangal Ray stated to have been his adopted son. At the same time, we cannot completely dismiss it since a tradition suggests that Purushōttama had to deal with an enemy named Hammīra (Hambīra).[2] We also find that some of the Gajapati territories in the Telugu country immediately after the death of Kapilēśvara passed into the hands of the Bahmanī Sulṭān. However, the circumstances in which Purushōttama succeeded Kapilēśvara cannot be satisfactorily determined in the present state of insufficient information.

With regard to the **geographical names** mentioned in the charter, the reference to Hampā, Dhārā, Kalbaragā and Ḍhillī, have already been discussed in connection with the Veligalani grant.[3] The gift village of Chiṟuvrōli and Mēḷḷamiṟṟu or Mēḍalamiṟṟu attached to it can be identified respectively with the present village of Chiruvōlu and its hamlet Mēḷḷamaṟṟu in the Divi Taluk of the Krishna District. The inscription also mentions the well-known river Kṛishṇā. The new name Kumāra-Hambīrapura or Hambīrapura applied to the gift village after the name of the donor apparently went out of use. The village Eḍḷalaṁka and Merakanapalli mentioned in connection with the boundaries of the gift village are still known by the same names. Mōṁdumūḍi is the present Mōdugamūḍi. The other localities, such as Āvalaṁka, Ṛellulaṁka, Jaitarājūpāleṁ and Māmiḍikumṭa cannot be satisfactorily identified.

## TEXT[4]

[Metres : verses 1-3, 9-13, 22 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 4-7, 16, 19 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 8, 18 *Sragdharā* ; verse 14 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 15 *Indravajrā* ; verse 17 *Indravaṁśā* ; verses 20-21 *Āryā*.]

### Section I

*First Plate, First Side*

1 Śubham=astu [|*] Hariḥ kiri-tanuḥ pātu lōk-ō[d*]dhṛiti-vilāsa-bhāk [|*] sarasāyā bhuva-

2 s=saṁgād=ēva rōm-āṁchan-āṁchitaḥ | [1*] Śubhaṁ Śibha(va)-śirō-bhūshā kaḷā chāṁdrī karōtu vaḥ | su-

3 dhā-dhauta(t=ē)va sā bhāti yā jaṭā-taṭinī-taṭē | [2*] Asti tējō=rka-saṁjñākaṁ mahita-

[1] *Tārīkh-i-Ferishta*, trans. Briggs, pp. 487-88.

[2] *Sarasvatīvilāsa*, Adyar Library MS, XXX, line 14 : cf. Sastri and Venkataramanayya, op. cit., p. 101 :
*Yō Hammīra-mahā-ripuṁ samatanōt=pād-ābja-pīṭh-ānatam* [|*]
*sō='yaṁ śrī-Purushōttamō Gajapatir=mad-vāg-vilās-āspadam* [||*]

[3] See above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 280-81.

[4] From impressions in the collection of the Government Epigraphist for India.

4 ṁ mahatāṁ gaṇaiḥ | sakṛid=bhuvana-jātānāṁ Kamal=ōdhē(dē)ti [ya*]t-karaiḥ | [3*] Tad-vaṁśē **Kapilē-**

5 **śvaras**=sakaḷa-bhūnātha-pratāp-ānala-jvālā-jāla-tiraskṛid-u[j*]jvala-lasat-tējō-viśēsh-āruṇaḥ [|*]

6 Lōkālōka-lalāma-bhūta-vilasat-kitta(kīrtti)-prabhā-ksha(kshā)lita-prasphūrjjat-kakubaṁ-(bh-āṁ)tarō vijaya-

7 tē bhūmaṁḍal-Ākhaṁḍalaḥ | [4*] Vīra-śrī-**Kapilēśvara**-kshitipatēr=dhādhī(ṭī)shu bhērī-dhvanau |[1] bhār-ābhugna-bhujaṁga-

8 puṁgava-phaṇāsv=ākrāṁtta(ta)-diṅ-maṁḍalē | **Haṁpā** kaṁpam=agāt=tadā(tō)=dhikada(ta)-rā **Dhā-**

9 **rā** cha dhār-ātura-dvārā **Kalbe(lba)ragā** vimukta-turagā **Ḍhillī** cha Bhillī-vṛitā | [5*][2] Tat-putraḥ para-bhū-

10 pa-[vā]raṇa-ghaṭā-paṁchānanas=saṁchit-ānēk-ōdyat-sukṛitaḥ kṛit-ākhila-mahī-brahma-pratishṭhāpanaḥ |

11 arthi-vrāta-suradhru(dru)mas=sura-sabhā-niṁ(saṁ)vāsi-nārī-maṇi-gīta-sphīta-guṇ-ākaraś=chiram=**Ahaṁvīraḥ** kumā-

12 rō vibhuḥ | [6*] Vīra-śrī-**Kapilēśvarasya** tanayē **Haṁvīra**-vīrēśvarē |[1] sannaddh-ōddhura-siṁdhuraṁ dhvanita-

13 dig-bhāgaṁ samārōhati | ārōhaṁty=arayaḥ śirāṁsy=uta muhur=grāvṇāṁ ku-

14 ch-āgra(grā)ṇi vā sva-strīṇāṁ[3]=athavā tadīya-charaṇa-dvaṁdvaṁ bhajaṁtē sadā | [7*] maṁgaḷa-mahā-śrī-śrī-śrī[ḥ*] [||*]

Section II

*First Plate, Second Side*

15 **Śākē Rām-ēbha-lōka-dvijapati-gaṇitē** vatsarē='smin **Vṛi[sh-ā]khyē** [mā]sē **Bhādrē** cha **kuṁ(ku)hvāṁ Bhṛigutana-**

16 **ya**-dinē dēva-**Haṁvīra**-bhūpaḥ | **Chi[r*]vrōli**-grā[ma*]m=urvī-vibudha-samitayē **Mē-ḷḷamiṟṟu**-pra-

17 **yuktaṁ** prādāt=**Kṛishṇā**-taṭasthaṁ saha phala-tarubhis=sarva-mānyaṁ sva-nāmnā | [8*] śrīmat-Pra-

18 tāpa-Haṁvīra-kumāra-satpurasya cha | sīmā-chihnāni sarv[ā*]ṇi vilikhyaṁttē(tē)='ṁdhra-bhāsha-

19 yā | [9*][4] paśchimānaku Āvalaṁka paḍumaṭa Goṁgapūṁḍivāri guṭṭalu kaḍapala | ī-laṁkakē uttarānaku Goṁgapūṁḍivāru vei(yi)ṁchina guṭṭalu ka-

20 ḍapala | Āvalaṁka-tūrppunanu Bōlāvāni chēni vu(u)ttaraṁ kaḍapala | ā-chēni [tū]rppunanu Gōpāḷuni chēni vu(u)ttaraṁ kaḍa-

21 pala | ā-chēni tūrppunanu Bayyarāju-kōḍe vu(u)ttarapu polamēra | Īśānyaṁ Chiruvōli-Meṛakanapalli-saṁddu-

[1] The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

[2] This verse occurs in the Veligalani grant of Kapilēśvara with slight variations (above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 285-86).

[3] Cf. the grants of Raghudēva (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 13, verse 22).

[4] From here the letters are comparatively smaller.

22 ku Aruṇābayyārinēni chēni tūrppu-gaṭṭu polamēra [|*] ā-tūrpuku vellāṇi-garuvu kaḍapala [|*]

23 Chiruvōli-Merakanapalli-Mēḍalamirti-polānaku muttala-chēnu Chiruvōli-Kēśava-rāyani chēnu tū-

24 rppuṁ gaḍapala | Āgnēyaṁ-mūlaku rellu-laṁkka(ka)-dakshṇa(kshiṇā)nanu Kri(Kṛi)-shṇa-veṇna(ṇṇa) kaḍapala | Dakshṇā(kshiṇā)na Mōṁdumūṁḍi-Chiru-

25 vōli-polamēra Eḍlalaṁka-dakshiṇaṁ aḍusuṁ-gāluva kaḍapala | Chiruvōlikinni Jaitarāju-pāleṁku polamēra

26 Rellipallāṁ kaḍapala l grāma-grāsaṁ Mēḍalamirti-polamēra | Dakshiṇānaku Kri(Kṛi)shṇa kaḍapala l Paśchimāna-

27 ku Māmiḍikuṁṭṭa(ṭa) kaḍapala | vu(u)tarānaku Pūraṁma(ma)-cheruvu-vu(u)ttarapu gaṭṭu kaḍapala | tūrppu Nā-

28 ṁgaḷa-kōḍu kaḍapala | Śrī-Haṁvīra-kumārō='yaṁ yāchatē bhāvi-bhūpatīn |

29 ā-chaṁdra-tārakaṁ dhīmān=mad-dharmaṁ pālayaṁtv=iti | [10*] Jīyyā(yā)d=ēk-aika-

30 bhāgibhyām=Ahaṁvīra-nṛip-ājñayā | Śrīkāṁta-Timmay-ā-

31 ryābhyāṁ kathitaṁ dharma-śāsanaṁ(nam) | [11*] Ēk=aiva bhaginī lōkē sarvēshām=ēva bhūbhu-

32 jāṁ(jām) | na bhōjyā na kara-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasuṁdharā | [12*] Maṁgaḷa-mahā-śrī[ḥ*]] [||*][1]

Section III

*Second Plate, First Side*

33 Chiruvōli-Kumāra-śrī-Haṁvīrapura-bhāginaḥ | likhyaṁtē tasya sad-dharma-harmya-staṁbhā-iv=āchalāḥ | [13*] Yaju-

34 rvēdī Kāśyapaḥ |[2] Āṁḍuvilla-yajvā dvi-bhāgī | Kauṁḍinyaḥ Kēśava-bhaṭṭa-putraḥ |[2] Yajur-vēdī

35 Yaraguṁṭala-Bhāskara-bhaṭṭaḥ paṁcha-bhāgī | Kauṁḍinyaḥ |[2] Vallabha-bhaṭṭaḥ Yajurvēdī ēka-bhāgī |

36 Kauṁḍinyaḥ Gaṁgādhara-bhaṭṭa-putraḥ Gaṇapati-bhaṭṭaḥ shaḍ-bhāgī | Hārītaḥ Guḍimeṭṭa-Yajñēśvara-

37 bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī | Śaṭa(ṭha)ma[r*]shaṇaḥ Olēṭi-Śi(Si)ṁgā-bhaṭṭaḥ dvi-bhāgī | Bhāradvājaḥ Lakshmaṇa-bhaṭṭa-

38 putraḥ Gaṁgādhara-bhaṭṭa[3] ēka-bhāgī | Kāśyapaḥ Ch[e]rakūri-Tirumala-bhaṭṭaḥ dvi-bhāgī | Śrīva-

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[1] After this, there is the conventional representation of a sword.

[2] This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

[3] This Brāhmaṇa received another share according to line 84.

*i, a*

*i, b*

Scale : Three-fifths

*iii, a*

*iv, a*

39 tsa-gōtraḥ Pāmulapāṭi-Au[bhaḷa][1]-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī | Āṁgīrasa-Bārhaspatya-Bhāradvājaḥ(ja)-gō-

40 traḥ Agravēdī Lakshmaṇa-bhaṭṭa-putraḥ Voḍḍe-Sōmā-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī [|*] Kēśava-bhaṭṭa-putraḥ Yaṟa-

41 guṁṭala-Krishṇa-bhaṭṭaḥ ēka-bhāgī | Alāḍa-bhaṭṭa-putraḥ Yajurvēdī Yaṟaguṁṭala-Kēśava-bhaṭṭaḥ ē-

42 ka-bhāgī | Narasiṁha-bhaṭṭa-putra-Yaṟaguṁṭala-Kēśava-bhaṭṭaḥ ēka-bhāgī | Jannā-vojhala-Aubha-

43 ḷa-bhaṭṭaḥ dvi-bhāgī | Kāṭanigaḍḍa-Lakshmaṇa-bhaṭṭaḥ ēka-bhāgī | Muṭnūri-Durgā-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhā-

44 gī | Sōmayājula-Vallabha-bhaṭṭaḥ Ajjaṁpūṁḍi-Peddi-Chiṭṭāla-Vallabhanna iti trayāṇām=ē-

45 kō bhāgaḥ | Vaṭruvaḍiyaṁ-Dēvarē-bhaṭṭaḥ Krishṇabhaṭla- Yaṟu-bhaṭṭa itīty[2]=ubhayōr=apy=ē-

46 [kō] bhāgaḥ | Penuṇaṁchi-Prōli-Yaṟu-bhaṭṭaḥ Ēṭṭūri-Peddi-bhaṭṭaḥ Ēṭūri-Gaṁgāda(dha)ra-

47 bhaṭṭa iti trayāṇām=apy=ēkō bhāgaḥ | Saṟvā-bhaṭṭa-putraḥ Uṭruvaḍiyaṁ-Prōlu-bhaṭṭa

*Second Plate, Second Side*

48 ēka-bhāgī | Kāśibhaṭla-Kasavā-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī | Doḍḍi-sōmayājula-Narasiṁha-bha-

49 ṭṭaḥ ēka-bhāgī | Maṁḍa-Śī(Si)ṁgā-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī | Maṁḍa-Anaṁta-bhaṭṭaḥ ēka-bhāgī |

50 Enamaṁrra(ḍra)-Gaṁgādhara-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī | Rāmakrishṇa-bhaṭlavāri-Śi(Si)ṁgā-bhaṭaḥ(ṭṭaḥ) ēka-bhā-

51 gī | Cheṟakūri-Pōtu-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī | Vinikoṁḍa-Rāmā-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī | Ellemaṁchi-Kāśī-

52 bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī | Kāṭanigaḍḍa-Chiṭṭi-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī | Dōnā-ojhala-Vallabha-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī [|*]

53 Bhaṭlūri-Anaṁta-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī | Oḍḍe-Dēvarē[3]-bhaṭṭa[ḥ*] dvi[4]-bhāgī | Paṇyāraṁ-Mādhava-bhaṭṭa

54 ēka-bhāgī | Eṟagu[ṁ*]ṭṭala-Teluṁgari-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī | Chaṟakūri-Naraśi(si)ṁhya(ha)-bhaṭṭa-

55 putra[ḥ] Gaṁgādhara-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī | Paṇyāraṁ-Śi(Si)ṁgā-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī | Nārāyaṇa-dvivēdu-

56 la-Vallabha-bhaṭṭa Eṁṭūri-Prōlu-bhaṭṭa Doḍḍi-sōmayājulavāri-Ellubhaṭṭa iti

57 trayāṇām=apy=ēkō bhāgaḥ | Paṇyāhāraṁ-Rāmā-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī | Paṇyāhāraṁ-

58 Appalē-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī | Paṇyāhāraṁ-Gōpāla-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī | Śṛiṁgāraṁ-Gaṁgā-

59 dhara-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī | Uppala-Dēvarē-ojhaḥ dvi-bhāgī | Rūyūri-Rāmā-ojha ēka-bhā-

[1] The letters °*bhaḷa* are written above the line.

[2] Read °*ity=ubhayōr*.

[3] *Sōmā* has been corrected to *Dēvarē*.

[4] Here *ēka* has been corrected to *dvi*.

60 gī | Challa-Annam-ojha ēka-bhāgī | Penumarti-liṁgā-bhaṭṭaḥ dvi-bhāgī | Goḍevarti-Nārāyaṇa-bha-

61 ṭṭaḥ dvi-bhāgī | Chiṭṭi-Pōchana-bhaṭṭaḥ ēka-bhāgī | Toṁḍapi-Nāgā-ojhaḥ ēka-bhāgī [|*] Yajurvēdī

62 Jaṁpani-[Sō]mā-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī |

*Third Plate, First Side*[1]

63 Prakhyāta-Naishadha-kulē samabhūd=budhēṁdrō Gaṁgādharas=sakala-Vēda-vidāṁ varēṇyaḥ | Gaur=īva sarva-ja-

64 na-maṁgaḷa-suṁdar-āṁgī śrī-Yaubhaḷā guṇavatī bhuvi tasya bhāryā | [14*] Śrī-Yaubhaḷāyā-

65 m=udagāt=kumārō Gaṁgādharād=Aubhaḷa-nāma-sūriḥ | maṇiḥ payōdād=iva śukti-

66 kāyāṁ Kauṁḍiṁ(ḍi)nya-gōtr-āmbudhi-śītaraśmiḥ | [15*] Hāraṁty=āśu sarōruhaṁti bhuvanē

67 tāraṁti hīraṁty=athō nīhāraṁti paṭīra-dugdha-kumudaṁty=aṁbhōdhi-phēnaṁti cha | nūnaṁ

68 Naishadha-Yaubhaḷasya bahudhā sat-kīrtayas=sarvadā sō='yaṁ kalpalatāyatē sura-gavībṛiṁ-(vṛiṁ)dāya-

69 tē tv=arthināṁ(nām) | [16*] Bhāshāsu sarvāsv=api Śāradāyatē Vēdēshu sarvēshu Chaturmu-[khā]yatē | Bhāsh[y-ā]-

70 di-śāstrēshu Phaṇīśvarāyatē śrī-Naishadhīy-Aubhaḷa-kōvidēśvaraḥ | [17*] Agrē='gād=agrahāraṁ tri-

71 bhuvana-tilakō Naishadhīy-Aubhaḷēṁdrō Haṁvīrāl=lōka-vīrād=Gajapati-nṛipatēr=bhāgya-putrāt=pa-

72 vitrāt | Chirvrōli-grāmam=ētaṁ sakala-vibudha-saṁrakshaṇ-ārthaṁ dvijēṁdraś=**Śākē chaṁdr-ākshi[2]-nāg-ārṇa-**

73 **va**-pariganitē vatsarē='smin-**Vṛish-ākhyē** | [18*] Śrī-Gaṁgādhara-sūri-rāja-tanayau Kauṁḍinya-gōtr-ōdbhavau sauhā-

74 rdē bhuvi Rāma-Lakshmaṇa-samau sarvajña-chūtā(ḍā)maṇī | śrīmān=Aubhaḷa-kōvidō Gaṇapatiś=ch=āśēsha-saṁpan-nidhī Haṁ-

75 vīr-ākhya-nṛipād=ubhau ni(vi)jayataś=Chir[vrō]li-harmya-sthalē [19*] Saṁgīta-sarasa-kavitā-saṁgati-rati[3]mān=Anaṁga(gō)='mar-āṁgaḥ |

76 śṛiṁgār-āmṛita-pūrō Gaṁgādhara[4]-suta(tō) Gaṇapati-śrīmān | [20* Bhāgī Gaṇapati-nāmā tyāgī Penumartti-va[ṁ*]śa-chaṁ-

77 drō='yaṁ(yam) | bhōgī sarva-sukhānāṁ rāg' sau-mitra-ramya-sallāpē | [21*] Gaṁgādharārya-putrō='sau Naishadhīy-Aubhaḷēśvaraḥ |

78 Kauṁḍinya-gōtra-saṁbhūtō daśa-bhāgī(ga)-patir=mahān | [22*] Aṁduviḷa-Sōmā-bhaṭṭa[ḥ] Kāśyapa ēka-bhāgī |

79 Ghaḍiyāraṁ-Gaṁgādhara-bhaṭṭaḥ paṁcha-bhāgī [|*] Nārāyaṇayajvā dvi-bhāgī [|*] Aḍsupali-(lli)-Tipā(ppā)-bhaṭṭaḥ dvi-

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1 This plate has no ring hole.

2 Although, as indicated above, the reading is not unjustifiable, better read °agni.

3 The letters *rati* are engraved below the line.

4 He seems to be mentioned in the Veligalani grant (above Vol. XXXIV, p. 282, No. 47). See also lines 87-88 below.

*Third Plate, Second Side*

80 bhāgī [|*] Mārela-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī [|*] Bhāgavata-Rāmā-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī [|*] Ayarru-bhaṭṭa ē-

81 ka-bhāgī [|*] Gaḍiyāraṁ-Sarvā-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī [|*] Siddhiyarru-sōmayājinō dvi-bhāginaḥ [|*] Rājukoṁḍa-Ma-

82 llu-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī [|*] Aḍāḍa-Rāmā-bhaṭṭa[ḥ*] dvi[1]-bhāgī [|*] Kōṭamāmiḍi-bhaṭṭa-putra-Peddi-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī [|*] Pauva-

83 māna-bhaṭṭa-putra-Rāmā-bhaṭṭō Bhā[ra[2]]dva(dvā)ja ēka-bhāgī [|*] Sāmaka-Nārāyaṇa-dvēdī[3] Kauṁḍinya ēka-bhāgī |

84 Lakshmaṇa-bhaṭṭa-putrō Gaṁgādhara-bhaṭō(ṭṭō)[4] Bhāradvājaḥ punar=ēka-bhāgī [|*] Kāmā-bhaṭṭa-Tirumala-bha-

85 ṭṭayōr=ēka-bhāgaḥ [|*] Koṁḍavīṭi-Yallu-bha[ṭ*]ṭaḥ dvi-bhāgī [|*] Iṁdaṅū[5]ri-Au[bhala*]-bha[ṭ*]ṭaḥ dvi-bhāgī [|*] Velaṁki-A[n*]naṁ-

86 bha[ṭ*]ṭa ēka-bhāgī [|*] Kaṭaṁgūri-Ti[ṁ*]mā-bha[ṭ*]ṭa ēka-bhāgī [|*] Yārchūri-Nārāyaṇa-bha-[ṭ*]ṭa ēka-bhāgī [|*]

87 Yallu-bha[ṭ*]ṭa ēka-bhāgī [|*] Kaṁbhaṁpāṭi-Kāmā-bha[ṭ*]ṭa ēka-bhāgī [|*] Penumarti-Gaṁgādhara-bha-

88 ṭṭaḥ Kauṁḍinya-gōtra[ḥ*] chatu[6]r-bhāgī [|*] Mukuṁduni-Śi(Si)ṁgaya-Gauḍimeṭṭa-Sūru-bhaṭṭayōr=ēka-bhā-

89 gi(gaḥ) [|*] Velaṁgūri-Narasiṁhya(ha)-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī [|*] Bhairava-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī [|*] Kūchi-Mall-āvadhāni(nī) ēka-bhāgī [|*]

90 Challa-Narahari-bhaṭṭa[ḥ*] Kauṁḍinya ēka-bhāgī [|*] Vēmūri-Gaṁgādhara-bha[ṭ*]ṭaḥ Śrī-vatsa ēka-bhāgī [|*]

91 Mārela-Ellu-bha[ṭ*]ṭa ēka-bhāgī [|*] Pu[l*]le-Bhīmēśvara-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi [|*] Śi(Si)rigiri-vōjja-putra-Tiruma-

92 la-bhāgavati(ta) ēka-bhāgī [|*] Kāṁta-bhaṭṭaḥ ēka-bhāgī | Lolla-Vallabha-bhaṭṭa [ēka*]-bhāgī | Bhāskara-bhaṭṭa[ḥ*] dvi-bhā-

93 gī [|*] Paṅiṁḍi-Kriṇa[7]-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī [|*] Pu[ṭ*]ṭā-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī [|*] Yallā-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī | Oḍḍe-Śi(Si)ṁgā-

94 bhaṭṭaḥ dvi-bhāgī [|*] Śrīkoṁḍḍa-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī | Maṁchchi-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī Yaraja[8]ṁṭala-

95 Chiṭi-Kēśava-bhaṭṭa[ḥ] tri-bhāgī | Kēśa-ojhala-Vallaṁ-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī [|*] Jannasāni Annama-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgī |

96 Mushṭi-Appalē-ojha ēka-bhāgī [|*] Kēśavadēva ēka-bhāgī | Sagarēśvaradēva ēka-bhāgī |

[1] Here *ēka* has been corrected to *dvi*.
[2] The letter *ra* is written above the line.
[3] I. e. *dvivēdī*.
[4] This Brāhmaṇa previously received one share (cf. lines 37-38).
[5] Here *jū* has been corrected to *ṅū*.
[6] Here *traḥ tri* has been corrected to *tra chatu*, *cha* being incised on the previously engraved *visarga* sign.
[7] Read *Krishṇa*.
[8] Here *ṅa* has been corrected to *ja*.

Section IV

[Oriya]

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

97 **Vēḷikī-grāmaku** grāma-grāsatā Ugī-

98 mīdāsa Varaku-sōmayāja Tagā-bhaṭṭa Ta-

99 lu-bhaṭṭa mukhya 85 bhāgaku sarva-mā

100 ṇya [||*]

[1] This is followed by the representation of a sword.

# No. 28—NAPITAVATAKA GRANT OF GANGA DEVENDRAVARMAN

(*1 Plate*)

G. S. Gai, Ootacamund

(*Received on 13.11.1958*)

This copper-plate grant was secured by the Government Epigraphist for India in 1939-40 from the Pontiff of the Shri Balaga Bāvāji Maṭha at Śrīkākuḷam in the Visakhapatnam District through the Sub-Collector of Srikakulam.[1] The inscription was published by Shri M. Somasekhara Sarma in the Telugu Journal *Bhārati*, Vol. XIV, Part ii (July 1937), pp. 67 ff. According to Shri Sarma's information, the plates were discovered in a mound situated to the west of **Chīḍivalasa** which is a village about 14 miles north of Śrīkākuḷam. Another grant, issued in the Gaṅga year 397 by the Gaṅga king Dēvēndravarman who is also the donor of the present grant, was discovered at the same village.[2]

This is a **set** of three copper-plates each measuring 7·75″ by 2·6″. They are strung together on a ring (about ·36″ in thickness and 4″ in diameter), the ends of which are soldered to the two ends of a bracket forming the lower portion of a circular **seal** about 1·5″ in diameter. The seal has the legend *śrī-Dēvēndravarmā* with the symbol of the crescent above and a seated bull facing left below. Below the bull is a lotus. The weight of the set is not known.

The **characters** are an admixture of both the Northern and Southern scripts, known as the later Kaliṅga script and found in many other records of the period and region.[3] On palaeographical grounds, the inscription may be referred to the **9th or 10th century A.D.** There are very faint traces of some letters of a previous writing on the first plate and the second side of the second plate. The **language** is Sanskrit and contains many errors. Very often medial *ā* has not been indicated. Except the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end, the text of the record is in prose.

The charter, issued by *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* **Dēvēndravarman** of the **Gaṅga** dynasty, is not dated. The king was the son of **Bhūpēndravarman** and was devoted to the god Gōkarṇasvāmin on the **Mahēndra-giri.** The grant was issued, like other records of the early Eastern Gaṅgas, from the city of **Kaliṅganagara** which has been identified with Mukhaliṅgam near Śrīkākuḷam. The introductory portion giving the *praśasti* of the king and comprising lines 1-12 of the text is the same as that of the Chīḍivalasa plates of Dēvēndravarman referred to above (lines 1-12). In both the records as well as in the Nirakarpur plates,[4] the ruling king Dēvēndravarman is called the son of Bhūpēndravarman who is apparently identical with Bhūpēndravarman whose son Anantavarman Vajrahasta issued the Kalahandi plates[5] dated in the Gaṅga year 383 (877-81 A.D.). So Dēvēndravarman of our record was a brother of this Anantavarman Vajrahasta and, since the Chīḍivalasa plates are dated in the Gaṅga year 397, he was possibly the younger

[1] See *ARSIE*, 1939-40, App. A, No. 16.

[2] *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, pp. 77 ff.

[3] Ibid., pp. 47 ff. and Plates.

[4] *JBRS*, Vol. XXXV pp. 1 ff.

[5] Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 317 ff.

brother. From the Chīḍivalasa plates, we learn that the real name of **Bhūpēndravarman** was Mārasiṁha and that his father was one Vajrin, *i.e.* Vajrahasta. The present inscription and the Chīḍivalasa and Nirakarpur plates are the only records of king Dēvēndravarman discovered so far.

The charter is addressed by the king to the householders of the village of **Nāpitavāṭaka** situated in **Kōluvartanī** (lines 12-13). The name of this village figures again in the record as **Nāyadavāṭa** and **Nāpitavāḍaka** (lines 21 and 22). The **object** of the inscription (Lines 13-20) is to register the gift, made by the king, for the increase of the merit of himself and his parents, of the above-mentioned village to the brothers Narasiṁha-bhaṭṭa and Mādhava-bhaṭṭa of the Kāmakāyana or Kāmukāyani-gōtra, who were the sons of Drōṇa-bhaṭṭa and grandsons of Mādhava-bhaṭṭa. One of the donees was named after his grandfather according to a wellknown custom. The donees were well-versed in the Śāstras and the *Bahvṛicha-Vēda* and the six *Aṅgas* while their father is stated to have been *shaṭ-karma-nirata* and well-versed in the Vēdas. The gift, which was free from all taxes, is stated to have been made on the occasion of the *Uttarāyaṇa*. The donees were entitled to enjoy the *bhōga* and *bhāga*.[1]

The boundaries of the gift village are described in lines 20-26 as follows : starting from the south-east, in the south-west, an ant-hill at the junction[2] of the three villages Dibu, Siviḍi and Nāyadavāṭa (Nāpitavāṭaka) ; further on, a jungle or a row of trees upto a junction ; still further on, another jungle or a row of trees upto an ant-hill at the junction of the villages Kandakavāṭaka, Kōlala and Nāpitavāḍaka (°*vāṭaka*); further, a jungle or a row of trees upto Taṭakaḍanī ; further, an ant-hill in Bhāju (probably the name of a plot or site) extending upto the stone at a junction ; further in the west, the stone at a junction ; further in the north, a stone in a corner ; further, an ant-hill to the east of Kēva (possibly the name of a locality) ; further in the north, a jungle or a row of trees including a pit extending upto an ant-hill at the junction in the northwest ; and further, a pit.

Lines 26-29 are devoted to the benedictory and imprecatory verses attributed to Vyāsa and addressed to the future kings.

Of the **geographical names**, Kōluvartanī, which occurs as a *vishaya* in other records, is identified with the modern Srikakulam District. Nāpitavāṭaka, Nāpitavāḍaka or Nāyadavāṭa, the gift village, is mentioned as Nāpitavāḍa in connection with the description of the boundaries in the Chīḍivalasa plates. Similarly the villages Siviḍi, Kandalivāḍa and Kōlandāri referred to there in the same connection are apparently the same as Siviḍi, Kandakavāṭaka and Kōlala mentioned in the record under study. These, together with the village Dibu which is mentioned in our record in connection with the boundaries, have to be located in the Srikakulam Taluk, though I am unable to identify them.

## TEXT[3]

### *First Plate*

1 Svasti [|*] [Ś]rīmad-anēka-dēvakul-ākulād=Amaka(ra)pura(r-ā)nuka(kā)riṇaḥ

2 kalp-ānta-saṁkalpa(lpi)t-ānalpa-jana-sampat-sampādita-mā(ma)hāmahimnā(mnō)

3 mahi(hī)tala-tilakāt=**Kaligaṁ(ṅga)nagarāt**=prasiddha-siddha-tāpas-ādhyāsita-

4 kandar-ōdara-**Mahēndragiri**-śikhara-śēkharasya sur-āsura-gu-

[1] For the meaning of these two words, cf. *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, p. 79.

[2] For *trikūṭa*, the other forms of which are *trikuṭa* and *trikuṭṭa*, see loc. cit.

[3] From impressions.

*i*

*ii, a*

Scale : Five-sixths

*ii, b*

*iii*

5 rōḥ sakala-tṛi(tri)bhuvanā(na)-mahāprāsāda-nirmmāṇ-aika-sūtradhārasya

6 bhagavatō Gōkarṇṇasvāminaś=charaṇa-kamala-praṇāmād=vigata[1]-kali-kā-

7 la-kalaṁkō **Gagāṁmala[2]-kula**-chūḍāmaṇi[ḥ*] sphu(sphū)rjjan-nija-bhuja-vājrajñā-

*Second Plate, First Side*

8 jita[3]-sakala-**Kaligāṁdhirājyē**[4] mand-ānila-vēla(lā)-kula-kallōla-jaladhi-

9 [r]mē(mē)khal-āvani-tal-āmala-yaśāḥ anēka-bhi(bhī)shaṇa-samara-saṁkshōbha-jani-

10 ta-jaya-pratāp-āvanata-samasta-sāmanta-chaka(kra)-kirīṭa-kiraṇa-majaṁrī-pujaṁ[5]-ra-

11 ṁjita-charaṇaḥ paramamāhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pada[6]nudhyātō mahārāja(jā)dhi-

12 rāda(ja)-paramēśvara-śrīmad-**Bhūpēndravarmma**-sūnu-śrī-**Dēvēndravarmma(rmmā)** || **Kōluva[r*]ttanyā[ṁ*]**

13 **Na(Nā)pitavāṭaka**-grāma-vāsinaḥ kuṭuṁbinas=samājñāpayati viditam=astu vō

14 yath=āyaṁ dharmmō[7] ma(mā)tā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛi[ddhayē] || a[śē]sha-guṇa-gaṇ-ā-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

15 dhārasya Mādhava-bhaṭṭasya pautrābhyāṁ shaṭ-karmma-niratasya vidita-sakala-vē-

16 d-ārtthasya Drōṇa-bhaṭṭasya putrābhyā[ṁ*] shaḍhaśaṁ(ḍaṁga)-sahita-Bahvṛicha-vēda-pāragābhyāṁ(bhyām)

17 avagat-āśēsha-śastrartthabhyāṁ[8] Kāmukāyana[9]-sagōtrābhyā[ṁ*] Narasiṁha-bhaṭṭa-[Mā]dhava-

18 bhaṭṭābhyām=mayā ayaṁ grāmas=sa[r*]vva-kara-parihāṁrēṇa cha kattakam[10]=**uttara-(rā)ya-**

19 **ṇa**-nimittē udaka-pūrvvakaṁ sampradatta iti yath-ōdita-bhōga-bha(bhā)gam=u-

20 panayantas=sukhaṁ prativasatē(th=ē)ti || saṁ(sa)mprati prā[g*]-da(dā)kshiṇyēna sīma(mā)-li[ṁ]gāni likhyantē [|*]

21 īśō (aiśā)nyāṁ **[Di]bu-Siviḍi-Nāyadavāṭa**-trikūṭē valmīkaḥ tatō vana-ra(rā)jī ya(yā)vatti-(t-tri)ku(kū)[ṭṭa*]m

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[1] The Chīḍivalasa plates read *kamala-saṁbhava-salila-kshālita.*

[2] Read *Gaṁg-āmala.*

[3] Read *vajr-ōpārjita.*

[4] Read *Kaliṁg-ādhirājyō.*

[5] Read *maṁjarī-puṁja.*

[6] Read *pād-ā°.*

[7] This may be a mistake for *grāmō* (see *JAS*, Letters Vol. XVIII, p. 80, note 3). But the word is unnecessary as it occurs in line 18 below.

[8] Read *śāstr-ārthābhyāṁ.*

[9] The correct name of the *gōtra* is *Kāmakāyana* or *Kāmukāyani.*

[10] The intended reading may be *sarvva-kara-parihāraṁ cha kṛitvā.*

*Third Plate*

22 tatō=pi vana-rājī yāvat=**Kandakavāṭaka-Kōlala-Nāpitavāḍaka**-grō(grā)ma(mā)ṇā[ṁ*] trika(kū)-

23 ṭē valmīkaḥ(kaṁ) tatō=pi vana-rā[jī*] yāvat=Taṭakaḍanī[ṁ*] tatō=pi **Bhāju-sthitā(ta)**-va-l[mī]kaṁ(kaḥ) ya(yā)va[t*]

24 trikūṭē śilā[m*] | tataḥ paśchimataḥ trikūṭē śila(lā) | tata uttarataḥ kōṇē śilā | tataḥ

25 Kē[vā]t=pūrvvataḥ valmīkaḥ | tata uttarataḥ garttāsahitā vana-rājī yāvad=vāyavyā[ṁ*]

26 triku(kū)ṭē valmīkaḥ(kaṁ) tatō ga[r*]ttā || bhavishyad-bhūpānva(n=vi)jñapa[ya*]ti Vya(Vyā)-sa-vacha[n]aiḥ || Bahubhi[r*]=vvasudhā

27 dattā ra(rā)jabhis=Saśa(ga)r-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ-|(lam ||) Sva-rda(da)ttām=pa-

28 ra-dattāṁ vā yatnād=raksha Yu[dhi*]sṭhika(ra) ||(|) mahi(hī)m=mahimatāṁ śrēṭṭa(shṭha) dānāt śrē(ch=chhrē)yō=nupa(pā)lana[m ||*] [Sha]shṭiṁ

29 varsha-sahasra(srā)ṇāṁ svarggē tishṭhati-bhūvi(mi)daḥ [|*] ākshēptā ch=ānumā(ma)ntā cha tāny=ēva naraka(kē) vā(va)[sēt ||]

# No. 29—NOTE ON WADAGERI INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA V. S. 1

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 21.8.1959*)

The inscription from **Waḍagēri** in the former Hyderabad State, which belongs to the reign of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI and is dated in the Chālukya Vikrama year 1, is well known to the students of South Indian history for a long time. Fleet refers to it while discussing the date of the accession of the said Chālukya king in his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 1896.[1] Thus he assigns the beginning of the reign of Vikramāditya VI towards the end of 1076 A.D. and says, "For, on the one hand, we have a date in the reign of Sōmēśvara II that falls in August-September, A.D. 1076 and none after that time. And, on the other hand, the epigraphic records of the time of Vikramāditya VI show that the year A.D. 1076-77, the Anala or Nala *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 999 current, commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, which corresponded, approximately, to the 9th March, A.D. 1076, was reckoned as the first year of his reign. That Vikramāditya VI was actually reigning at the commencement of this Śaka year does not necessarily follow. But an inscription at Waḍagēri, in the Nizam's dominions, records grants that were made towards the close of the same year, on Phālguna śukla 5, corresponding to the 31st January, A.D. 1077, on account of the festival of the *paṭṭabandha* or coronation. This shows that he was crowned at least before the end of the year in question, A.D. 1076-77. But whether the record fixes the coronation day, or an anniversary of it, or whether it simply registers grants that were made when the news of the coronation reached the locality, is not clear."[2]

Fleet therefore regarded the occasion of the grants recorded in the Waḍagēri inscription alternatively as the coronation of Vikramāditya VI or as its anniversary or as an event occurring sometime after the date of the coronation, although he was obviously more inclined to lean on the first of the three alternative suggestions since he speaks of the epigraphic records of the time of Vikramāditya VI showing the year Nala=1076-77 A.D. to have been the first year of his reign. The third alternative suggestion is, however, unlikely since, as will be seen below, the inscription records the grants of Vikramāditya VI himself. The second alternative is also unlikely as there is no indication in the inscription that the occasion was an anniversary of the coronation and not the coronation itself.

As regards the **date of the Waḍagēri inscription**, Fleet points out, "Prof. Kielhorn has shown (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 110) that the week-day (Thursday) given in this record does not work out correctly for the given *tithi*. But, as he has also said, the results are unsatisfactory with many of the dates of this period. And the records are not necessarily to be rejected as not genuine. In the preceding year and *saṁvatsara*, the given *tithi* and week-day are connected......And this suggests, to me, that the record may possibly, in a confused manner, refer to an anniversary festival."[3] It will be seen that Fleet assigns the accession of Vikramāditya VI to the close of 1076 A.D. on the strength of the Waḍagēri and other inscriptions, although here he lays a little

[1] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 446.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Loc. cit. note 6.

more stress on the possibility that the Waḍagēri inscription refers to the anniversary of the coronation, so that the coronation itself might have taken place a year earlier, i.e. about the close of 1075 A.D.

The Waḍagēri inscription has been recently published by Mr. P. B. Desai in the *Progress Reports of the Kannada Research Institute*, Dharwar, for 1953-57, pp. 50-52. He believes that the inscription helps us in fixing Śaka 999, Piṅgala, Chaitra-sudi 1 (February 26, 1077 A.D.) as the beginning of the Chālukya Vikrama era. In the preface to this publication, Dr. B.A. Saletore also states, "With the help of the Waḍagēri inscription of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, Shri P. B. Desai has determined that March 2, Thursday 1077 A.D., was the fourth day after the coronation of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI." We are, however, sorry to say that the claim is entirely unjustified.

The date of the Waḍagēri inscription is quoted as **the first year of Chālukya Vikrama, Nala, Phālguna-sudi 5, Thursday**. At that time, king **Tribhuvanamalla** (Vikramāditya VI) is stated to have performed several *Mahādānas* related to the festivities on account of his coronation (*paṭṭabandh-ōtsava*) and, on this occasion, he made a grant of land, etc., in favour of the god Dhāyimēśvara installed at the village of **Sāsavi Oḍaṁgere** (i.e. modern Waḍagēri) by his feudatory *Maṇḍalika* Dhāyimayya, at the request of the said chief. It is very probable that the grants referred to in the inscription were made by the king on the date of his coronation.

As regards the date of the inscription, Mr. Desai says, "If interpreted on its face value, it will land us in an anomalous position. As I have shown elsewhere,[1] Vikramāditya VI was actually crowned on Chaitra śu 1 of Piṅgala, Śaka 999, corresponding to February 26, Sunday, 1077 A.D. M. Govinda Pai has also proved, after a critical study of the epigraphical sources and on astronomical grounds,[2] that Phālguna śu 5 of Nala, as cited in the present record, must be in accordance with the *Pūrṇimānta* reckoning, which is equivalent to the next *Amānta* year Piṅgala, Śaka 999. Thus the date of the inscription would regularly correspond to March 2, Thursday 1077 A.D." Unfortunately, Mr. Desai has not noticed that the views of Mr. Govinda Pai, as interpreted by him,[3] cannot but be regarded as an astronomical absurdity. We know of *Amānta* months ; but an *Amānta* year is absolutely unthinkable. The bright fortnight of Phālguna can by no means be regarded as the bright fortnight of Chaitra because the bright fortnights of the lunar months are the same in both the *Amānta* and and *Pūrṇimānta* calculations of the months. Likewise, it is impossible to regard the month of Phālguna of the year Nala as identical with the month of Chaitra of the year Piṅgala. Of course, it may be conjectured that Phālguna and Nala of the Waḍagēri inscription are both mistakes respectively for Chaitra and Piṅgala. But anything can be proved or disproved on the basis of such unwarranted conjectures and, to say the least, it is certainly an unsatisfactory approach to such problems.

As Fleet pointed out long ago, the Waḍagēri inscription proves that the coronation of Vikramāditya VI took place sometime before the 5th of the bright half of Phālguna in the year Nala, i.e. before the end of Śaka 999 (current) = 1076-77 A.D. Later discoveries have not necessitated any change in the position, but, as we shall see below, have actually strengthed it.

In his article published in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Mr. Desai refers to the Niḍgundi inscription[4] of the time of Sōmēśvara II, dated September 1, 1076 A.D., and says that, since the predecessor of Vikramāditya VI was on the throne on that date, 'it would be hardly

[1] *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XLVIII, 1957-58 (Karnāṭaka Number), pp. 6-15.

[2] *Karṇāṭaka Sāhitya Parishat Patrike*, Vol. XV, 1931, pp. 200-44.

[3] Actually Mr. Pai thinks that *Saura* Phālguna sudi 5 of the year Nala is equivalent to *Chāndra* Chaitra sudi 5 of the year Piṅgala. Of course this also is equally unwarranted.

[4] *SII*, Vol. XI, Part i, No. 117.

reasonable and correct to believe that Vikramāditya VI was crowned and started an era of his own on the 9th March of 1076 A.D. as assumed by Fleet and Kielhorn'.[1] But, as we have seen, Fleet's main contention, in which he is in agreement with Kielhorn, is that, although Vikramāditya VI ruled for the last few weeks of the year Nala, that year was counted as coinciding with his first regnal year and the first year of the Chālukya Vikrama era. This is not as unreasonable as Mr. Desai thinks it to be. Mr. Desai's contention that 'the king's coronation and the formal inaugura-tion of reign as well as the commencement of the new era must all be identical'[2] is absolutely untenable. His other contention that 'if Sōmēśvara ceased to reign sometime after the above date of the Niḍgundi inscription in the year Nala, the next probable date for the accession of Vikramā-ditya would be Śaka 999, Piṅgala Chaitra śu. 1,'[3] is equally unwarranted in view of the unmistak-able indication of the date of the Wadagēri inscription. Indeed Mr. Desai has not noticed that the evidence of the Wadagēri inscription in respect of the beginning of the Chālukya Vikrama era is strongly supported by the Maṭṭikōṭe inscription published in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII, 1902, Shikārpur, No. 292. The date portion of this record has been read as : *śrīmach-Chāḷukya-Vikrama-varshada prathamaneya Naḷa-saṁvatsarada Pushya-ba 3 Sōma-vāraṁ Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti-parvva-nimittadiṁ*, i.e. **Chālukya Vikrama year 1, Nala, Pushya-badi 3, Monday.** Although the given *tithi* and week-day do not tally, the inscription shows beyond doubt that the Chālukya Vikrama era started before the end of the month of Pushya in the year Nala. There is possibly no way of transferring the month of Pushya of the year Nala to the next year Piṅgala.

But there is evidence to show that the year Nala began to be counted as the first year of the Chālukya Vikrama era much earlier than Pushya-badi 3. The Kuruva inscription, published in the same volume of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Honnāḷi, No. 14), refers to the reign of **Tribhu-vanamalladēva** (Vikramāditya VI) and quotes the date as *Chāḷukya-Vikrama-kāla 1 neya Naḷa-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-śuddha 5 mi Ādi-vāradaṁdu*, i.e. **Chālukya Vikrama year 1, Nala, Chaitra-sudi 5, Sunday** (irregular). Thus it appears that, although Vikramāditya VI received his formal coronation about the end of the year Nala and Sōmēśvara II was reigning in August-September of the same year, the Chālukya Virkama era actually began to be counted from about the very beginning of the year.

Mr. Desai refers to the Hyderabad Museum inscription dated in the first year of the Chālukya Vikrama era, Piṅgala, Śrāvaṇa full-moon day, Sunday, lunar eclipse (August 6, 1077 A.D.) and thinks that his view regarding the accession of Vikramāditya VI on Chaitra sudi 1 of the year Piṅgala is supported by it.[4] But, at the same time, he himself points out that the Yēvūr inscription (B)[5] quotes the same date but mentions Piṅgala as the second year of the Chālukya Vikrama era and that the mention of Piṅgala as the second year of the era is also noticed in other records.[6] The large number of inscriptions dated in the era and suggesting Nala as its first year would also make Piṅgala its second year. The Hyderabad Museum inscription mentioning Piṅgala as the first year of the Chālukya Vikrama era therefore neither adds much to our knowledge nor does it solve the problem.

Mr. Desai divides the records dated in the Chālukya Vikrama era into four groups according as they suggest its first year to be Rākshasa (1075-76 A.D.), Nala or Anala (1076-77 A.D.), Piṅgala

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[1] Op. cit., p 10.
[2] Op. cit., p. 9.
[3] Loc. cit.
[4] Ibid., pp. 11-12.
[5] Above Vol. XII, pp. 271 ff.
[6] Kielhorn's Southern List Nos. 185 [illegible].

(1077-78 A.D.) and Kālayukti (1078-79 A.D.) and points out that the numbers of records belonging to the first and fourth groups are by far smaller than those of the second and third groups.[1] He seems to explain this anomaly by suggesting the gradual expansion of the power of Vikramāditya VI. Thus he says, "By Śaka 997, Rākshasa (1075-76 A.D.), signs were conspicuous that Vikramāditya VI would be successful in his efforts and some of his intimate supporters seem to have already commenced heralding his reign. In the next year, Śaka 998 Nala (1076-77 A.D.), he seems to have usurped most of the power and virtually inaugurated his reign. But as Sōmēśvara II was still alive and his authority was recognised by a section, though small, of his subjects, this prince could not, legally and by right, get himself crowned as the formal ruler. Sōmēśvara II vanished from the political scene before the end of the year. Hence Vikramāditya VI's formal coronation must have taken place in the beginning of Śaka 999, Piṅgala............ In regard to the inscriptions suggesting Śaka 1000 Kālayukti as his first regnal year, we can treat them as mentioning the expired years. This would eliminate the obvious difficulty."[2] As regards these views, we agree that the confusion regarding the first year of the reign of Vikramāditya VI may be, to some extent, tied up with the expansion and stabilization of his power, although it certainly does not solve the problem quite satisfactorily. In any case, that the coronation of Vikramāditya VI took place before Phālguna sudi 5 of the year Nala (1076-77 A.D.) and the first year of the Chālukya Vikrama era started before Pushya-badi 3 of the same cyclic year is quite clear from the Waḍagēri, Maṭṭikōṭe and Kuruva inscriptions and it is impossible to ignore these facts. As to Mr. Desai's explanation of the mention of Kālayukti as the first year of the Chālukya Vikrama era, it is wrong since the fact that a year is current or expired does not at all affect its name and position in Jupiter's cycle. This shows that the dates of some of the inscriptions referring the beginning of the Chālukya Vikrama era in the year Kālayukti were due to confusion in the minds of the people about the beginning of the Chālukya Vikrama era, since Vikramāditya was fully established on the throne considerably before 1078-79 A.D. It is not impossible that this confusion was the result of Sōmēśvara II leading a precarious existence till the year Kālayukti.

The largest number of inscriptions dated in the Chālukya Vikrama era refer to its beginning either to Nala or to Piṅgala. Since the coronation of Vikramāditya VI took place in the second half of the year Nala, the above confusion seems to be due to the fact that some people, counted the first year of the era as identical with Nala while others counted it from the date of the king's coronation in Nala to its anniversary in Piṅgala. This anomaly may have led to further confusion assigning the beginning of the era to Rākshasa or Kālayukti, which is noticed in a few inscriptions.

It will therefore be seen that **the Chālukya Vikrama era started very probably from Chaitra-sudi 1 of the year Nala, Śaka 998 expired (March 8, 1076 A. D.)**, as long ago suggested by Fleet and Kielhorn. Mr. A. Venkatasubbiah also came to the conclusion, after examining nearly all the records dated in the Chālukya Vikrama era, that '**the majority of the dates** in that era favour the view that **the era began in the year A. D. 1076**'.[3]

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[1] Op.cit., pp. 7-8.
[2] Ibid., pp. 13-14.
[3] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, 1918, p. 290.

## No. 30—NAGARJUNIKONDA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ABHIRA VASUSHENA, YEAR 30

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(*Received on 13.11.1959*)

An inscription recently unearthed at **Nāgārjunikoṇḍa** has been noticed with an illustration in the *Indian Archaeology 1958-59—A Review*, p. 8, Plate Va. The notice reads as follows: "On the bank of the river Kṛishṇā, in the north-eastern corner of the valley (i.e. the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley), long rows of pillared *maṇḍapas* had previously been noticed, superimposed by medieval rubble structures. These later structures were removed to expose the plans of the underlying early Ikshvāku buildings. During this operation, a slab bearing an inscription (Pl. Va), dated in the 9th regnal year of the Ābhīra king Vāsishṭhīputra Vasushēṇa and recording the construction of a wooden image of Ashṭabhujaśvāmin, was discovered. The record further mentioned *mahātalavara mahāgrāmika mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Śivasēna of Kauśika-gōtra, the Yavana princes of Sañjayapurī, Śaka Rudradāman of Avanti and Vishṇurudraśivalānanda Sātakarṇi of Vanavāsa, who appear to have had some share in the consecration of the image and benefactions made in the reign of the Ābhīra king."[1] The statements about the contents of the inscription are, however, based on an imperfect and inaccurate transcript of the record. Indeed it has to be admitted that the decipherment of the epigraph is considerably difficult owing to the unsatisfactory preservation of the writing especially in the lower part. Many of the letters are damaged here and there throughout the inscription. Another fact is that the engraver formed some of the letters rather carelessly and sometimes omitted an *akshara* here and there.

There are altogether six lines of writing which cover an area about 38 inches in length and 15 inches in height. Individual *aksharas*, excluding conjuncts and others like *a*, *ā*, *k*, *r*, etc., and those having vowel marks attached to the top or bottom, are a little above half an inch in height.

The **characters** belong to the Middle Brāhmī stage of South India and resemble those in the inscriptions of the Ikshvākus found at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and in the neighbourhood and belonging to the latter half of the third century A. D. and the early part of the fourth. But the medial *i* sign is not as longish as in most of the Ikshvāku epigraphs. The sign for medial *ī* is formed by the above sign making it end generally in an inward curve almost forming a loop. But the type of medial *ī* often found in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa records, which is formed by a smaller stroke above the left end of the top *mātrā* added to the medial *i* sign, seems to be used in *rī* in line 2. Like some other inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and unlike most ancient Indian epigraphs, the words of our record have been usually separated from one another by a space.[2]

The **language** of the inscription is an admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit. There are a few sentences in Prakrit and the **orthography** of the Sanskrit sentences is also often influenced by Prakrit (cf. *Śivasēba* for Sanskrit *Śivaśēpa* in line 2). But the Sanskrit element is predominant and there is also a Sanskrit stanza in the classical *Upajāti* metre. It will not be wrong if the language of our record is described as Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit. As is well known, the Buddhist inscriptions discovered at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa are generally written in the Prakrit language while

[1] We have inserted diacritical marks in the Sanskritic words quoted in the passage.

[2] Cf. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, App.), p. 84.

the Brahmanical epigraphs of the place are usually in Sanskrit. The inscription under study is a Brahmanical record. The word *purīṇa* occurring in line 2 seems to be formed on the analogy of *grāmīṇa*, *kulīna*, etc.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word *siddham* followed by an adoration to the god Nārāyaṇa described as *dēva-parama-dēva* (i.e. the Supreme God among the gods) and *purāṇa-purusha* (i.e. the Primordial Male), the epithets indicating the indentification of Nārāyaṇa with Vishṇu. This is the earliest epigraphic reference pointing clearly to the said identification.[1]

The following passage in lines 1-2 gives the date of the record as the **1st day of the 7th fortnight of the rainy season during the 30th year** of Vāsishṭhīputra **Vasushēṇa**, the **Ābhīra**. The symbol for 30 is of the *lē* type found in some inscriptions of the Kushāṇa age.[2] The date seems to correspond to Kārttika-badi 1. The significance and importance of the year of the date will be discussed below.

The next sentence in lines 2-5 constitutes the main document and states, in the first place, that the lord *ruṁbara-bhava* Ashṭabhujasvāmin was not removed from his place but was installed on the Sēṭa-giri by the following persons: (1) *Mahāgrāmika Mahātalavara Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Śivaśēpa of the Pēribiḍēha family or clan ; (2) the Yōrājis of **Sañjayapura** ; (3) Śaka Rudradāman of the city or country of **Avanti** ; and (4) Vishṇurudraśivalānanda Sātakarṇi of the city or land of **Vanavāsa**. Of these people who were responsible for the installation of the deity, the name of Śivaśēpa meaning the same thing as *Śivaliṅga* is interesting since the name is Śaivite but the deity installed by him along with others was Vishṇu as will be seen below. This person belonging to the Kauśika *gōtra* and enjoying the designations *Mahāgrāmika* (either a resident of **Mahāgrāma** or the head of a group of villages like the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* of some later South Indian records),[3] *Mahātalavara* (title of an official or subordinate chief often found in the Ikshvāku records from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa) and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (a leader of forces), seems to have been a resident of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa region. The designation of this scion of the otherwise unknown Pēribiḍēha family or clan reminds us of *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Skandaviśākhaṇṇaka of the Dhanaka family, who is mentioned in a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription[4] as the husband of a sister of the Ikshvāku king Vīrapurushadatta (about the third quarter of the third century A.D.). Śivaśēpa seems to have been an officer of the Ābhīra king Vasushēṇa, even though originally he may have owed allegiance to the Ikshvākus. Among his associates who were foreigners, Śaka Rudradāman bearing the name of two Śaka rulers of Ujjayinī (Rudradāman I ruling in the second and Rudradāman II in the third century) came from Avanti (i.e. the city of Ujjayinī, or the country around it, i.e. West Malwa) and Vishṇurudraśivalānanda Sātakarṇi, whose name reminds us of Vishṇukaḍachuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi of the inscriptions found at Banavasi, from Vanavāsa (modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara District or the land around it).[5]

[1] The god Nārāyaṇa is mentioned in the Gunapadeya plates of Pallava Skandavarman (about the middle of the fourth century A.D.) while the Ghosundi-Hathibada inscriptions of about the second half of the first century B. C. appear to associate Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva (i.e. Vishṇu) with what seems to be called a *Nārāyaṇa-vāṭikā*. See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 91-92, 443-45.

[2] Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prāchīnalipimālā*, Plate LXXII (b).

[3] Cf. Tagare-mahāgrāma consisting of 24 *pallīs* in an Early Kadamba inscription (*The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 305). Since *Mahāgrāmika* occurs as an epithet of the issuer of certain coins, the second alternative is more probable.

[4] Above, Vol. XX, p. 18, Āyaka pillar inscription, No. B 2. As regards the designations *Mahāsēnāpati* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* enjoyed by the same person, we may refer to the designations *Paṭṭasāhanādhipati* (chief officer in charge of the army) and *Sēnāpati* (leader of forces) often applied to the same officer in Yādava inscriptions (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 520, 524). It is not known whether the various designations were actually applicable to an officer at the same time.

[5] See *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 220. A daughter of Vīrapurushadatta was married to a *Mahārāja* of Vanavāsaka (ibid., p. 23). Since Sañjayapura mentioned below was apparently a city, it is more likely that Vanavāsa and Avanti indicate cities in the present context.

The lengthy name of this person is interesting in that it contains the names of both the gods Vishṇu and Rudraśiva and that such lengthy joint names are popular in South India even today.

As the associates of the above three persons are mentioned certain people of Sañjayapura as the *Yōrājis*. The meaning of the word *Yōrāji* is uncertain and it is possible that the expression *yōrājibhi* contains an error. If it is believed that the *akshara na* was left out by the scribe or engraver after *yo* through oversight, it may be conjectured that *yōrājibhi* is a mistake for *Yōnarājabhiḥ* and stands for Sanskrit *Yavanarājaiḥ*, and that certain Yavana or Indo-Greek chiefs of Sañjayapura are referred to in the passage in question. As regards Yavana or Greek settlements in Western India, we know that the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (c. 106-30 A.D.) fought with the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas in the first half of the second century A.D.[1] while the *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV, 61) of Kālidāsa (about the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century A.D.) locates a Yavana land between the Northern Konkan and Persia, probably in the Sind region.[2] But it has to be considered whether, if Sañjayapura was a city as it seems to be, several chiefs could have been ruling from the same place. The possibility of the rule of a king and a sub-king from the same capital, however, cannot be precluded in view of the fact that the dual number is represented by the plural in the Prakrit language.[3] As regards the location of **Sañjayapura,** it should be pointed out that Sañjaya is stated to have been another name of Sañjān in the Thana District of Bombay State.[4] The place is often identified with Sañjayantīnagarī mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* in connection with Sahadēva's conquests in the South.[5] If the above interpretation of the passage in question is acceptable, the inscription under study offers the only evidence regarding Indo-Greek rule in the Sañjān area about the close of the third century A.D. These Indo-Greeks, if they really ruled at Sañjān, appear to have been originally subordinates of the Śakas of Western India.

The god Ashṭabhujasvāmin is known from a conch-shell inscription unearthed from the same site at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. This epigraph in Prakrit reads: *Bhagavatō Aṭhabhujasāmisa* (Sanskrit *Bhagavataḥ Ashṭabhujasvāminaḥ*).[6] There is no doubt that Ashṭabhujasvāmin was a form of the god Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) invoked at the beginning of our record. The name of the deity suggests that his image in question was endowed with eight arms. This seems to be the earliest reference to the eight-armed form of Vishṇu.[7] The expression *ruṁbara-bhava* used in the inscription under study as an epithet of the deity cannot be satisfactorily explained. If *ruṁbara* may be regarded

[1] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 197, text line 5. These Yavanas (Greeks) and Pahlavas (Parthians) were probably the allies of the Śakas of Western India, with whom Gautamīputra is known to have fought. A Pahlava was ruling over Kathiawar as a viceroy of Śaka Rudradāman I (c. 130-52 A. D.). See ibid., p. 174, text line 19.

[2] *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 325-26. According to an inscription of the second century A. D., a *Yavana-rāja* was governing Kathiawar as the viceroy of the Maurya king Aśōka (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 171, text line 8) while coins of the Indo-Greek kings Apollodotus and Menander were current at Broach in the first century according to the *Periplus* (ed. Schroff, pp. 41-42).

[3] We have coins jointly issued by some Indo-Greek kings, e.g., Strato I and Strato II, while such joint issues are a wellknown feature of the coins of the later foreign rulers of the north-western part of India. Amongst the Kushāṇas, often two kings bearing imperial titles ruled at the same time and the rule of the *Mahākshatrapa* and the *Kshatrapa* at the same time is well-known from the history of the Śakas of Western India.

[4] See N. L. Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, p. 177. Sañjayantī is sometimes identified with Vaijayantī or Banavāsi (*The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 220-21). But Sañjayapurī and Vanavāsa are mentioned side by side in our record.

[5] II, 31, 70: *Nagarīṁ Sañjayantīṁ cha Pāshaṇḍaṁ Karahāṭakam | dūtair=ēva vaśē chakrē karaṁ ch=ainān=adāpayat ||*

[6] See *Indian Archaeology 1958-59—A Review*, p. 8 and Plate V b.

[7] For the eight-armed form of the god in early works, see Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, LVIII, 31. For an early image of the same deity, belonging to the Kushāṇa age, see *Proc. IHC*, Jaipur, 1951, pp. 78-79.

as a Prakrit form of Sanskrit *udumbara* (or *uḍumbara*), the epithet may indicate that the image of Ashṭabhujasvāmin mentioned in our record was made of *udumbara* wood.

It is futher stated that the god Ashṭabhujasvāmin was installed on the Sēṭa-giri which is, as is well known, mentioned in a Nasik inscription[1] of the nineteenth regnal year of the Sātavāhana king Pulumāvi (c. 130-59 A.D.) in connection with the description of the vague supremacy of his father Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi over the whole of South India. The inscription under study poses he question whether Sēṭa-giri has to be identified with one of the hills surrounding the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley, especially the Siddhaldhāri hill standing within 200 yards towards the north ot the findspot of our inscription. The words *ēsha bhagavān*, 'this Lord', used in the inscription in relation to Ashṭabhujasvāmin, seems to support the identification. Its mention in the Nasik inscription as a well-known range of hills in South India seems, however, to suggest that it was a general name of the range of hills of which the hill bearing the shrine of Ashṭabhujasvāmin formed a part. Sēṭa-giri thus appears to have been the name of the range of which the Siddhaldhāri hill near Nāgārjunikoṇḍa formed a part. It is said that there are one well on the Siddhaldhāri hill and two caves on its slope. Two images of Kubēra are stated to have been found near the caves many years ago.

The statement that the said god was not removed from its place (*sthānatō=pi na chālitō*) but was installed on the Sēṭa-giri is not quite clear. But it may be a case of the re-installation of a deity at the same place where it was being worshipped for some time. The specific mention of the fact that it was not removed from its place probably suggests that the image in question was going to be taken to some other place. It may be conjectured that some foreign conquerors were in possession of the area and that one of their leaders wanted to carry the image home but that the idea was later given up. It may, however, be admitted that re-installation of the deity is not clearly suggested by the language of the epigraph. If, moreover, the expression *ruṁbara-bhava* really means that the image was cut out of the trunk of an *udumbara* tree standing on the hillock, the non-removal of the image may of course refer to its installation at the place where it was fashioned. It should, however, be pointed out that the ruins of the temple in which the inscribed slab has been found do not lie on the hill. Was the god Ashṭabhujasvāmin housed in this temple at a later date ?

The next part of the sentence referred to above states that the persons in question also caused the wall of the hill to be made variegated or decorated [with sculptures] or painted (*parvatasya cha prākārō chitāpitō = parvatasya cha prākāraś=chitritaḥ*). By the expression 'the wall of the hill' is probably meant the enclosure around the shrine of Ashṭabhujasvāmin standing on the hill. The word *chitāpita* reminds us of the grant of a village for the purpose of the *chitana* (Sanskrit *chitraṇa*) of a Nasik cave, mentioned in the Nasik inscription referred to above.[2]

Certain further activities of the persons concerned are also mentioned in the said sentence in its concluding part. They are the following : (1) a *vāpi* or well called Mahānandā was cleansed (i.e. re-excavated); (2) two tanks (*taḍāgāni 2*) were excavated, one on the Sēṭa-giri and another in a locality called Muḍērā ; and (3) some groves of palmyra trees were planted. Muḍērā seems to be a locality in the neighbourhood of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, although we are not sure about its identification. It is difficult to say whether the *taḍāga* on the Sēṭa-giri should have to be identified with the well on the Siddhaldhāri hill, to which reference has been made above.

The above sentence constituting the main document is followed by a passage in prose, a stanza in the *Upajāti* metre and a sentence in prose, all referring to the *ullēkhaka* of the document, the word no doubt meaning the engraver of the record. He is Vardhamānaka of the Sēṁbaka family

[1] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 197, text line 3.
[2] See ibid, p. 198, text line 11 ; cf. below, Vol. XXXV, p. 7, text line 8.

or clan. This person describes himself as one who would not spare even his life in the cause of a Brāhmaṇa and a friend and also as the host and friend of all, as one having the virtues of gratitude and truthfulness, as the vanquisher of the hosts of enemies, as a straight-forward person, as one engaged in planting banyan trees apparently on the roads for the purpose of offering shade to men and animals and as one who was a friend of pious and righteous people.

The above section of the inscription is followed by another sentence stating that *Amātya* (minister or counsellor) Tishyaśarman of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* composed the record under study by dint of divine power. Tishyaśarman appears to have been an officer of the Ābhīra king Vasushēṇa. It is difficult to say why the engraver of our record was the subject of so much praise. Was it because he was responsible for fashioning the image of Ashṭabhujasvāmin ?

The inscription ends with the prayer for the welfare of herds of cows. Such benedictions are sometimes found at the end of early Brahmanical epigraphs, especially Vaishṇava records in which the word *Brāhmaṇa, prajā,* etc., are often added to the word *gō.*[1] It is well known that the god Vishṇu-Nārāyaṇa is especially associated with the conception o f *gō-Brāhmaṇa-hita,* ' the welfare of the cows and the Brāhmaṇas. '[2]

The **most important historical information** supplied by the inscription is in the reference to the reign of the Ābhīra king Vasushēṇa. As regards the history of the Guntur District, we know that the Ikshvākus held sway over the area from the second quarter of the third century A.D. down to the early part of the fourth and that the Pallavas of Kāñchī occupied the area before the middle of the fourth century.[3] Ābhīra Vasushēṇa's rule of thirty years in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley in the same age cannot be reconciled with these facts. This raises the question whether the year should be referred to an era. It also appears that Vasushēṇa was ruling elsewhere and that his hold over the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa area was short-lived. It is wellknown that the Ābhīras were ruling over the region around Nasik and the adjoining areas of Western India (roughly the Konkan and Northern Maharashtra) and that the Ābhīra king Māṭharīputra Īśvarasēna of a Nasik inscription of his ninth regnal year probably founded the era of 248 A. D.[4] Vāsishṭhīputra Vasushēṇa of our inscription was very probably a descendant of Māṭharīputra Īśvarasēna, both having metronymics and *sēna(shēṇa)*-ending names. If then the year 30 of our inscription is referred to the said era, the date would correspond to 278 A. D. If such was the case, Vasushēṇa subdued the Ikshvākus and his rule was acknowledged in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa area for a short time in the eighth decade of the third century probably between the reign of Vīrapurushadatta and that of the latter's son. As regards the relations of the Ikshvākus with the Western regions of India, we know that they were matrimonially allied with the Śakas of Ujjayinī who were the neighbours of the Ābhīras.[5] The close relation between the Ikshvāku and Śaka kingdoms is further indicated by the discovery of a big hoard of Śaka coins at Peṭlūripālem in the Guntur District not far from Vijayapurī in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley, which was the capital of the Ikshvākus.[6]

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[1] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 327, 397 (*svasty=astu gō-Brāhmaṇa-purōgābhyaḥ sarva-prajābhyaḥ*); p. 441 (*svasty=astu gō-Brāhmaṇa-lēkhaka-vāchaka-śrōtṛibhyaḥ*) ; p. 455 (*svasti prajābhyaḥ*) ; *etc.*

[2] Cf. *Mahābhārata*, XII, 47, 94 : *Namō Brahmaṇyadēvāya gō-Brāhmaṇa-hitāya cha | jagad-dhitāya Kṛishṇāya Gōvindāya namō namaḥ ||*

[3] Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 88-89.

[4] See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 222 ; cf. Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, pp. lxii-lxiii.

[5] See above, p. 21 ; *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 22-23.

[6] See *A. R. Ep.*, 1956-57, pp. 21ff.

It may be argued that Vasushēṇa paid a visit to the Ikshvāku capital as a freind and relative of the contemporary Ikshvāku king Vīrapurushadatta[1] and it was his servants who were responsible for the installation of the deity. But, in such a case, we have to assume that persons from various places, such as the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa region, Avanti, Sañjayapura and Vanavāsa were all in his service and came to the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley in his company. If the passage *sthānato=pi na chālitō* means that the people responsible for the installation of the image of the god Ashṭabhujasvāmin on the Sēṭa-giri belonged to a party of the conquerors of the land and that they showed special consideration for the god, it cannot be reconciled with the above view. Another possible argument may be that Vasushēṇa occupied the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley at the time when the Ikshvākus were struggling for their existence with the Pallavas of Kāñchī in the early part of the fourth century as an ally of the latter.[2] But the year 30, when the record was engraved, should in this case have to be referred to Vasushēṇa's regnal reckoning and not to the era of 248 A.D., generally assigned to the Ābhīras. If, however, the era was really started by the Ābhīras, it is difficult to explain away its absence in an Ābhīra record as the one under study. In any case, the circumstances leading to the acknowledgement of Ābhīra suzerainty in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley cannot be satisfactorily determined without further light on the subject. But, in the present state of our knowledge, it is probably better to suggest that the Ābhīra king Vasushēṇa of the Nasik region extended his sway over the Ikshvāku kingdom in the Krishna-Guntur area for a short time about 278 A.D. The internal evidence of our inscription seems to preclude the possibility of its being a pilgrims' record in which the ruler of a distant land having little to do with the place of pilgrimage could probably have been mentioned.[3]

The location of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription has been discussed above. As already indicated, one of them, viz. Muḍērā, cannot be satisfactorily identified. If Mahāgrāma is the name of a place, it was probably situated in the region around Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.

## TEXT[4]

Siddhaṁ ||[5]

1 namō bhagavatō dēva-parama-dēvasya purāṇa-purushasya Nārāyaṇasya [|*] ra(rā)jñō **Vāsē(si)shṭhī-putrasya Ābhīrasya Vasushēṇasya sa[ṁ]vatsara(rē) [30] vā-pā[6] [7]**

2 **[d]ivasa(sē) 1** ma[h]āgrāmikēna(ṇa) ma[hā]talavar[ēna(ṇa)] mahādaṁḍanāyaka(kē)na Kauśika-[sa]gōtrēna(ṇa) Pēribiḍēhāṇāṁ(nāṁ) Śivasēbēna[7] **Saṁjayapur[ī]ṇa-Yōrājibhi[ḥ*]**[8]

[1] Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 15; cf. Vol. XXVI, p. 53.

[2] If the Ābhīras were the allies of the Pallavas in the early part of the fourth century A.D., this fact may explain the struggle of Mayūraśarman, who founded the Kadamba kingdom about the middle of that century, with both the Pallavas and Ābhīras apparently in the earlier part of his career.

[3] See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 100-01; Vol. XXXIII, pp. 103 ff.; cf. Vol. XXX, p. 22, note 5.

[4] From impressions.

[5] Sanskrit *siddham* || *namō bhagavatē dēva-parama-dēvāya purāṇa-purushāya Nārāyaṇāya*. The first word is engraved in the left margin near the beginning of lines 1-2. The punctuation is indicated by a double *daṇḍa* followed by a slanting stroke.

[6] This is a contraction of Prakrit *Vāsa-pākhē*=*Vassa-pakkhē*=Sanskrit *varsha-pakshē*

[7] Sanskrit °*śēpēna*.

[8] As indicated above, this may be a mistake for *Yōnarājabhiḥ* (Sanskrit *Yavanarājaiḥ*). We can also read *Saṁjayapurītō*. But the epithets *Āvantaka* and *Vānavāsaka* applied to two other persons in the same context suggest that *Saṁjayapurīṇa* is preferable.

NAGARJUNIKONDA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ABHIRA VASUSHENA, YEAR 30

Scale : One-fifth

3 **Āva[nta]kēna** Śakēna Rudradām[ē]na[1] **Vānavāsakēna** [cha] Vishṇurudraśiva[lā]nanda-[Sāta]-karṇṇinā [s]th[ā]nā(na)tō=pi na chālitō(ta) [ē]sha bhagavāṁ(vān) ruṁbara-bhavō Āshṭaṁjasvāmi[2]

4 **[Sēḍa]-giriya**[3] sth[ā]pitō(taḥ) parv[va]tasya cha prākārō chitāpitō[4] vā[pi] cha[5] Mahā[naṁ]dā sō(śō)dhitā taḍāgāni cha 2 **Śēḍa-giriyaṁ Muḍērāya** cha khāṇitāni[6] tala-vaṇāni[7] cha

5 rōpitāni [|*] yō(yaś)=cha Brāhmaṇ-ārt[th]ē mitr-[ār]tthē cha prāṇa[m=a*]pi na pari[tya*]kshati guṇataś=cha[8] [Sa]rvv-ātithi[ḥ*] [sarvva-sakha][ḥ*] kṛitajña[ḥ] sa[t]ya-[v]ra[ta][ḥ*] śatru-ga[ṇ=ā]vamardri(rdī) [|*] ru(ṛi)jur=[vvaṭa]-nyāsana[9]=pr[ē]ma-[n]i-

6 [shṭhō] yō [dhā*]rmika[ḥ*] s[ā]dhu-ja[10]n-ābhinaṁdi(dī) |[|*] [ulēkhaga[11]]ś=ch=ās[y]a Sēṁ-baka-Vardhamāna[kō] Bharadvāja-sagō[trē]ṇa amātyēna Tishyasaṁmēṇa[12] Bhagavach-[chhakty]āḥ(ktyā) kṛita[ṁ][13] [|*] svasti gō-vrāt[ēbh]yaḥ[14] |

TRANSLATION

Let there be success !

(Lines 1-5). Salutation to Lord Nārāyaṇa who is the supreme god among the gods and the Primordial Male. On the **first day of the seventh fortnight of the rainy season in the thirtieth year of king Vāsishṭhī-putra Vasushēṇa, the Ābhīra,** this Lord Ashṭabhuja-svāmin, the *ruṁbara-bhava,* is installed on the **Sēṭa-giri,** without being moved from his place, by *Mahāgrāmika Mahātalavara Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Śivaśēpa belonging to the Kauśika *gōtra* and to the Pēribiḍēhas (i.e. the Pēribiḍēha family or clan), the *Yavana-rājas* of **Sañjayapura,** Śaka Rudra-dāman of **Avanti,** and Vishṇurudraśivalānanda Sātakarṇi of **Vanavāsa** ; and the enclosure (*of the shrine of the god*) on the hill was decorated (*by them*) ; and the well (*called*) Mahā-nandā was cleansed (i.e. re-excavated) (*by them*) ; and 2 tanks were excavated on the **Sēṭa-giri** and at **Muḍērā** (*by them*) ; and groves of palmyra trees were planted (*by them*).

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[1] Sanskrit °*dāmnā*.

[2] Read *ruṁbara-bhavō=shṭabhujasvāmī*. The deity's name Ashṭabhujasvāmin is known from another inscription. Instead of the *akshara bhu*, which has been left out by the engraver, *ṭa* is engraved below *shṭa*.

[3] Sanskrit *Sēṭa-girau*.

[4] Sanskrit *prākāraś=chitritaḥ*.

[5] Read *vāpī cha* or *vāpiś=cha*.

[6] Sanskrit *taḍāgē cha 2 Sēṭa-girau Muḍērāyāṁ cha khānitē*.

[7] Sanskrit *tala(tāla)-vanāni*.

[8] This is followed by a stanza in the *Upajāti* metre.

[9] Even though *na* is followed by a conjunct, it has to be regarded as a short syllable owing to a convention according to which short syllables may not be lengthened before *pr, hr, br* and *kr* (cf. Apte's *Pract. Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, 1924, p. 1035).

[10] The *akshara ja* is incised above the *akshara dhu*.

[11] Sanskrit *ullēkhaka*°.

[12] Sanskrit °*śarmaṇā*.

[13] The word *idam* is understood here. Cf. *asya* above in the same line.

[14] The intended reading may be *gō-brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ*.

(Lines 5-6). The engraver of the above is Vardhamānaka, the Sēṁbaka (i.e. belonging to the Sēṁbaka family or clan); who would not spare even his life in the cause of the Brāhmaṇas and in the cause of (*his*) friends, (*and*) who is, as regards (*his*) qualities, a host to all (*and*) a friend of all; who is grateful; who has taken a vow of truthfulness; who has subdued the hosts of (*his*) enemies; who is straight-forward; who is steadfast in his love for planting banyan trees; (*and*) who approves of the pious and righteous people. (*The above*) has been made (i.e. composed) by *Amātya* Tishyaśarman of the Bhārdvāja *gōtra* by virtue of the god's power. Let there be good to the herds of cows!

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# No. 31—HONNEHALLI INSCRIPTION OF ARASAPPA-NAYAKA II, SAKA 1478

(*1 Plate*)

M. S. Bhat, Ootacamund

(*Received on 23.11.1959*)

This inscription[1] is engraved on a slab built into the south wall of the Narasiṁha temple in the Svarṇavalli *maṭha* at **Honnehaḷḷi** in the Sirsi Taluk of the North Kanara District in Mysore State. This is the epigraph which was probably referred to by Buchanan.[2] It is edited here with the permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription consists of nine lines of writing. The preservation is satisfactory except the last line, the first few letters of which are partly built in and partly rubbed off. The writing covers a space about 3′ 6½″ broad by 8½″ high.

The **characters** are early Malayāḷam mixed with Grantha, although two *aksharas* at the beginning are written in Nāgarī. The original idea of the scribe was probably to write in Nāgarī, which was, however, later given up. The epigraph is interesting from the palaeographical point of view as it illustrates the development of the early Malayāḷam script from Grantha. The form of medial *ā* stands midway between Grantha and Malayāḷam. The letters *k*, *t*, *n* and *y* resemble their modern Malayāḷam forms. The letter *d* shows a curve in the place of the central *daṇḍa* of the Grantha form of the letter, thus becoming the precursor of its modern Malayāḷam from. The shape of the letters *r* and *s* is not uniform throughout. This is perhaps due more to the carelessness of the engraver than to the transitional nature of the script.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is written in six stanzas in *Anushṭubh*. The **orthography** does not call for any remarks excepting that the consonants following *r* are doubled and that the conjuncts *mb* and *mbh* are represented by *nb* and *nbh* respectively. This latter peculiarity may be due to the influence of Malayāḷam pronunciation.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *siddham* followed by the well-known stanza *Namas-tuṅga*°, etc. This is followed in verse 2 by a reference to the Narasiṁha incarnation of Vishṇu worshipped in the temple, in which the inscription has been found. Verses 3-4 form the subject matter of the record. It contains the **date**, viz., **Śālivāha Śaka 1478**, expressed by the chronogram *dāsavandya-mitē* (according to the *Kaṭapayādi* system) in line 5 of the text. The cyclic year **Rākshasa**, which is also referred to in the same line together with **Paramāyana**, is given in the margin along with the year of the Śaka era, the year being written in Telugu-Kannaḍa numerical figures. But the said cyclic year corresponds to the Śaka year 1478 only if the latter is taken to be current. No other details of the date are given. But, if Paramāyana (i.e., Uttarāyaṇa) indicates the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti, the day would correspond to the **29th December 1555.**

The epigraph next states that **Arasapa** ruling over **Sōmadāpurī** built the shrine for a god apparently Narasiṁha.[3] Then the well-known verse *Ēk=aiva bhaginī*, etc., is quoted and it is followed by a stanza which appears to record some provision made in favour of the temple for lamps, and food offerings to the god and the feeding of ascetics. The other details of the grant are lost.

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[1] *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40, B. K. No. 16.

[2] *Travels in Southern India*, Vol. III, p. 216.

[3] Cf. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XV, Part II, p. 346.

Arasapa, who is stated to have been ruling over Sōmadāpūri, can easily be identified. We know that, in 1555 A.D. which is the date of our record, Arasappa-nāyaka II (1555-1602 A.D.)[1] was ruling over the area including Honnehaḷḷi from Sonda (Sōmadāpuri of the inscription).[2] The inscription under study gives the earliest date for this chief.

## TEXT[3]

1 Siddham[4] [|*] Nama[s=tu]ṅga-śiraś-chunbi(mbi)-chandra-chāmara-chāravē [|*] trailōkya-na-

2[5] gar-āranbha(mbha)-mūla-stanbhā(mbhā)ya Śanbha(mbha)vē [||*] Chit-prakāśo Mahā-Vishṇuḥ Prahlāda-priya-

3 kāmyayā [|*] Nārasiṁhaṁ vapur=ddhṛitvā viharttuṁ līlayai(y=ē)kshatē || [2*] Kalpē Śvēta-varā-

4 h-ākhyē Manōr=Vvaivasvatasya hi [|*] ashṭāviṁśad-viparyyāyē Śālivāha-Śakē

5 Kalau [|*] dāsavandya-mitē Rakshō-hāyanē param-āyanē ||[3*][6] Arasap-ākhyō[7] ma=

6 hīpālaḥ pālayan Sōmadāpuriṁ(rīm) [|*] dēvālayam=akārshi(rshī)t=saḥ sarvva-dēva-kṛit-ālayaṁ(yam) || [4*]

7 Ēk=aiva bhaghinī lōkē sarvvēshām=api bhūbhujāṁ(jām) [|*] na bhōgyā na kara-grā-

8 hyā vipra-dattā[8] vasundharā || [5*] Sadā-dīpa-naivēdya-yati-bhiksh-ārttha[mē]

9 ....[9] [|*]............[10] purataḥ pūgavādinā[11] |||| [6*]

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[1] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XV, Part II, p. 120, gives the latest date of Arasappa-nāyaka as 1598 A.D. But see *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40, No. E 46 ; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 80.

[2] Buchanan, op. cit., p. 213.

[3] From impressions.

[4] Expressed by symbol.

[5] The following lines are engraved in the left margin near the beginning of lines 2-4 ;
1 Śālivāha-Śaka
2 1478 Rākshasa
3 vatsara

[6] The verse has three halves.

[7] Read *Arsap-ākhyō* for the sake of the metre.

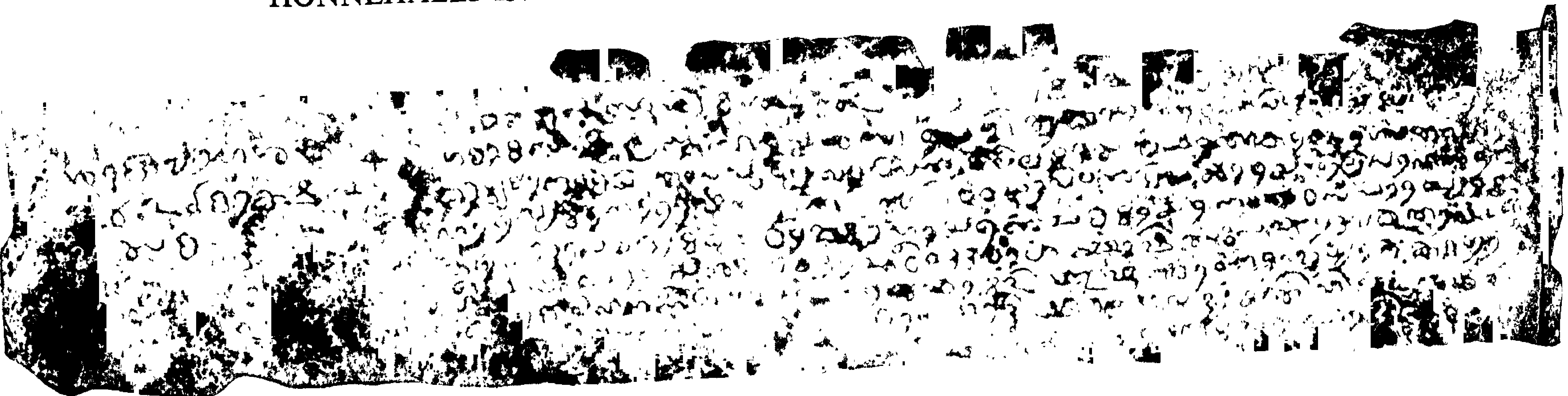
[8] Possibly *dēva-dattā* is intended

[9] The intended reading may be *sadā-dīpa-sanaivēdya-yati-bhiksh-ārtham=ēva cha.*

[10] This portion may be restored as *bhūr=dattā Śrī-Nṛisiṁhasya.*

[11] This seems to be an epithet of the donor ; but the meaning of the expression is not clear.

HONNEHALLI INSCRIPTION OF ARASAPPA-NAYAKA II, SAKA 1478



Scale : One-fifth

# No. 32—SOME BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 25.9.59*)

## A. Barhut Inscription in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan

In the fourth week of September 1959, I received an inked impression of an inscription from Rai Krishnadasji, Founder-Curator of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan attached to the Hindu University, Banaras. Krishnadasji informed me that the inscription had been secured for the Kalā Bhavan from the well-known Buddhist site of **Barhut** in the former Nagaudh State, now a Tahsil in the Satna District of Madhya Pradesh.[1] The inscribed stone was, however, probably secured from **Unchahra** (a railway station between Satna and Maihar) where Cunningham found it buried under the walls of the palace.

The inscription contains two records (A and B) in one line each, which were separately published with eye-copies by Cunningham in his *Stūpa of Bharhut*, 1879, p. 142, Plate LVI, Nos. 66 and 64 (cf. Plate XXXIV, No. 2)[2], and by Barua and Sinha in their *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 61-62 (No. 7), 32-33 (No. 63). Hultzsch published only the first of the two records in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 239, No. 159 ; but both of them were noticed in Lüders' List, Nos. 831 and 878. The first record covers a space about 15 inches in length while the second is about 5½ inches long. Generally speaking, the letters in the second record are more closely incised than in the first. But the space between any two of the last five letters in A is smaller than elsewhere in the record. Similarly, the space between the last two letters in B is more than between any two other letters in the record. Like other epigraphs from Barhut, the inscription under study is written in the **Brāhmī script** of about the second century B.C. and in the **Prakrit language**. The inscription reads as follows :

[A] timitimi[ṁ]gila-kuchhimhā [Vas]u[g]ut[o][3] mochito Mah[ā]dev[e]naṁ [|*]

[B] Vijitakasa suchi dānaṁ [|*]

The first of the two records may be rendered into Sanskrit as *timitimiṅgila-kuksheḥ Vasuguptaḥ mochitaḥ Mahādevena* and the second as *Vijitakasya sūchī dānam.* They may be translated into English as follows :

[A] (*This is the representation of*) Vasugupta rescued by Mahādeva from the belly of (*the fabulous fish or sea-monster called*) Timitimiṅgila.

[B] (*This*) rail-bar (*is*) the gift of Vijitaka.

The passage read by us as *timitimiṅgila-kuchhimhā mochito* in A has been read by others on the basis of Cunningham's eye-copy as *tirami timigila-kuchhimha māchita* and corrected to *tīramhi timiṁgila-kuchhimhā mochita* (Sanskrit *tīre timiṅgila-kuksheḥ mochitaḥ*), '[brought] on the shore, rescued from the Timiṅgila's belly'. But the eye-copy is defective since the mark between the

[1] For a few inscriptions from Barhut recently acquired for the Allahabad Municipal Museum, see above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 57 ff. and Plate.

[2] This is the illustration of the bas-relief for which the inscription is a label. See also B. M. Barua, *Barhut*, Book III, Plate LXIX, Figure 85 ; cf. ibid., Book II, pp. 78 ff.

[3] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

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[2] This is the illustration of the bas-relief for which the inscription is a label. See also B. M. Barua, *Barhut*, Book III, Plate LXIX, Figure 85 ; cf. ibid., Book II, pp. 78 ff.

[3] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

*aksharas ti* and *mi*, represented in it as a clear *ra*, does not appear to be a letter at all on the impression. It is too close to *mi* considering the space between any two other letters of the record. We have also to note that the said vertical mark actually continues beyond the proper upper end of the supposed *ra*. The mark is again not as deep as the incision of the letters of the record. As regards the word *timitimiṅgila*, Monier-William's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (s.v. *timi*) recognises it on the authority of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Divyāvadāna*, side by side with the words *timi*, *timiṅgila* and *timiṅgilagila*.[1]

It will moreover be seen that the reading *tirami*, i.e. *tiramhi* or *tīre*, 'on the shore', does not at all suit the scene depicted on the inscribed stone. While the said reading would suggest that Vasugupta was on the sea-shore after his rescue from the Timiṅgila's belly, the sculpture represents a boat with Vasugupta and two associates aboard entering the belly of a huge fish through its wide open mouth and another boat with the same three persons (the two companions of Vasugupta being shown here as oarsmen) rowing away, both on the high seas, that is to say, far away from the shore. Apparently one of the two ships refers to Vasugupta's entry into the sea-monster's belly and the other to that of his rescue.

The last word of A was read as *Mahadevānaṁ* on the basis of the same eye-copy and the genitive plural in it was regarded by Cunningham as used in the instrumental sense. Hultzsch regarded °*devānaṁ* as a mistake for °*devena*. There is, however, no *ā-mātra* attached to *v* in the word. On the other hand, it exhibits a damaged *ē-mātrā*.

As regards the sculptural representation for which this is a label, Barua and Sinha draw our attention to a story in the *Divyāvadāna*[2] and the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*.[3] The story refers to a large number of sea-faring merchants aboard a ship, who were going to die owing to a Timiṅgila trying to devour their ship but were saved by uttering the name of Lord Buddha. This has led Barua and Sinha to translate the passage *mochitaḥ Mahādevena* as 'rescued by (*the power of the name of*) the mighty godly saviour'. It is, however, not quite accurate. *Mahādēva* in our record may indicate the Buddha as in another inscription[4] from Barhut. It may, however, also indicate a personal name. In any case, the sculpture seems to represent a different and as yet unknown version of the story.[5]

In the word *suchi* in B, the letter *v* had been originally written for *ch*, though an attempt was later made by the engraver to rectify the error by adding a vertical stroke to the right lower end of *v*. There is a mark at the upper left corner of the letter which, taken with the sign for medial *i*, looks like the medial sign for *ī* as found in slightly later epigraphs. But the mark in question appears to be due to a flaw in the stone. It is also not impossible that the *anusvāra*-like mark with *na* in *Mahādevenaṁ* in A is likewise due to a similar flaw in the stone.[6]

### B. Fragmentary Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa

The **Nāgārjunikoṇḍa** inscriptions discovered in the course of earlier excavations were published in the *Epigraphia Indica*[7] nearly 30 years ago. Recent excavations conducted at the

[1] Cf. *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, pp. 231; 502.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 232-33.

[3] See op cit., No. 89 (Dharmaruchi-avadāna).

[4] Barua and Sinha, op. cit., p. 78 (No. 2); *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 239, No. 160.

[5] Cf. *Mahāvastu*, I, 244, 19 ff.

[6] When this article was going through the press, Prof. Waldschmidt of Göttingen informed me that the late Dr. Lüders had suggested the reading *timitimigila* instead of *tirami timigila* as he considered the latter reading quite unsuitable to the context. It was indeed a wonderful suggestion especially in view of the fact that Lüders had to depend entirely on Cunningham's eye-copy of the inscription under study.

[7] Vol. XX, pp. 1-37; Vol. XXI, pp. 61-71; cf. Vol. XXIX, pp. 137-39; Vol. XXXIII, pp. 147 ff., 189 ff.

# SOME BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

## A. Barhut Inscription in the Bharat Kala Bhavan



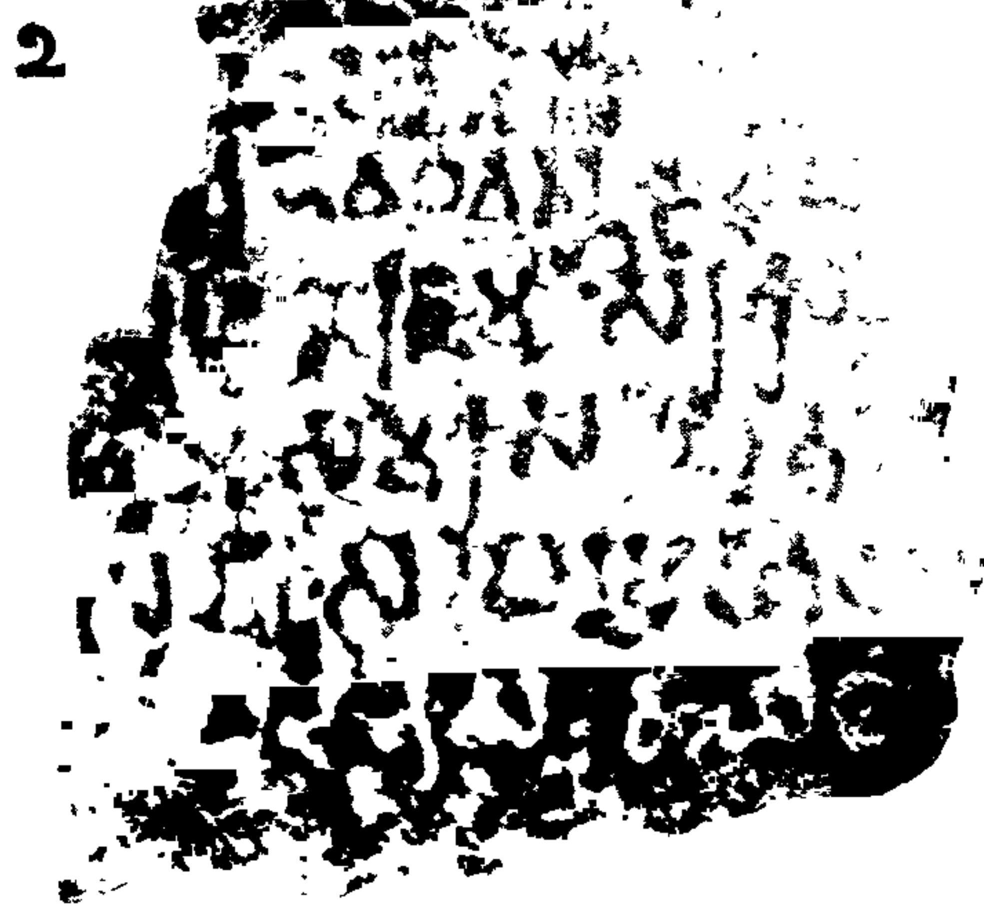
Scale : One-fourth

## B. Fragmentary Inscriptions from Nagarjunikonda

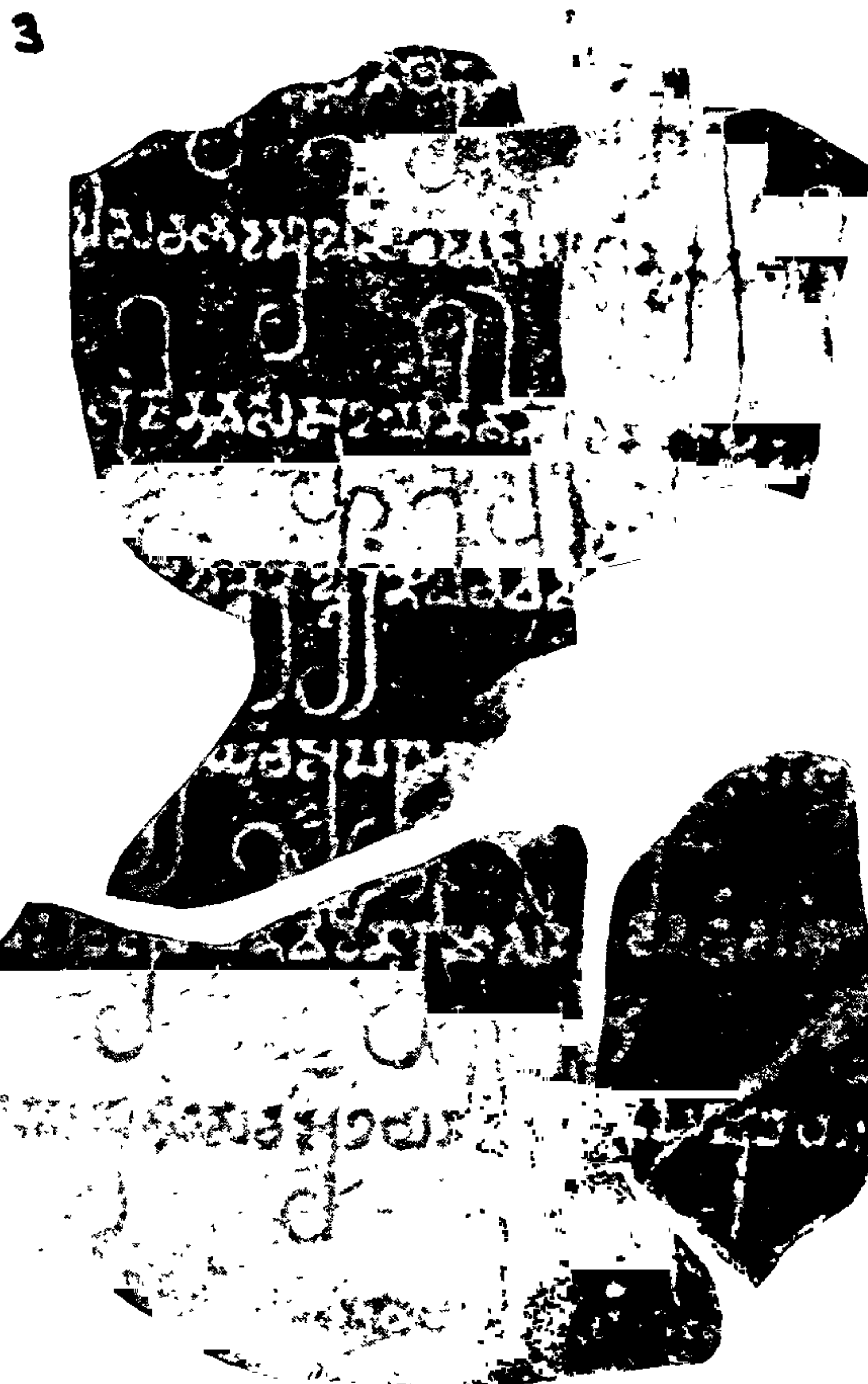
1



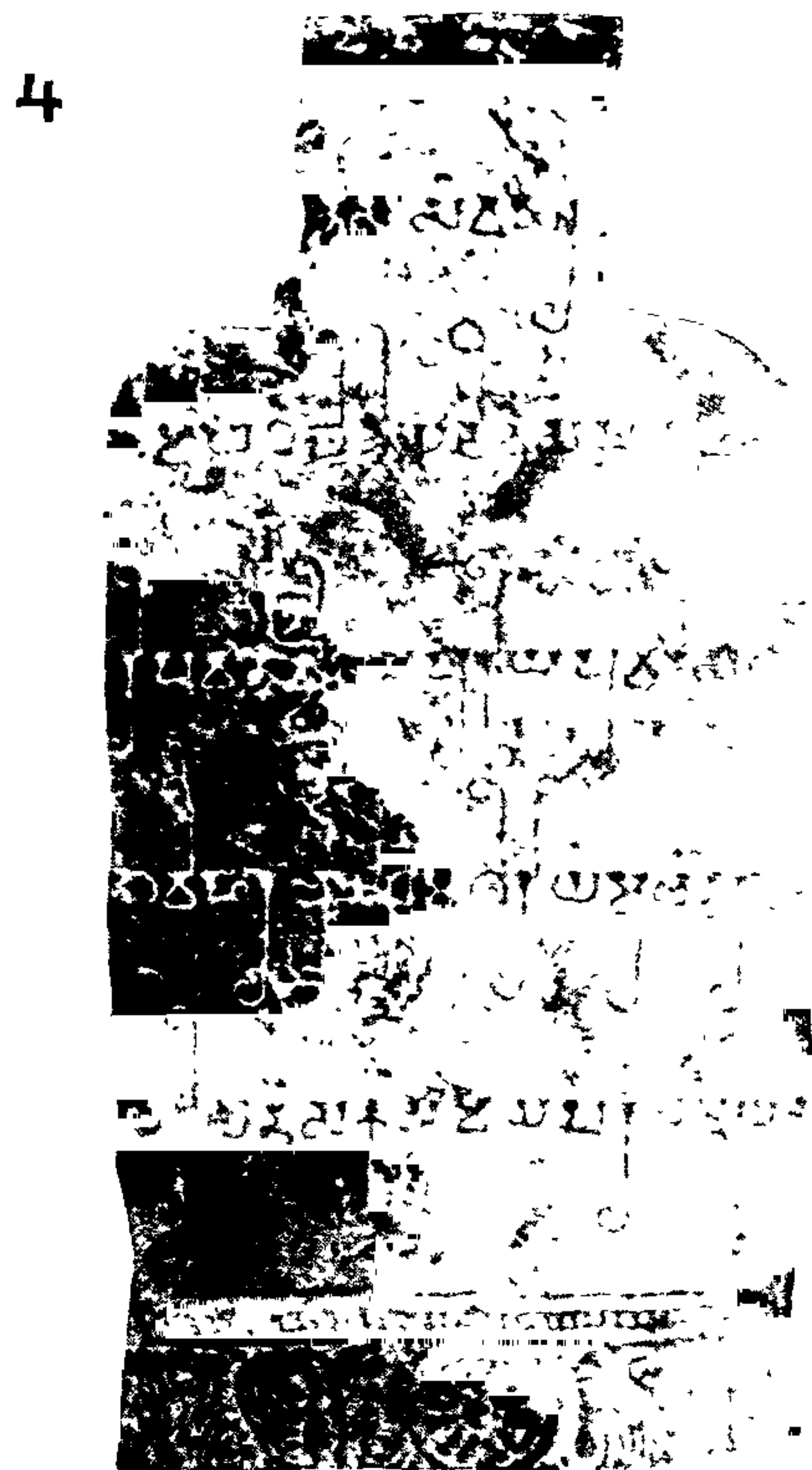
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3



4



(from a Photograph)

## C. Barhut Sculpture bearing Inscription A



(from a Photograph)

site by the Department of Archaeology since 1954 have yielded a large number of new inscriptions which have been mostly noticed in the *Indian Archaeology—A Review* and *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy*[1] and only a few of them have been properly edited.[2] Four fragmentary inscriptions of the Iskhvāku age, discovered at the earlier stage of these excavations and noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1954-55, Nos. B 7-10, are edited in the following pages.[3]

The **palæography** of the second of these four epigraphs may appear to be slightly earlier than the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions of the time of the Ikshvāku king Vīrapurushadatta (about the third quarter of the third century A.D.) and his successors, as their characters do not exhibit the ornamental flourish of the upward and downward strokes of certain letters and some of the vowel marks attached to them, which are characteristic of the records of the time of those rulers. But this is not a valid conclusion as we have a few records of the time of the Ikshvāku kings exhibiting characters in which the ornamental flourish is not pronounced.[4] The third and fourth of the four inscriptions exhibit the ornamental flourish of the upward and downward strokes in the *aksharas*. The **language** of the records is Prakrit. Their **orthography** resembles that of other Prakrit inscriptions discovered at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.

I

The **first** of the four inscriptions referred to above contains traces only of two lines of writing. But the upper, left and right sides of the record are broken away and lost. The first line contains the *aksharas* [*ma*] *ḍa bha* [*ḍa na*]. There seems to be a reference here to *Paramaḍa-bhaḍa* (Sanskrit *Peramaḍi-bhaṭa*) occurring in Inscription No. 2 discussed below and meaning 'a soldier [fighting under the leadership] of Peramaḍi'. The second and last of the lines ends in the expression [*chhā*]*yaṁ*(*yā*)-*thaṁbho* with which the epigraph also ends. There is no doubt that the inscription was meant to record the installation of a *chhāyā-stambha*, i.e. '[memorial] pillar bearing the image (*chhāyā*) [of the person in whose memory it was raised],' probably of certain soldiers (*bhaḍana*= Sanskrit *bhaṭānāṁ*) who belonged to a contingent led by a commander named Peramaḍi and lost their lives in a battle. The composition of the record reminds us of that of Inscription No. 2 while another Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription likewise ends with a reference to a *chhāyā-stambha*.[5]

II

The **second record** is also a fragment of the type of the first, although it is a slightly bigger piece. It exhibits traces of six lines of writing which reads as follows :

1 . . **[ga]raṇa**-vathavasa kula-puta[sa]

2 [Ma?]rabāna Rājamisiri-kula[kasa]

3 Damasama[ka]sa p[u]ta-[Si]-

4 sa[ba]sa Peramaḍi-bhaḍa[sa]

5 [6]paḍitasa chhāy[ā]-thaṁ[bho] [||*]

[1] *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1954-55, pp. 22 ff. ; 1955-56, pp. 23 ff. ; 1956-57, pp. 35 ff.; 1957-58, pp. 5 ff. ; 1958-59, pp. 5 ff.; *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, Nos. B 7-10 ; 1955-56, Nos. 7-9 ; 1956-57, Nos. B 26-35 ; 1957-58, Nos. B 4-7.

[2] See above, Vol. XXXIII pp. 147 ff. ; 247 ff. ; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 17 ff., and pp. 197 ff. Cf. also *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 189 ff.

[3] Sometime ago, I published these inscriptions in the *Nāgārjunikonda Souvenir*, edited by M. Rama Rao, pp. 41-45. A comparison of the treatment of the records in that article of mine and the improvement made in the present paper would clearly demonstrate the difficult nature of epigraphical research so little understood in our country. The inscriptions are such that further studies may lead to more improvement.

[4] Cf. above, Vol. XXI, Plates of M-4, M-12, M-15 ; Vol. XXIX, Plate facing p. 139.

[5] Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, p. 28; for a number of records of this type, see below, Vol. XXXV, pp. 13-17.

[6] This line seems to have no letters lost at the beginning.

Line 1 refers to a *kula-putra*, 'one born in a noble family', as the resident of a locality, the name of which is not fully preserved. Some Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions, discovered at Site No. 113 and published below,[1] appear to suggest the restoration of the geographical name as *Maga[la*]raṇa*.

Lines 2-3 give the name of the *kula-putra* as Dhamasamaka (Dharmaśarmaka) and of the family to which he belonged as the Rājamiśrī *kulaka* (*kula*) belonging to the Maraba clan (*Marabāna Rājamisiri-kalakasa*=Sanskrit *Marabāṇāṁ Rājamiśrī-kulakasya*). Lines 3-4 mention Sisaba as the son of the said *kula-putra* and as a soldier of a contingent led by Peramaḍi. The name of the general reminds us of that of Permāḍi borne by Chālukya Vikramāditya VI and others.[2] Line 5 states that the *chhāyā-stambha* or the memorial pillar in question was raised in memory of Sisaba who had been *paḍi(di)ta* (Sanskrit *pātita*), 'killed [in a battle].' It will be seen that, while Inscription No. I was raised to commemorate the death of a number of soldiers (cf. plural number in *bhaḍana*=Sankrit *bhaṭānāṁ*), Inscription No. II commemorates that of a single soldier.

III

The third inscription, many sections of which are broken away and lost, shows traces of 8 lines of writing which reads as follows :

1 . . . . . [cha] tethika[na] . . . . na kā . . . . .
2 . . . lasa cha Bhadaphula Saṭhapa Sa[ma]gandaka-vathava-Ki . . . .
3 . . . bhuṁjitavasa akhaya-nivikā datā gāma-pa . .
4 . . . haṁ [Ka]kolūraṁ Nelāchava[saṁ] . . .
5 . . . ya cha Apara[ma] . . .
6 . . . sa cha [akhaya]-niv[i] d[ī]nāri-māsakā[naṁ] divaḍhaṁ sataṁ [bha] . .
7 . . . supayutaṁ [|*] esā cha akhaya-nivi ku[li]ka-pamukhāyaṁ . . . . .
8 . . . atatheya chi . . . yaṁ [hi] . . .

Line 1 of the inscription contains the word *tethikānaṁ* (Sanskrit *tairthikānām*), the meaning of which has been discussed by us in connection with the Manchikallu inscription[3] of the Pallava king Siṁhavarman (first half of the fourth century A.D.). Line 2 mentions certain persons whose names appear to be Bhadaphula and Saṭhapa and another who was an inhabitant of a locality called Samagandaka, while the word *gāma* in the passage *gāma-pa*...... at the end of line 3, used with reference to an *akshaya-nīvikā* or permanent endowment, seems to suggest that the following line (line 4) mentions some villages, two of which were probably Kakolūra and Nelāchavasa. Since several localities appear to have been mentioned in this context, the partially preserved expression *gāma-pa* ... may possibly be restored as *gāma-paṁchakaṁ*, meaning a group of five villages forming the permanent endowment mentioned in line 3. The passage *akhaya-nivikā datā* (Sanskrit *akshaya-nīvikā dattā*) shows that this section of the inscription was meant to record the creation of a permanent endowment in favour of one of the religious establishments at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. The community of Buddhist monks that was benefited by the said endowment seems to be mentioned in line 5 of the inscription, wherein we can read *apara[ma]*... suggesting the mention of the Buddhist sect called Aparamahāvinaseliya. The

[1] Vol. XXXV, pp. 15-16.

[2] This is a Dravidian personal name derived from Tamil *Perumāṇaḍi*. See above, Vol. XXX, p. 93.

[3] Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 88.

teachers of the Aparamhāvinaselīya community are known from several inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa itself.[1] They are also mentioned in some of the Amaravati inscriptions.[2] The said sect has been identified with the Aparaselika subdivision of the Mahāsāṅghikas[3] while the Aparaselikas (Aparaśailikas) and Pubbaselikas (Pūrvaśailikas) have been supposed to have derived their names from the Aparasela (Aparaśaila) and Pubbasela (Pūrvaśaila) located by Hiuen-tsang on the hills respectively to the west and east of Dhānyakaṭaka (modern Amarāvati).[4] But why the Aparaśailikas or Aparaśailīyas were called Aparamahāvinaseliya in the early inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh cannot be satisfactorily explained. A number of **geographical names** are mentioned in this inscription. But we are not sure about their location.

Lines 6-7 of the inscription contains the reference to a second endowment in the passage *sa cha akhaya-nivi dīnāri-māsakānaṁ divaḍhaṁ sataṁ......supayutaṁ* (Sanskrit *sā cha akshaya-nīvī dīnāra-māshakānāṁ dvyardhaṁ śataṁ......suprayuktam*). In this, *divaḍha* is the same as Pali *diyaḍḍha* or *divaḍḍha* meaning 'one and a half'. The amount of money deposited for the creation of the endowment was therefore 150 *dīnāri-māsakas*. The first component of the name of the coin is associated with Sanskrit *dīnāra* while the second is the same as Sanskrit *māshaka*, *dināri* and *dīnāra* being Indian modifications of Latin *denarius*. The same coin is also known from another Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription.[5] Since *māshaka* was one-sixteenth of the standard *suvarṇa*, it is sometimes regarded as identical with the South Indian Fanam which may have been regarded as one-sixteenth of the Roman Denarius or Aureus, imported in the course of trade in the South Indian ports in the early centuries of the Christian era, either in weight or in value.[6] The following line of the inscription (line 7) contains the passage *esā cha akhaya-nivi ku[li]ka-pamukhāya....* The mention of *kulika*, 'the chief or head of a guild,' here reminds us of the deposit of an *akshaya-nīvī* in the *nikāya* or *śreṇi*, 'guild', as referred to in certain early Indian inscriptions.[7] The word *atatheya* in line 8 seems to stand for Sanskrit *ātitheya*, 'hospitable'.

## IV

The preservation of the **fourth** and last of the four inscriptions, although fragmentary, is somewhat better than the others. It consists of 6 lines of writing, of which the first is almost totally obliterated and the second broken at both the ends. The concluding part of the inscription is also lost. But the letters of the extant portion are well preserved and read as follows :

1 ............................
2 .................**tasa saṁvachharaṁ**.........
3 **gimha-pakhaṁ bitiyaṁ divasaṁ paḍhamaṁ 1 [Si]-**
4 **ripavate Vijayapuriya** puva-disā-bhā-
5 ge vihāre **Chula-Dhaṁmagiriyaṁ** Achaṁtarāj-ā-
6 chariyānaṁ sakasamaya-parasamaya-sa-

The inscription abruptly ends here as indicated above.

The record was apparently engraved during the reign of a king whose name ended with the word *data* (Sanskrit *datta*) such as Vīrapurushadatta and Ruḷapurushadatta.[8] Since a large

[1] Above, Vol. XX, pp. 17, 19, 21 ; Vol. XXI, p. 66.
[2] Burgess, *Amaravati*, p. 105, No. 49 ; Hultzsch, *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 550 ff. ; Vol. XL, p. 344.
[3] Cf. *Mahāvaṁsa*, V, 12 ; *Dīpavamsa* V, 54.
[4] Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 214 ff.
[5] Above, Vol. XX, p. 19.
[6] Cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 26.
[7] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 147, 158.
[8] The name is not Rulu° as read above, Vol. XXVI, p. 125

number of inscriptions of the reign of Vīrapurushadatta have been discovered at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, it is not impossible that it is the same king's reign which was referred to in the record under study. The date is the king's regnal year...., first day of the second fortnight of summer (i.e. Chaitrasudi 1). The Buddhist monastery on the Chula-Dhammagiri (i.e. Kshudra-Dharmagiri, 'the little Dharmagiri' as opposed to the Mahā-Dharmagiri or 'the big Dharmagiri') situated to the east of the city of Vijayapurī, is already known from another Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription[1] and has been identified with the present Naharāḷḷabōḍu hill. The inscription obviously meant to record the dedication of a structure in favour of certain Buddhist *āchariyas* (*āchāryas*), 'teachers', described as *achaṁtarāj-āchariya* and *sakasamaya-parasamaya-sa*.........

The second of the two epithets seems to suggest that the said teachers were experts in expounding the doctrines of their own religion as well as of those of the religious beliefs of others since the concluding *akshara* (i.e. *sa*) may be supposed to have been a part of an expression like *samyak-pāragānaṁ*. No expression like *sakasamaya-parasamaya-samyak-pāruga* has been noticed so far in any early inscription; but it reminds us of the passage 'proficient in the treatises of his own school of philosophy (*sva-samaya*) as well as in those of others (*para-samaya*)' occurring in the description of the celebrated Jain savant Bhaṭṭ-Ākalaṅka of Karṇāṭaka in an inscription[2] of the sixteenth century from Biḷgi in the North Kanara District of Bombay State. The epithet *para-samaya-paṭu*, 'proficient in the doctrines of other [religions]', occurs in the description of a Jain scholar in the Masulipatam plates[3] of the Eastern Chālukya king Amma II (middle of the tenth century A.D.).

The interpretation of the other epithet is more difficult. The word *achaṁta*, meaning 'excessive', occurs in the expression *achaṁta-hita-sukhāya* (Sanskrit *atyanta-hita-sukhāya*), 'for the excessive welfare and happiness', in one of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions;[4] but that meaning does not suit the context, unless it is believed that some letters were inadvertently omitted after the word and that *rāj-āchariyānaṁ* (i.e. 'of the king's teachers') is to be read separately. But the same expression apparently occurs in another Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription where Vogel suggested the reading [*bhadaṁ*]*ta-rāj-āchariyānaṁ*.[5] The expression *achaṁtarāj-āchariya* would mean 'teachers of (or from) Achaṁtrarāja' or better 'teachers of the Achaṁtarāja school or community'. Unfortunately we do not know of any king or locality called Achaṁtarāja or a community of Buddhist teachers characterised by that name. The name Achanta reminds us of Āchanta which is a village in the Narasapuram Taluk of the West Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh.[6]

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[1] Above, Vol. XX, p 22.

[2] See ibid., Vol. XXIV, p. 272, where the epithet has been interpreted differently on the strength of Kundakundāchārya's *Samayasāra*, according to which *svaka-samaya* and *para-samaya* means respectively 'the soul which is concentrated in right conduct, belief and knowledge and is self-absorbed' and 'the soul which stands in the condition determined by *karman* and is absorbed in the non-self'. But this interpretation does not appear to suit the context.

[3] Cf. ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 296.

[4] Ibid., Vol. XX, p 22, text line

[5] Loc. cit., text line 1.

[6] See *A.R.Ep*, 1926, Nos. B 698 700.

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# No. 33—HILOL PLATES OF YEAR 470

(*1 Plate*)

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(*Received on 30.6.1959*)

These plates are reported to have been discovered in a field at **Hilol** in the Dehgam Taluk of the Ahmedabad District. They had come into the possession of Shri K. N. Dalavi, Deputy Collector of Nadiād, who brought them to Shri N. A. Gore, Librarian of the Asiatic Society, Bombay, for being deciphered. At the suggestion of Shri Gore, Shri Dalavi very kindly handed over the plates to me for decipherment.[1] I am thankful to Shri Dalavi and Shri Gore for their kindness.

The set consists of **two** plates secured by a copper ring. But, as there are two additional holes in each of the plates, originally there should have been three rings,[2] one of which might have carried the **seal**. The plates measure 3·5 cm. ($1\frac{2}{5}''$)×14·8 cm. ($5\frac{5}{8}''$)×2 cm. ($\frac{3}{5}''$). The diameter of the ring is 3·5 cm. ($1\frac{2}{5}''$) and its thickness 0·7 cm. ($\frac{1}{2}''$). The holes for the ring are about 1·4 cm. ($\frac{3}{5}''$) in diameter and the plates have a raised border, 0·4 cm. ($\frac{1}{5}''$) broad, for protecting the writing.

The inscription which is on the inner side of the plates is in perfect state of preservation, except for two or three small cracks. One of these near the lower rim of the first plate has slightly affected some letters in the last line and another on the top has likewise damaged a few letters in the first line. They appear to have been there before the plate was inscribed. The first plate contains 9 lines of writing and the second 12 lines. On the outside of the second plate, there are the letters **Śrī Chandrāditya.** The engraver began with a bold well-spaced hand, so that in the first plate the letters are at an average 0·9 cm. ($\frac{2}{5}''$) high ; but they tend to become smaller towards the end. In the second plate, which looks comparatively crowded, the average size of letters is 0·4 cm. ($\frac{1}{5}''$) high.

The **characters** are of the Kuṭila type,[3] having triangular heads on each letter, and may be compared with those of the inscriptions of Durgagaṇa[4] and of Nanna of the Tiwarkhed[5] and Multai[6] plates. The letter *n* has been written in more than one form, *e.g.* (i) having a triangle but looking like Dēvanāgarī *n* (cf. *mahābhisthāna* in line 1 ; *ghāṭan*° in line 9 ; *dāna* in line 10) ; (ii) having a square body, with the triangle at the top left and an oblique stroke at the right bottom, found in most cases ; cf. *Chandrādityēna* in lines 3-4 ; *sthāna* and *vini*° in line 4 ; *mādhyandina* (where there is no triangle) in line 5, and in lines 6 and 8 ; (iii) without the vertical stroke and loop and looking like *t* (cf. *Chandrādityēna* in line 10).

The **language** is corrupt Sanskrit with a number of Prakrit or Dēśī words in the geographical and personal names. Often the sentences are left incomplete and *sandhi* rules are not observed.

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[1] The inscription was previously published by Dr. H. G. Shastri in *Vallabh Vidyanagar Research Bulletin*, Vol. I, 1957, pp. 34-38. See also his article in the Gujarati monthly journal *Buddhi Prakāsh*, Vol. 99 (October 1952), pp. 294-97.

[2] Dr. Shastri says (*Vallabh Vidyanagar Research Bulletin*, op. cit., p. 34) that there were two rings intact when the plates were first found in 1952 and that the second or middle ring bore the letters *śrī-Chandrāditya*.

[3] Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, Tafel IV ; Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prāchīn Lipimālā*, p. 62.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 180.

[5] Above, Vol. XI, p. 279.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230 ff.



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As regards **orthography**, *anusvāra* is invariably used for the dental nasal and *v* for *b* in some cases (lines 11-12).

The inscription records the donation of a piece of land near the village of **Hilōhila** by **Chandrāditya** who was a *Mahāsāmanta* and obtained the five *mahā-śabdas*. Chandrāditya was a feudatory ruler stationed at **Harshapura**-mahābhisthāna and also the governor of a *vishaya* (*vishay-ādhipati*) under **Kakka** (or **Nanna**) who is described as *Mahāsāmantādhipati Paramarājādhirāja Paramēśvara* and was stationed at **Khēṭaka**-mahābhisthāna. The grant was made by him to the Brāhmaṇa, *Bhaṭṭa* Mātṛigaṇa, who was the son of Mātrīśvara of Kāśyapa-gōtra and belonged to Sāṇanda-sthāna. The donee is further described as belonging to the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Yajurvēda, as endowed with a knowledge of the six *Vēdāṅgas* and as a keeper of the sacred fire (*bālāgnihōtrin*). The first plate says that a fourth part of a field[1] was given by Chandrāditya to Mātṛigaṇa, son of Mātrīśvara. This lay to the south of the entrance to the village of Hilōhila ; to the east of the field stood the field of Vardhāmanēśvara ; to the south lay the field of the Brāhmaṇa Bhāüllavāṭa ; to the west there was a pond ; and to the north there was a river.[2]

The second plate describes the boundaries again. But after mentioning the eastern boundary, the remaining three boundaries are not given. Instead we have a number of witnesses to the grant enumerated in lines 11-15, after which we are told that the first one-fourth of the land was given in the **Pādāṭaka-grāma** and the second one-fourth in **Hilōhila-grāma**.

To the east of the donated land there was a field belonging to a Brāhmaṇa. And in this connection are mentioned: *Sāmanta* Bhaṭṭisvāmi, *Sāmanta* Brāhmaṇa Rājaka (?), *Sāmanta Mahattara* Dhaïna and *Bhaṭṭa* Īśvara, resident of Sīharakhi, and *Sāmanta* Brāhmaṇa Aggaka and the witnesses Brāhmaṇa Charīna and *Bhaṭṭa* Llēlla, resident of Khallāpalli, and the witness Kēpa(ha)ka, resident of Kṛisaṁvagrāma, and the Brāhmaṇa Datta and the Brāhmaṇa witness Vēṇa-bhaṭṭa and the witness Brāhmaṇa Vijñēkē (?) and Śibrāpaka (?).[3]

After the enumeration of the witnesses and the boundaries, we are told that Chandrāditya being pleased and having faith made the grant from Harshapura together with the token money given along with the land (*svasti-dhana*), i.e. the grant was made with the token money and the donee said *svasti*, ' may you fare well'. The gift was without taxes and the land free of the 'ten faults.'[3]

The gift deed was executed in the office (*karaṇa*), in the presence of Chandrāditya, *Mahābal-ādhikṛita* Brāhmaṇa *Bhaṭṭa* Īśvara and the *Adhyaksha* (president of the village council ?) *Bhaṭṭa* Vāsudēva, and *Shaḍaṅga-vid Bhaṭṭa Mahāpratīhāra Aïmmata* and *Vālēśvara Bhaṭṭa* Bhāülla.

The grant is **dated** in the **year 470** (in words). No other details are given with it. But in the second plate, it is said that the actual grant of land was made by Chandrāditya on **Tuesday** (*Bhauma-dinē*) **the seventh of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśīrsha** in the first half of the day when the *karaṇa* was Vishṭi.[4] If these details are referred to the year mentioned elsewhere, the grant was made on Tuesday, Mārggaśīrsha-sudi 7 in the year 470 of an unspecified era. In Gujarat, the Śaka era was used by the Kshatrapas, Western Chālukyas and Rāshṭrakūṭas and at times by the Chaulukyas. The Traikūṭakas, Gurjjaras and other minor dynasties used the Kalachuri era while the Guptas used their own era and the Maitrakas of Valabhī a slightly

[1] The word *kēdāra* frequently occurs in the Maitraka grants (cf. Shastri, *Maitrak-kālīn Gujarāt* (Gujarati), Ahmedabad, 1955, Vol. II, Appendix 4, pp. 10-31) and means a field, or more particularly swampy ground. The expression *vavulaka-kēdāra-miśra* possibly suggests that it was a swampy field full of Babul trees.

[2] [See below, p. 221.—Ed.]

[3] [See below, pp. 221-22.—Ed.]

[4] Dr. V.G. Rahurkar informs me that the Vishṭi-karaṇa would generally fall on sudi 7. [See below, p. 222 and note 1.—Ed.]

modified Gupta era, known later as the Valabhī era. Lastly, there was the Vikrama era which is current today and was popularised by the Chaulukyas.

The script of our record shows that the year 470 cannot be referred to the Śaka or Vikrama era. We have to choose between the Kalachuri and the Gupta-Valabhī. If the year is referred to the former, the grant would be dated in 718-19 A.D. But the details of the date do not agree. Moreover, as Dr. Shastri has pointed out, Northern Gujarat, where the present grant was found and the land donated was situated, was at this time under Śīlāditya V, and not Kakka. The year 470 may therefore be referred to the Gupta-Valabhī era so as to yield 788 A. D.

A Rāshṭrakūṭa king named Kakka (II), who enjoyed the titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, is known to have ruled Southern Lāṭa around Surat about 757 A.D.[1] Dr. Shastri thinks that he drove out the Chāhamānas of Broach and later, when Valabhī was destroyed by the Arabs in 788 A.D., extended his sway over the former territories of the Maitrakas which included Khēṭaka of our grant.[2]

This is a plausible suggestion, though there are some difficulties in accepting it. Firstly, we do not know Kakkarāja to have ruled for so long a period, some 30 years or more. From 750 A.D., the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas had begun their raids over Gujarat and, by 788 A.D., Southern and Central Gujarat came fully under their control. It is therefore difficult to reconcile Kakka's rule over the area since his relationship with the imperial family is unknown.[3] But, if the identification is accepted, it explains how in his inscription of 757 A.D. Kakka claims imperial titles and why no details are given in our grant. It appears that he or his successors, bearing the same name had a precarious rule over Central and Northern Gujarat contemporaneoulsy with the emperors of the Imperial dynasty. It may further be said that *Sāmanta* Chandrāditya, as the title *āditya* suggests, was a member of the Maitraka family stationed at Harshapura by the king of Valabhī. He might have been retained in this position by the new ruler and, according to the practice in the region, dated the grant in the Valabhī era. The *saptamī* fell on Monday, the 10th November 788 A.D.,[4] though Dr. Shastri says that the date would correspond to Tuesday, 11th November 788 A.D. According to him, the grant indicates that the destruction of Valabhī by the Arabs took place before this date.[5]

It may, however, be pointed out that there is one more Karka or Kakka of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family of Central India, who is said to have defeated a king named Nāgāvalōka.[6] And a brother of his father Jējja had, after defeating the Karṇāṭas, taken possession of the Lāṭa kingdom. It is with this Karkarāja, that we may, with greater probablity, identify our Kakka. Chandrāditya's grant shows that Kakka was in actual possession of the present Districts of Ahmedabad and Kaira, which he presumably took from Nāgāvalōka, i.e. Nāgabhaṭa II. Under Dantidurga, his uncle defeated the Western Chālukyas and advanced further into Central India and founded a kingdom. It has, however, to be admitted that the name of the ruler as found in our record can also be read as Nanna and that the nature of the grant creates a doubt as to its genuineness.[7]

The existence of so many *Sāmanta* Brāhmaṇas with a Brāhmaṇa general of the army (*mahābalādhikṛita*) implies the prevalence of a strong well-organized Brāhmaṇa feudalism in Gujarat.

[1] *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 105-13.

[2] This is not unlikely, as he is specifically said to have driven out the leaders of his enemies (ibid., p. 111).

[3] According to Altekar, he was a nephew of Dantidurga who appointed him to rule over this region. See *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* (History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. IV, Bombay, 1955), p. 2.

[4] Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Part ii (1922), p. 179.

[5] Shastri, *Maitrak-kālin Gujarāt*, Vol. I, pp. 157-58. [See below, p. 219.—Ed.]

[6] See the Pathari inscription above, Vol. IX, pp. 248 ff. Persons with such a name among the Gurjara-Pratihāras need not be considered, as none of them claims to be an emperor.

[7] [See below, p. 219.—Ed.

Concentration of so much political power even for a short time in the hands of the Brāhmaṇas was unknown so far. It reminds us of the conditions that developed in Mahārāshṭra some 1000 years later.[1]

The imprecatory verses quoted in our record offer some readings not usually found in inscriptions. For the usual *Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā,* we have *Anēkai.°* Similarly, there is *haranti narakē yānti* in place of *haran=narakam=āpnōti* (or *°āyāti*) often found in inscriptions.

The published land grants of the Maitrakas and Rāshṭrakūṭas mention places to the south and east of Ahmedabad, one of them being Khēṭaka which was the headquarters of the district (*āhāra* or *vishaya*) or province (*maṇḍala*) under the Maitrakas, Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Paramāras[2] and is now also the headquarters of the Kaira or Khēḍā District. In our grant it is called Khēṭaka-mahābhisthāna. Harshapura, identified with Harsol on the Meshwa river in the Prantij Taluk of the Kaira District, occurs in a grant of Kṛishṇa II[3] as Harshapur-ārdhāshṭama-śata (i.e. Harshapura-750) which included Khēṭaka, etc.

As suggested by Dr. Shastri, Khallāpalli is probably Khaḍāl (spelt as Kharāl), about 10 miles east of Hilol, across the Vātrak river. Kṛisamba or Kusamba seems to be Kosam, two miles north from Khaḍāl. Both these places are now in the Kapadvanj Taluk of the Kaira District.[4] Pādāṭaka may be the same as Pahāḍā or Pāḍā near Raudāvat, about a mile east of Hilol. Thus three villages along with Harshapura lay to the east of Ahmedabad in the present Kapadvanj Taluk, while Khēṭaka was the headquarters of the district in question.

According to Dr. Shastri[5], Sīharakhi is the same as Siharakkhi-dvādaśa mentioned in a copper-plate grant (813 A.D.) of Gōvindarāja[6] and the modern Serakhi near Baroda, which is over 100 miles to the south of Hilol. There were many other names[7] with *sīha* as the first part. Of these Sīhamuhijja[8] (Sihuj, seven miles east of Ahmedabad and about 16 miles north-east of Kaira) and Siṁhapallikā-pathaka[9] were in the Khēṭaka district. It is possible that there was another Sīharakhi near Hilol. Sāṇanda-sthāna, from which the donee came, can be identified with Sānand, a railway station on the Ahmedabad-Viramgam line, about 12 miles west of Ahmedabad, and the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name.

## TEXT[10]

### *First Plate*

1 ओम् [।*] संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये सप्तत्याधिके श्रीखेटकमहाभिस्थाना[त्*] समधि-
गता (त)पं-

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[1] [See below, p. 220.—Ed.]
[2] Sankalia, *The Archaeology of Gujarat,* Appendix D, pp. 40, 44, 48.
[3] Above, Vol. I, p. 55.
[4] *Kaira District Census Hand-Book,* Poona, 1953, p. 244.
[5] Shastri, op. cit., p. 41.
[6] Above, Vol. III, p. 53.
[7] Sankalia, op. cit., p. 50.
[8] *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XV, p. 336.
[9] Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 73.
[10] From the original plates and impressions. In some cases, I have quoted the readings of Dr. Shastri and also of Dr. G. S. Gai who supplied me with his transcript prepared from an impression sent by me. [See below, pp. 220 ff.—Ed.]

# HILOL PLATES OF YEAR 470

i

ii

Scale : One-half.

2 चमहाशब्द[1]महासामंताधिपतिपरमराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकक्क[2]राज्य-

3 विषयाधिपतिश्रीहर्षपुरा(र)महाग्रभिस्थाना[त्*] समधिगता(त)पंचमहाशब्दमहासा-
मंतश्रीचं-

4 द्रादित्येन साणंदस्थानविनिर्गतमात्राश्वरपुत्रस्य भट्टमातृगणकाश्यपसगोत्र-

5 माध्यंदिनषडंगवेदैश्च विभूषितांगवा(बा)लाग्निहोतृणतंशिष्ठपरम एतद्गुणसंयु-

6 क्तस्य श्रीचंद्रादित्येन स्वम्नी(स्ति)धनं भूमिदानं स्वगोत्रपृथग्भावेन[3] मातृगणेन
लब्ध्वा(ब्ध्वा) ववुलक-

7 [के]दारमिश्रचतुर्भागो(ग)क्षेत्रस्य[4] हिलोहिलग्रामनिवेशदक्षिणदिशायां चतुराघाटाने(नं)

8 पूर्वां दिशां(शि) वर्द्धमानेश्वरक्षेत्रं दक्षिणदिशां(शि) व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणभाउल्लवाट[5]क्षेत्रं
पश्चिमदिशे(शि)

9 तटे(टा)कं उत्तरदिशे(शि) नदी [उदिष्ट क्षेत्रं] थक[6] एवं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितं

*Second Plate*

10 ओम् श्रीचंद्रादित्येन[7] भूमिदानं मातृगणस्य स्वस्तिधनं एवं तस्य माघाटानं
पूर्वदिशां(शि) व्रा(ब्रा)ह्म-

11 णक्षेत्रं भट्टिस्वामिसामंत तथा सामंतव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणराजन[8]स्य तथा सामंतमज-
हर[9] ईश्वरस्य तथा

12 व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणभट्ट प्रथिल्ल[10] तथा सामंतमदहर ध(ए)ईन(क)स्य[11] सीहरखि[12]-
निवासी(सि)भट्ट ईश्वरस्य तथा सामंतव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणसं-

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1 Gai : *śavda(bda)*.

2 The reading may be *Nanna* also.

3 The reading was suggested by Dr. Gai.

4 Dr. Shastri suggests the emendation *kshētrasya chaturbhāgō*.

5 Shastri : *Bhādalla chāṭa*.

6 Shastri : *karīra bhurashṭikōṭumbaka* : Gai : *karīi [bhushṭī kōṭṭayaka]*. The reading of the passage is doubtful.

7 It is exactly in this way that the Tiwarkhed plates (Plate II) of Rāshṭrakūṭa Nannarāja begins. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 279.

8 The reading may be *sahanaka* or *rājanaka*.

9 Dr. Gai suggested this reading which may be a mistake for *mahattara*. Shastri : *mahattara*.

10 Shastri : *Muttilla* ; Gai : *Śrēṭhilla*.

11 Gai : *Madahaī [ta*]thā Iakasya*.

12 This is followed by a symbol.

13 प[1]शर्म्मं तथ[ा सा]क्षी ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण अग्गकस्य तथा ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण साक्षी चरीनस्य[2] खल्लापल्लिग्रामनिवासी साक्षी भट्टल्लेल्लस्य

14 तथा साक्षी केहकस्य[3] कुसंव[4]ग्रामनिवासी ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणभट्टदत्तस्य तथा ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्म-णासाक्षी [वे(पें ?)]ण[5]भट्टस्य तथा साक्षी ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण-

15 विज्ञे[6]कस्स तथा सि(शि)ब्राराप(य ?)कस्य[7] एव(वं) चतुर्भागदूयो श्रीचं-द्रादित्येन स्वहस्तदत्तस्य मार्ग्गशिरमास शुद्धसप्तम्यां भौम-

16 दिने विष्ट्या[8]यं(यां) पूर्वाह्णे एवं श्रीचंद्रादित्येन श्रद्धया परमाविष्ट स्वहस्तेन स्वस्ती(स्ति)धनं सदित्यदशापराधं अकरप्रयुक्तं

17 — — — स्थम —[9]च[10] सीमायां स्फोटनं च पादाटकग्रामे चतुर्भाग द्वितीअ(य)-चतुर्भाग हिलोहिलग्रामे श्रीहर्षपुं(पु)रा[त्*] अयं[11]

18 —[12] तेन करणभूलायसमक्षं तथाकै सत्तके[13] महाबलाधिकृत ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणभट्ट ईश्वरस्य अध्यक्षभट्ट द्वा(वा)सुदेव

19 तथा षडंगवि[द्*] भट्टमहाप्रतीहार अई[14]म्मत वालेश्वर भ[ट*] भाउल्ल एवं श्रीचंद्रादित्येन समे(म)क्षं. करणसहितं भुई[15]

20 व — — तं[16] कट्ट[17] मातृगणस्य [।*] अनेकैर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि[:*] सग-रादि[भि][: ।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[स्*] तस्य तस्य तदा

21 फलं(लम्) [।।*] सुवर्णमेकं गामेकं भू[म्या]मप्येकमंगुलं । हरंति नरको यांति यावदाहूतसंप्लवं ।। इति ।।

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[1] Shastri : *dhu*.

[2] May be a mistake for *Ahīnasya*.

[3] Gai : *Kēukasya*

[4] Shāstri : *Kūsaṁba* ; Gai : *kkasaṁva*.

[5] Gai : *Sēna*

[6] The reading of these letters is doubtful.

[7] Gai : *Siṁbhanakasya*.

[8] This reading was suggested to me by Dr. Rahurkar. Dr. Shastri thinks that the Dhanishṭhā *nakshatra* may have been intended

[9] Gai : *ashṭahastha(sta)mayaṁ*.

[10] This may be a full-stop.

[11] Shastri : *ava* : but the *anusvāra* is clear.

[12] Shastri : *sthi* which is impossible

[13] This may be a mistake for *sattrakē*.

[14] The dots on either side of the letter are absent.

[15] Shastri : *bhūdē*.

[16] This may be *kritaṁ*.

[17] This may be a mistake for *bhaṭṭa*.

# No. 34—NOTE ON HILOL PLATES OF YEAR 470

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(*Received on 28.11.1959*)

Dr. H. D. Sankalia has edited the Hilol plates above, pp. 213 ff. We do not agree with some of his readings as well as of his views expressed in connection not only with the interpretation of the language of the inscription but also with that of its evidence. There is nothing in the record to support Dr. Sankalia's doubt about the genuineness of the plates.

The record is very carelessly drafted and engraved. While many letters have been written in various forms, sometimes more than one letter have the same form or similar forms. The text is full of linguistic and orthographical errors. In many cases, a letter or word or a group of letters or words has been altogether omitted. It is therefore very difficult to read and interpret the inscription.

As regards the **date**, what has been read as *Bhauma-dinē* (lines 15-16) is clearly *Sōma-dinē*. Thus the date of the record is **Monday the seventh tithi of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśira in the year 470** of apparently the Gupta-Valabhī era of 319-20 A.D. Taking the year to be current, the date regularly corresponds to **Monday the 10th November 788 A. D.**

The inscription records the grant of two pieces of land, each said to have been a *chatur-bhāga*, i.e. 'quarter', one of them situated in **Pādāṭaka-grāma** and the other in **Hilōhila-grāma.** The gift land thus consisted of one-fourth share of each of the two villages.

The grant was issued by **Chandrāditya**, a subordinate *Vishayādhipati* (governor of a district) of **Harshapura**-mahābhishṭhāna[1] enjoying the feudatory titles *Samadhigatapañchamahāśabda* and *Mahāsāmanta*. The expression *mahābhisthāna*, as used in the inscription, is of lexical interest since *abhisthāna* in the sense of 'residence' (i.e. headquarters or capital city) is a mistake for *abhishṭhāna* or the more popular *adhishṭhāna*. Dr. Sankalia regards *Samadhigatapañchamahāśabda Mahāsāmantādhipati Paramarājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Kakka or Nanna of **Khēṭaka**-mahābhishṭhāna, who was the overlord of the said Chandrāditya, as an emperor. The name of the overlord of Chandrāditya is, however, certainly **Kakka, and not Nanna,** while, among his titles, *Mahāsāmantādhipati* and *Samadhigatapañchamahāśabda* are feudatory and *Paramēśvara* and *Paramarājādhirāja* are imperial titles. The assumption of both feudatory and imperial titles at the same time shows clearly that Kakka of Khēṭaka was a semi-independent subordinate[2] of some imperial ruler who appears to have been none other than the contemporary Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Dhruva Dhārāvarsha (780-94 A.D.).

As regards the identification of Kakka of the Hilol plates, Dr. Sankalia doubts whether he can be the same as *Samadhigatapañchamahāśabda Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Kakka II of the Antroli-Charoli plates[3] of 757 A.D., because he believes that this Kakka II may not have ruled so late as 788 A.D. when moreover the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas were, in his opinion, in complete control over Central and Southern Gujarat. He therefore prefers to identify Kakka of the Hilol plates, whom he regards as an emperor, with Karka (Kakka) who was the

[1] The Kapadwanaj (Kaira District) plates of Kṛishṇa II mention Kheṭaka, Harshapura and Kāśahrada as the leading cities of Harshapura-750 (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 413).

[2] Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 50, note 3.

[3] *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 105 ff.

father of Rāshṭrakūṭa Parabala of the Pathari (near Bhilsa in East Malwa) inscription[1] of 861 A.D. But this is unlikely since it is doubtful that the father ruled at a date about three quarters of a century before that of the son's record. Moreover, Karka's rule in the Kaira-Ahmedabad region in 788 A.D., for which there is no evidence at all, can scarcely be regarded as reconcilable with the imperial Rāshṭrakūṭa hold on Central and Southern Gujarat during the period in question any more than that of Kakka of the Antroli-Charoli plates. There is again no proof that Karka of the Pathari inscription was an imperial (or semi-independent) ruler.

As regards the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭa house represented by Kakka II of the Antroli-Charoli plates of 757 A.D., it is very probable that he himself or his father or grandfather was stationed in Gujarat as the viceroy of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Dantidurga (742-56 A.D.) and that Kakka II assumed semi-independence on Dantidurga's death as his imperial style coupled with the feudatory title *Samadhigatapañchamahāśabda* in his record of 757 A.D. would indicate. Altekar seems to be right when he suggests that the relative whom the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛishṇa I (756-75 A.D.) claims to have ousted was no other than Kakka II of the Antroli-Charoli plates.[2] Another fact ignored by Dr. Sankalia is that the said Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭas appear to have continued in their viceregal position till the reign of Gōvinda III (794-814 A.D.) who appointed his younger brother Indra as his viceroy in Gujarat.[3] It is therefore very probable that Kakka of the Hilol plates is either identical with his namesake of the Antroli-Charoli plates or was a descendant of the latter.

Dr. Sankalia draws our attention to the mention of many *Sāmanta* Brāhmaṇas among the witnesses of the gift and suggests that it points to the prevalence of a strong well-organised Brāhmaṇa feudalism in tenth century Gujarat. But the word *sāmanta* in this context apparently means ' a neighbour ', i.e. one who was in possession of a piece of land in the neighbourhood of the gift land.[4]

Our reading and interpretation of the text of the inscription are offered below.

*Lines 1-6 :* Siddham[5] [|*] **saṁvatsara-śata-chatushṭayē saptaty=ādhikē** śrī-**Khēṭaka**-mahābhisthā(shṭhā)nā[t*]. samadhigatā(ta)-paṁchamahāśavda(bda)-mahāsāmaṁtādhipati-paramarājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-**Kakka**(**kkē**) rājya[ṁ śāsati*] vishay-ādhipati[nā*] śrī-**Harshapurā**(**ra**)-mahāabhisthānā[6] samadhigatā(ta)-paṁchamahāśabda-mahāsāmaṁta-śrī-**Chaṁdrādityēna Sāṇaṁ**(**naṁ**)**da**-sthāna-vinirggata-Māttrīśvara-puttrasya(ttrāya) bhaṭṭa-Mātṛigaṇa(ṇāya) Kāśyapa-sagōttra(ttrāya) mādhyandina(nāya) shaḍaṁga-vēdaiś=cha vibhūshit-āṁga(gāya) vā(bā)l-āgnihōtṛiṇa(triṇē) taṁ(ta)[n-n]ishṭha-parama(māya) ētad[7]-guṇa-saṁyuktasya(ktāya) [dattaṁ śāsanam |*]

*Translation :* Let it be well! In the **year 470,** when the illustrious *Samadhigatapañchamahāśabda Mahāsāmantādhipati Paramarājādhirāja Paramēśvara* **Kakka** [is ruling] the kingdom from the prosperous great city of **Khēṭaka,** [this charter is issued] from the prosperous great city of **Harshapura** by the illustrious *Vishayādhipati Samadhigatapañchamahāśabda Mahāsāmanta* **Chandrāditya** in favour of *Bhaṭṭa* Mātṛigaṇa who is the son of Mātrīśvara hailing from

[1] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 248 ff. Parabala's father is stated to have defeated Nāgāvalōka who is usually identified with the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 810-33 A.D.). He may have been a later contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II.

[2] *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 42-43.

[3] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 392-93.

[4] Cf. *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, II, 150 and Vijñānēśvara's commentary thereon. See also above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 194.

[5] Expressed by symbol.

[6] Read *mahābhishṭhānāt*.

[7] Better read *tat-tad*.

the locality [called] **Sānanda**, who belongs to the Kāśyapa *gōtra* [and] the Mādhyandina [*śākhā*], whose body is adorned with [the knowledge of] the Vēdas and its six *aṅgas*, who keeps the sacred fire since he was a child, who is the best among those who are devoted to the [sacred fire, and] who is endowed with [all] the said qualities.

*Lines 6-9 :* śrī-**Chaṁdrādityēna** [dattaṁ*] svastī(sti)-dhanaṁ bhūmi-dānaṁ sva-gōttra-pṛithag-bhāvēna Mātṛigaṇēna lavdhvā(bdhaṁ) vavu(babbū)laka-kēdāra-miśra-chatur-bhāgō-(gam |) [tasya*] kshēttrasya **Hilōhila-grāma**-nivēśa-dakshiṇa-diśāyāṁ [sthitasya*] chatur-āghāṭanaṁ [likhyatē |*][1] pūrvāṁ(rvāyāṁ) diśāṁ(śāyāṁ) Varddhamānēśvara-kshēttraṁ dakshiṇa-diśāṁ(śāyāṁ) Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-Bhāulla-chā(vā)ṭa-kshēttraṁ paśchima-diśē(śi) taṭākaṁ(kam) uttara-diśē(śi) Karīra-Rushṭī-Kōṭuṁbaka(kāḥ |) ēvaṁ chatur-āghāṭan-ōpalakshitaṁ[2] [kshēttram |*]

*Translation :* A [plot of land which is the] quarter [of the village], which is partly marshy land with [a plantation of] *babbūlaka* [trees thereon] is [hereby granted] by the illustrious **Chandrāditya** as a gift of land for which he receives [only] the wealth [in the shape] of good luck [arising from the donee's blessing][3] and is received by Mātṛigaṇa as [a person] separated from his family (i.e., for his individual enjoyment). The four boundaries of the land, which lies to the south of the entrance (or the inhabited area) of **Hilōhila-grāma**, are [as follows] : to the east there is a [plot of] land belonging to the [deity] Vardhamānēśvara ; to the south there is the land containing an orchard belonging to the Brāhmaṇa Bhāulla ; to the west there lies the tank ; [and] to the north there are [the localities called] Karīra, Rushṭī and Kōṭumbaka. [The gift land is] demarcated by the boundaries [indicated] above.

*Lines 10-15 :* Siddham[4] [|*] śrī-**Chaṁdrādityēna** [dvitīyaṁ*] bhūmi-dānaṁ Mātṛigaṇasya(ṇāya) svastī(sti)-dhanaṁ(nam |) ēvaṁ tasya mā(ā)ghāṭanaṁ[5] [|*] pūrva-diśāṁ[6] Vrā(Brā)hmaṇā[nāṁ*] shēttraṁ[7] [|*] Bhaṭisvāmi-sāmaṁta[ḥ |*] tathā sāmaṁta-Vrā-(Brā)hmaṇa-Sāṁjakasya(kaḥ |) tathā sāmaṁta-Madahara[8]-Īśvarasya(raḥ |) tathā Vrā(Brā)-hmaṇa-bhaṭṭa-Prathilla[ḥ |*] tathā sāmaṁta-Madahara-Dhāiṁakasya(kaḥ |) Sīharakhibjya-nivāsī bhaṭṭa[8]-Īśvarasya(raḥ |) tathā sāmaṁta-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-Saṁva(Sāṁba)śarmma-(rmmā |) tathā sākshī Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa[ḥ*] Aggakasya(kaḥ |) tathā Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa[ḥ*] sākshī Varīśasya(śaḥ |) Khallāpalli-grāma-nivāsī sākshī bhaṭṭa-Llēllasya(llaḥ |) tathā sākshī Kōṭakasya-(kaḥ |) Kūsaṁva(ba)-grāma-nivāsī Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa[ḥ*] bhaṭṭa-Dattasya(ttaḥ |) tathā Vrā-(Brā)hmaṇa[ḥ*] sākshī Sēna-bhaṭṭasya(ṭṭaḥ |) tathā sākshī Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa[ḥ*] Tūśēkasya-(kaḥ |) tathā Siddh[u]yakasya(kaḥ |)

*Translation :* May it be well ! [This is a second] gift of land [made] by the illustrious **Chandrāditya** in favour of Mātṛigaṇa, for which he gets [only] the wealth of good luck [arising from the donee's blessing]. Its boundary is thus [given below] : in all directions there is the field belonging to Brāhmaṇas [who are] : the neighbour Bhaṭisvāmin ; and the Brāhmaṇa neighbour Sāṁjaka ; and the neighbour Īśvara of Madahara ; and the Brāhmaṇa *Bhaṭṭa* Prathilla ; and

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1 Better read *chatur-āghāṭāh likhyantē.*

2 Better read *chatur-āghāṭ-ōpalakshitaṁ.*

3 The implication is that the land was freely given and was also made rent-free

4 Expressed by symbol.

5 Better read *°ghāṭaḥ likhyatē.*

6 Read *diśāyāṁ.* But the reading intended here seems to be *sarva-diśāsu* or *pūrv-ādishu diśāsu.* This is possibly supported by the mention of a number of persons as *sāmantas* or neighbours. Otherwise, we have to think that the boundaries in the north, south and west were omitted through oversight.

7 Read *kshēttram* or better *kshēttrāṇi.*

8 *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

the neighbour Dhāiṁaka of Madahara ; [and] *Bhaṭṭa* Īśvara who is an inhabitant of Sīharakhi-bjya ; and the Brāhmaṇa neighbour Sāmbaśarman. And the witness [to the gift is] : the Brāhmaṇa Aggaka ; also the Brāhmaṇa witness Varīśa ; [also] the witness *Bhaṭṭa* Llēlla who is an inhabitant of the village of Khallāpalli ; also the witness Kōṭaka ; [also] the Brāhmaṇa *Bhaṭṭa* Datta who is an inhabitant of the village of Kūsamba ; also the Brāhmaṇa witness Sēṇabhaṭṭa ; also the Brāhmaṇa witness Tūśēka ; also Siddhuyaka.

*Lines 15-17* : ēva[ṁ*] chatur-bhāga-dvayau(yaṁ) śrī-**Chaṁdrādityēna** sva-hasta-dattasya-(ttam |) **Mārggaśira-māsa-śuddha-saptamyāṁ Sōma-dinē** vēllā(lā)yāṁ[1] pūrvvāhnē ēvaṁ śrī-**Chaṁdrādityēna** śraddhayā param-āvishṭa(shṭēna) sva-hastēna svastī(sti)-dhanaṁ sa-ditya(datti)[2]-daś-āpaṁ(pa)rādhaṁ(dham) a-kara-pravṛitnaṁ(ttaṁ dattam |) ma(na) vṛita(ti)-sdhā-(sthā)panaṁ cha sīmāyāṁ sphōṭanaṁ cha [|*] **Pādāṭaka-grāmē** [prathama*]-chatur-bhāga[ṁ*] dvitīa(ya)-chatur-bhāga[ṁ*] **Hilōhila-grāmē** [|*]

*Translation* : Thus two [plots of land which are] quarters [of the two villages referred to above] are granted by the illustrious Chandrāditya by his own hands. Thus on Monday the seventh [*tithi*] of the bright [fortnight] of the month of Mārgaśira, during the forenoon part of the day, [the grant of land], for which [only] the wealth of good luck [arising from the donee's blessings] is received, is [made] by the illustrious Chandrāditya, by his own hand, together with [the right of enjoying the fines] for the ten [minor] offences as well as the customary presents [from tenants and] without any rent fixed. [The donee should have] no [right] to raise an enclosure at the border [of the gift land] and [of] winnowing grains [at the border]. The [first] quarter [of land] lies in Pādāṭaka-grāma [and] the second quarter in Hilōhila-grāma.

*Lines 17-20* : śrī-**Harshapurāa(r-ā)vathsitēna(sthita)**-karaṇa-kalāpa-samakshaṁ tathā Kaisattakē(ka)-mahābalādhikṛita-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhaṭṭa[3]-Īśvarasya adhyaksha-bhaṭṭa-dvā(Vā)-sudēva[sya*] tathā shaḍaṁga-vi[d*]-bhaṭṭa-mahāpratīhāra[3]-Arammata[sya*] Vālēkhabha-Bhāulla[sya cha samaksham*] ēvaṁ śrī-**Chaṁdrāditya(tyēna)** [sarva*]-samē(ma)kshaṁ karaṇa-sahitaṁ(tēna) bhūr=[u]pagamataṁ(mitā) bhaṭṭa-Mātṛigaṇasya(nāya |)

*Translation* : Thus, in the presence of the group of officials stationed at **Harshapura** and [in the presence] of the Brāhmaṇa *Mahābalādhikṛita Bhaṭṭa* Īśvara of Kaisattaka [and] of *Adhyaksha* (possibly, a judge) Vāsudēva, and of *Mahāpratīhāra Bhaṭṭa* Arammata who is versed in the six *aṅgas* [of the Vēdas], [and also] of Bhāulla of Vālēkhabha, in the presence of [all the people], the illustrious **Chandrāditya**, along with his officials, causes the [gift] land to be accepted by Mātṛigaṇa.

*Lines 20-21* : Two of the usual imprecatory stanzas have been quoted here. They are written even more carelessly than the rest of the record.

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[1] These three *aksharas* are engraved partially on something previously incised.

[2] Cf. above, Vol. XXXI, p. 301, note 2. *Ditya* is generally mentioned along with *vishṭi* or free labour and possibly means 'customary presents'. The meaning of *pratibhēdikā*, sometimes found in the same context, is uncertain.

[3] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

## No. 35—LUCKNOW MUSEUM PLATE OF VIJAYACHANDRA, SAMVAT 1221

V. N. SRIVASTAVA, MATHURA

( *Received on 22.9.1958* )

In the year 1951, when I was Custodian in the State Museum, Lucknow, Sri K. D. Bajpai, the then Archaeological Officer and Officiating Curator of the Lucknow Museum, very kindly gave me six copper-plate grants of the Gāhaḍavāla kings for decipherment and publication. One of the said grants, which were purchased from Messrs. Mataprasad Sitaram of Varanasi in 1948, is published in the following pages.

This is a **single plate** measuring about 1′ 6½″ broad by 1′ 2¼″ high and engraved on one face only. In the upper part, it has a ring-hole about ¾″ in diameter. The plate contains 30 lines of writing which is in a good state of preservation. The size of individual letters is about ⅜″. The **characters** are Nāgarī, and the **language** is Sanskrit. Except once in line 8, the letter *b* has been indicated by the sign for *v*. As regards **orthography,** the palatal sibilant is often employed instead of the dental.

The inscription opens with the well-known verses which invoke the blessings of the goddess Śrī and give the genealogy of the donor and ends with the usual benedictory and imprecatory **verses.** The formal part of the grant from line 11 to 23 is in prose and is worded like most of the published grants of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty.

The charter was issued by *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* **Vijayachandradēva,** the successor of *P. M. P.* **Gōvindachandradēva** who was the successor of *P. M. P.* **Madanapāladēva,** the successor of *P. M. P.* **Chandradēva,** 'who by his own arm acquired the sovereignty over **Kānyakubja** (Kanauj)'. The charter is **dated Friday, the seventh** *tithi* **of the bright half of the month of Phālguna of the year 1221,** which is equivalent to **1164 A. D.**[1] It states that, after bathing in the **Yamunā** near Machchhōsa,[2] the king granted the village of **Kanhavarā** in the **Valai** *pattalā* to the Brāhmaṇa *Ṭhakkura* Narasiṁhaśarman of the Vasishṭha *gōtra*, who was the son of *Ṭhakkura* Bharatha and grandson of *Ṭhakkura* Surānanda. The name of the writer is not mentioned.

I am unable to identify the localities mentioned in the grant.

### TEXT[3]

[Metres : Verses 1, 3, 13, 14, 16-22 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 2, 23 *Indravajrā* ; verses 4, 7 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 5-6, 8, 11-12, 24 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 9 *Drutavilambita* ; verse 10 *Mālinī* ; verse 15 *Śālinī*.]

1 ओम् स्वस्ति ॥ अकुण्ठोत्कण्ठवैकुण्ठकण्ठपीठलुठत्करः । संरम्भः सुरतारम्भे स
श्रियः श्रेयसेस्तु वः ॥[१*] आसीदशीतद्युतिवंशजातक्ष्मापालमालासु दिवं गता-

[1] [The details of the date regularly correspond to Friday the 19th February 1165 A. D. Two other copper-plate grants of Gāhaḍavāla Vijayachandra, dated respectively in V. S. 1224 and 1225, are so far known. See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 333 and 336. This is thus the earliest of his records as yet discovered.—Ed.].

[2] [The correct name of the place is Kauśāmbī, modern Kosam in the Allahabad District.—Ed.].

[3] From inked impressions.

2 सु । साक्षाद्विवस्वानिव भूरिधाम्ना नाम्ना यशोविग्रह इत्युदारः ॥ [२*] तत्सुतोभून्महीचन्द्रश्चन्द्रधामनिभं निजम(म्) । येनापारमकूपारपारे व्यापारितं य-

3 शः ॥ [३*] तस्याभूत्तनयो नयैकरसिकः क्रान्तद्विषन्मण्डला(लो) विध्वस्तोद्धतधीरयोधतिमिर[:*] श्रीचन्द्रदेवो नृपः । येनोदारतरप्रतापशमिताशेषप्रजोपद्रवं श्रीम-

4 द्गाधिपुराधिराज्यमश(स)मन्दोर्व्विक्रमेणार्ज्जितम(म्) ॥ [४*] तीर्त्थानि कासि(शि)कुशिकोत्तरकोशलेन्द्रस्थानीयकानि परिपालयताभिगम्य [।*] हेमात्मतुल्यमनिसं(शं) ददता द्विजेभ्यो

5 येता(ना)ङ्किता वसुमती शतशस्तुलाभिः ॥[। ५*] तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति क्षितीन्द्रचूडामणिर्व्विजयते निजगोत्रचन्द्रः । यस्याभिष(षे)ककलशोल्लसितः(तैः) पयोभिः प्रक्षालितं क-

6 लिरजःपटलं धरि[त्र्याः] ॥ [६*] यस्यासीद्विजयप्रयाणश(स)म[ये] तुङ्गाच[ल्लो(लो)]च्चैश्चलं(ल)न्माद्यत्कुम्भिपदक्रमाश(स)मभरभ्रश्यन्महीमण्डले । चूडारत्नविभिन्नतालुगलित-

7 स्त्यानाशृ(सृ)गुद्भासितः शेषः पेषवसा(शा)दिव क्षणमसौ क्रोडे निलीनाननः ॥ [७*] तस्मादजायत निजायतवा(बा)हुवल्लि(ल्ली)व(ब)न्धावनु(रु)द्धनवराज्यगजो नरेन्द्रः । सान्द्रामृ-

8 तद्रवमुचां प्रभवो गवां यो गोविन्दचन्द्र इति चन्द्र इवाम्बुराशेः ॥ [८*] न कथमप्यलभन्त रणक्षमांस्तिसृषु दिक्षु गजानथ वज्रिणः । ककुभि बभ्रमुरभ्रमुवल्लभप्रतिभटा इव य-

9 [स्य] घटागजाः ॥ [९*] अजनि विजयचन्द्रो नाम तस्मान्नरेन्द्रः सुरपतिरिव भूभृत्पक्षविच्छेददक्षः । भुवनदलनह(हे)लाहर्म्य(र्म्य)हंवीरनारीनयनजलदधारा[धौ]तभूलोकतापः ॥ [१०*] लो-

10 [कत्र]याक्रमणको(का)लविसृं(स्रृं)खलानि प्रख्यातकीर्त्तिकविवर्ण्णितवैभ[व]ानि । यस्य त्रिविक्रमपदक्रमभांजि भान्ति प्रोज्जमुयन्ति[1] व(ब)लिराजभयं यशांसि ॥ [११*] यस्मिश्चलत्युदधि-

[1] [The intended reading is *prōjjṛimbhayanti* as read by Kielhorn in the Benares Sanskrit College plate of Jayachchandra (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 130, text line 11) though the second letter is doubtful there. Cf. also the Fyzabad plate of Jayachchandra (ibid., Vol. XV, p. 11, text line 11).—Ed.]

11 नेमिमहीजयार्थं माद्यत्करींद्रगुरुभारनिपीडितेव । याति प्रजापतिपदं स(श)रणार्थिनी भूस्त्वङ्गत्तुरङ्गनिवहोत्थरजश्छलेन ॥ [१२*] सोयं समस्तराजचक्रसंसेवितचरणः स

12 च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरनिजभुजोपार्ज्जितश्रीकन्यकुब्जाधिपत्यश्रीचन्द्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-

13 परममाहेश्वरश्रीमदनपालदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वराश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिविविधविद्याविचारवा-

14 चस्पतिश्रीगोविन्दचन्द्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वराश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्री-

15 मद्विजयचन्द्रदेवो विजयी ॥ ॥ वलैपत्तलायां क[न्ह]वराग्रामनिवासिनो निखिलजनपदानुपगतानपि च √राज्ञीयुवराजमन्त्रिपुरोहितप्रतीहारसेनापतिभांडागारिका-

16 क्षपटलिकभिषङ्नैमित्तकान्तःपुरिकदूतकरितुरगपत्तनाकरस्थानगोकुलाधिकारिपुरुषानाज्ञापयति वो(बो)धयत्यादिशति च यथा विदितमस्तु भवतां यथोपरिलिखित-

17 ग्रामः सजलस्थलः सलोहलवणाकरः समत्स्याकरः सगर्त्तोषरः सगिरिगहननिधानः समधूकाम्रवनवाटिकाविटपतृणयूतिगोचरपर्यन्तः सा(सो)ध्वा(र्ध्वा)धश्चतुरा-

18 घाटविसु(शु)द्धः स्वसीमापर्यन्त[:*] सपाटकः ।[1] संवत् १२२१ फाल्गुने मासि शुक्लपक्षे सप्तम्यां तिथौ रोहिणीनक्षत्रयुक्तायां सु(शु)क्रदिनाः(ने) अद्येह श्रीमच्छौशां-

19 प्या यमुनायाम्या[2] स्नात्वा विधिवन्मन्त्रदेवमुनिमनुजभूतपितृगणांस्तर्पा(र्प)यित्वा तिमिरपटलपाटनपटुमहसमुष्णरा(रो)चिषमुपस्थायौषधिपतिशकलसे(शे)-

20 ष(ख)रं समभ्यच्च्य(र्च्य) त्रिभुवनत्रातुर्व्वासुदेवस्य पूजां विधाय प्रचुरपायसेन हविषा हविर्भुजं हुत्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धयेऽस्माभिर्ग्गोकर्ण्णकुशलता-

21 पूतकरतलोदकपूर्व्वकं वसिष्ठगोत्राय एका[3] वसिष्ठप्रवराय ठक्कुरश्रीसुरानन्दपौत्राय ठक्कुरश्रीभरथपुत्राय ठक्कुरश्रीनरसिंहशर्म्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय चन्द्रार्क्कं यावच्छासनीकृत्य

[1] [The *danda* is unnecessary.—Ed.]

[2] [The reading is *śrīma[t*]-Kauśāṁvyāṁ(byāṁ) Yamunāyāmyāṁ*. The intended reading for the second expression is *Yamunāyāṁ* or *Yamunā-nadyāṁ*.—Ed.]

[3] [Read *ēka*°.—Ed.]

22 प्रदत्तो मत्वा मत्वा[1] यथादीयमानभागभोगकरप्रम(व)णिकरयमलिकाम्व(म्ब)लिप्रभृति-
नियतानियतसमस्तादायानाज्ञाविधेयीभूय दास्यथेति ॥ ॥ भवन्ति चात्र श्लोकाः [।*]

23 भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्ला(ह्णा)ति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ
नियतं स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ ॥ [१३*] सं(शं)खं भद्रासनं च्छ(छ)त्रं वराश्वा
वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि

24 फलमेतत्पुरन्दर ॥ [१४*] सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो भूयो[1] याचते
रामभद्रः । सामान्योसं(यं) धर्म्मसेतुर्न्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥
[१५*] अस्मद्वंसे(शे) परिक्षीणे

25 यः कश्चिन्नृपतिर्भवेत(त्) । तस्याहं करलग्नोम्मि(स्मि) शासनं न व्यतिक्र-
मेत् ॥ [१६*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभि[ः।*] यं(य)स्य
यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम(म्) ॥ [१७*] गामे-

26 कां स्वर्ण्णमेकं च भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुलम् । हरं(र)न्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाहु(भू)-
तसंप्लवम(वम्) ॥ [१८*] तडागानां सहस्रेण अश्वमेधफलेन[2] च । गवां कोटि-
प्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न सु(शु)-

27 ध्यति ॥ [१९*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम(राम्) । स विष्ठायां
कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥ [२०*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे
वसति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता

28 च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [२१*] वारिहीनेष्वरण्येषु सु(शु)ष्ककोटरवासिनः
[।*] कृष्णसर्प्पाश्च जायन्ते देवव्र(ब्र)ह्मस्वहारिणः ॥ [२२*] यानीह दत्तानि
पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्थ-

29 यशस्कराणि । निर्म्मा[ल्य]वान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥
[२३*] वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरा विषयोपभोगाः ।
प्राणास्तृणा-

30 ग्रजलवि(बि)न्दुसमा नराणां धर्म्मः सखा परमहो परलोकयाने ॥ [२४*] ॥
मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ॥ ॥

[1] The word is redundant.—Ed.]

[2] [Other records generally have *śatēna*.—Ed.]

# No. 36—NIMBAL PLATES OF KALACHURI SANKAMADEVA

( *1 Plate* )

M. K. DHAVALIKAR, AURANGABAD

( *Received on 2.12.1959* )

The set of plates was found while removing stones in S. Nos. 246 and 251 to the south-west of the Śaṅkaraliṅga temple at **Nimbāḷ** (Budruk) in the Indi Taluk of the Bijapur District of Mysore. It was in the possession of Shri B. G. Nadgouda Patil, the owner of the field, from whom it was obtained by Shri S. A. Sundara, Exploration Assistant, Department of Archaeology, South-Western Circle. It is published with the permission of the Superintendent of the Circle.

The plates are **three** in number. The first and third plates are inscribed only on the inner side while the second is inscribed on both the sides.[1] There is a roundish hole (diameter $\frac{1}{2}''$) in the middle of the upper margin of each plate and the plates were held together by a circular ring soldered beneath a seal. The plates measure $9\frac{3}{4}''$ in height, $5\frac{1}{2}''$ in breadth and $\frac{1}{8}''$ in thickness and together weigh 129 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the Southern Nāgarī alphabet of about the 12th century A. D. and do not call for any special remarks. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit (with Kannaḍa influence in some parts ; cf. lines 52, 58) and, except the stanzas at the beginning, the imprecatory verses at the end (lines 65 to 82), and a stanza mentioning the writer (lines 82-84), it is written in prose. There are many **orthographical** errors in the text of the record.

After the invocatory stanza in praise of Śiva at the beginning, the record gives the genealogy of the **Kalachuri** kings, which is similar to that given in the Behatti[2] and Kukkanur[3] plates. But Bijjana's victory over the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, Vaṅga and Mālava kings, which is described in the said plates, is absent in the present grant.

The inscription then records the grant of the village of **Bobbulavaddhe**, situated in **Aṅkulagē-50** which formed a part of **Tarikāḍa-kampaṇa**, made by king **Saṅkama II** in favour of the temple of a certain deity at **Nimbahura** (i.e. modern Nimbāḷ) for repairs to the temple and the worship of the deity. The name of the deity is not clear from the grant as that particular portion is mutilated. Only the first letter *kō* can be read. The name may be Kōtiśaṅkaradēva,[4] i.e. Śaṅkaraliṅga at Nimbāḷ. The grant was accepted by Nāgiseṭṭi apparently on behalf of the deity. The boundaries of the gift village have not been specified. The record mentions the name of the king's minister, Mallikārjuna. The charter was drawn up by Ādityadēva who also composed the above-mentioned Behatti and Kukkanur plates. The record was written by *Paṇḍita* Gōllaṇa while it was engraved by Paṇḍaya who was also the engraver of the Behatti grant.

The **date** of the grant is given as **Monday, the 5th of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśīrsha in the cyclic year of Parābhava**. The *nakshatra* was Bharaṇī (a mistake for Śravaṇa) and the *yōga* Vyatīpāta. The date, which corresponds to the **17th November 1186**

[1] The engraving of the record had originally been begun on the outer side of the third plate but was later given up.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 272.

[3] *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 275.

[4] Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1937-38, pp. 203-04, Nos. E 49, 51-54. The same name also occurs in the Śaṅkaraliṅga temple inscription of Yādava Bhillama. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 97, text lines 2, 4, etc. [See below, p. 230, note 4.—Ed.]

**A. D.**, raises certain issues. We know from other inscriptions of Saṅkama II that he began to rule in 1177-78 A. D. and continued till 1182 A. D. as the latest inscription of his reign belongs to the fifth regnal year, while his younger brother Āhavamalla began to rule in 1182 A. D. to which his earliest inscriptions belong. But the present grant was made by Saṅkama in 1186 A. D. The problem cannot be solved in the present state of our knowledge.[1]

Among the **localities** mentioned in the charter, Nimbahura is the Sanskritized form of Kannaḍa Nimbahaḷḷa from which the present name Nimbāḷ has been derived. The gift village of Bobbulavaddhe may be modern Bābḷad, three miles west of Nimbāḷ. Aṅkulagē, the headquarters of a group of 50 villages in which the gift village was situated, may be the present Aṅkalgī in the Bijapur Taluk. The territorial division Tarikāḍa-kampaṇa formed part of the ancient Kuntala country and roughly comprised the northern areas of the present Mysore State.

## TEXT[2]

[Meters : Verses 1-6, 11-19, 21 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 7-10 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 20 *Śālinī*.]

*First Plate*

1 ओम्[3] । स्वस्ति । नमः(म)स्तुंगशिरः(र)स्चुं(श्चुं)-

2 बी(बि)चंद्रचामरचारवे [।*] त्रैलोक्य-

3 नगरारंभमूलस्तंभाय सं(शं)भ-

4 वे ॥ [१*] अस्ति क्षत्रियरत्नानामाकर[:] सा-

5 गरायति । कुलं कलचुरीत्याख्यं वि-

6 ख्यातं भुवनत्रये ।[। २*] तदन्ववायो(ये)

7 [रा]जाभू[त्*] कृष्णः कृष्ण [इ]वापरः । अ-

8 पि बालस्य चरितं(त)मद्भुतं यस्य गी-

9 यते ।[। ३*] स [जो]गममही[प]ालं [कालं वै]-

10 रिमहीभुजा[म्*] ॥(।) वीरैकवंद्यमहसा(सां) पा-

11 त्रं पुत्रमदी(जी)जननु(नत्) ।[। ४*] दाक्षिण्यजल-

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[1] [The author's statements regarding the reign period of Saṅkama and the beginning of the rule of Āhavamalla are inaccurate. Fleet assigns Saṅkama's rule to 1177-80 A. D. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 486 ff.) and P. B. Desai to 1175-80 A. D. (*Karṇāṭakada Kalachurigaḷu*, 1951, pp. 54-55). Epigraphic evidence on the subject is rather confusing. The genuineness of the grant published here is not beyond doubt.—Ed.]

[2] From the original plates.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

12 धि(धे)स्तस्मा[त्*] क्षीरोदादिव चंद्रमा[: ।*]

13 अजायत जगत्स्या(त्स्या)त: परमर्द्दिम-

14 हीपति: ।[। ५*] तस्मात्मेनो(न्मेरो)रिवात्शे(शे)-

15 षव्यापितं(नां) तेजसां निधि: । उदित: सुभ-

16 [टा]दित्यो बिज(ज्ज)णपृथिवीपति: ।[। ६*]

17 स च । आचक्राम न कां दी(दि)शन्न वु(बु)भु-

18 जे कं देशमुत्मू(न्मू)लयांचक्रे कत्त(न्न) रिपुं ब-

*Second Plate : First Side*

19 भार [न] रिपू[न]प्य[ा*][श्रित]न्कानिह [।*] संचिक्ये न ध-

20 नानि कानि न ददौ किं दानमि(मी)जे म-

21 खै: कैर्न्नायं गुणरत्नरोहणगिरि: [श्री]-

22 बि[ज(ज्ज)]णक्ष्मापति: ।[। ७*] सर्वाशातिमि[रं] नुद-

23 न्मुकुलयन्श(न्स)र्वद्विषद्ध्रु(द्ध्रू)भुजा(जां) हस्तांभोज-

24 ततीज(र्ज)गद्धवल[य*]त्सर्व(न्सर्वं) स्वकीर्त्योजसा ।

25 [सर्वोर्व्वीधर]वृद्धपीठनिदि(हि)तश्रीपाद-

26 [रम्यो]दयो स(रा)जा[ा*] सोम उदैत्कलानि-

27 [धिरित: पू]र्ण्णं स्फुरत्मं(न्मं)डल: ।[। ८*] वार्त्ता कैव रणो-

28 [त्सवेषु नि]नदे भेरीरवे भैरवे ।[1] दृष्ये-

29 [षु द्रुघणा]हतै:(तै)रपि क्ष(क्र)तैस्तै: कि(की)लकोला-

30 ह[लै][: ।*] यद्य[ा*]त्रासु त(न) दु[द्रु*]वुर्न्न रिपव: का देश-

31 को[स(श)]त्यज: केषां वा न विदीर्य्यंते स्म हृद-

32 यं मूर्च्छानिमीलदृसां(दृशाम्) ।। [९*] यस्य च क्षत्रियशि-

33 खामणे: [।*] हेलाहेशि(षि)तनादभारभ-

34 रिता दीर्ण्णा यदष्टे(ष्टौ) दिशा धूताश्वा(श्वा)श्वखु-

35 राहतै: परिवलद्दी(द्वे)ला यदष्टौ नगा: ।

36 तत्ताट(दृ)गृ(ग्रि)पुराजवी(बी)जदहनप्रस्थान-

37 [वे]लास्थिति(तिं) जानीत(ते) यदि त्से(शे)ष एष [सु]-

[1] The *danda* is unnecessary.

38 कृती भूभारसर्वंसह्[:*] ॥ [१०*] तद(त)स्तदनुजः [श्री]-
39 म[ा]न्जातः सखमभूपतिः [।*] प्रसंनपुण्य-
40 लक्ष्मीका(कः) प्रकृत्यं(त्यै)व दयापरः [॥ ११*] अस्य [त]-

*Second Plate : Second Side*

41 स्येति यत्या(त्त्या)गे न भेद उपलभ्यवे:(ते) [।*] कस्य त-
42 तु(न्)नैव तत्कस्य तेजः सु(शु)चि ।[1] हिमद्यु-
43 नेः(तेः) ।[। १२*] किं नाम चित्रचरित[:*] स्तु(स्तू)यते रो(रा)ज-
44 कुंजरः । नित्यप्रव(वृ)त्तदातो(नो)पि नैति यो मत्त-
45 वाभ्य(च्य)तां(ताम्) ।[। १३*] स हि सहजसांक्र(क्र)मिकोभयगु-
46 णग्रामम[2]गरिमसमाव[र्जित]प्र-
47 जानुरागचंद्रोदयोर्ला(ल्ला)सनि[रंत]र-
48 परिवद्ध(र्द्ध)माम(न)साम्राज्यसा- - -
49 सुस्थित[3]महालक्ष्मीविलाससुखासि-
50 [का]सम्यमनप्रसंनगंभीरनिरातंक-
51 निस्क(ष्क)लंकवृत्तवृत्तिम(र्म)हाराज[ाधिरा]ज[:]
52 शंखमदेवः निव(ब)हुरद स्री(श्री)को - - - [श्वर]-[4]
53 स्य चिरंतनप्रतिष्टि(ष्ठि)तस्य पूजा[र्थं] प्रवर्त्ते(वृत्ते)-
54 सु(पु) गृहक्षेत्रेषु पिंडादानरूपेण देवस्य अं-
55 गभोगरंगभोगखंडस्फुटितजीर्णोद्धा-
56 रादिनिमित्तं तारिकाडकंपण अंकुलगे ऐव-
57 त्तरमध्यस्थितबोव्बुलवद्धेनामधे[य](यं) पुनर्दा-
58 नस्य पराभवसंवत्सरद मार्ग[सि(शि)र]सु(शु)द्धपं-
59 चमि(म्यां) सोमवार(रे) भरणि(णी)नक्षत्रव्यती[पा]तयो-

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1 The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

2 [The *akshara* is redundant.—Ed.]

3 [The intended reading may be *sāgara-samutthita*.—Ed.]

4 [The intended reading is apparently *Kōṭiliṁgēśvara*.—Ed.]

# NIMBAL PLATES OF KALACHURI SANKAMADEVA

*ii, a*

*ii, b*

Scale : Two-thirds

*iii. a*

*iii. b*

SEAL

( from Photograph )

60 गयुक्तायां(या) मनंगुली(लि) प्रेक्षणीयं मर्वनमस्यं कृ-
61 त्वा स्थानचिंतायकस्य नागिसेट्टियस्य हस्ते धारा-
62 पु(पू)र्वकं अधिकारि रव . .[1] [प्रधान ?] मल्लिकार्जु[नं]
63 . . . देवि संखमदेवो दत्तवां(वा)न्[2] ॥ . . .[3]

*Third Plate*

64 [अस्य च ध]र्म्मस्य रक्षण [फल]मिति महात्मका[4] ।[5]
65 [प्रांच]स्त्त(स्त) पोमहिमसाक्षात्कृतमक-
66 [लध]र्म्मगतयो मसंश(हर्ष)यः ॥ बहुभिर्व-
67 सुधा [भु]क्ता राजलिः(भिः) सगरादिभिः । यस्य य-
68 स्य यदा भूमिः[6] तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ [१४*] गण्यंते
69 पांसवो भूमिं[7] गण्यंते वृष्टिबि(बिं)दवः [।*] न गण्यंते वि-
70 धात्रापि धर्म्मसंरक्षणे फलं(लम्) ॥ [१५*] अपहरतः म-
71 मा[र्थस्य चा]पुदासीनस्य त ।[8] एवं फलमात्मा(म्ना)
72 [सिषुः ।] स्वदत्तं(त्तां) परदत्तानां(त्तां वा) यो ध(ह)रेत वसुं-
73 धरां(राम्) । [षष्टि]र्वर्श(र्ष) सहश्रा(स्रा)णि मि(वि)ष्टा(ष्ठा)यां जायते कृ-
74 [मिः] ॥ [१६*] कुलाति(नि) तारए(ये)त्कर्त्ता सप्त सप्त [च]
75 [सप्त च] । [अ]धोधः पातए(ये)त्ह(द्ध)र्त्ता सप्त सप्त च सप्त
76 च ॥ [१७*] [ग्रा(गा)मेकां] रत्ति(त्नि)कामेकां भूमेरप्येकमंगु-
77 लं(लम्) । ह[रन्न]रकमाप्नोति यावदाहु(भू)तसंप्लवं(वम्) [॥ १८*]

[1] [Two letters damaged here look like *layam*.—Ed.]

[2] [The reading seems to be *Kuṅkumadēvi(vī)-Saṁkhamadēvau dattavaṁtau*. Kunkumadēvī was apparently a queen of Saṅkama.—Ed.]

[3] Some letters are lost here.

[4] [Read *mahātmakāh* or *mahātmānah*.—Ed.]

[5] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[6] Read *bhūmis=*.

[7] Read *bhūmēr=*.

78 कर्म्मणा मनसा वाचा यः समर्थोप्युपेक्षि(क्ष)ते ।

79 स [स्या]त्सदैव चांडालः सर्वधर्म्मव(ब)हिक्र(ष्कृ)तः ॥ [१९*]

80 सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतु(तु)नृ(नृ)पाणां काले काले पा-

81 लनी[यो] भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थि-

82 [वें]द्रा[न्*] भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः ॥ [२०*] शक्तिव्यु-

83 त्पत्तिसंपत्त(न्न)विद्वश्री(च्छ्री)पादसेविना [।*] रवि(चि)ता-

84 दित्य[देवेन] स(से)यं सा(शा)सनपद्धतिः ॥ [२१*] कृतिरि-

85 यं त्रिभुवनविद्याचक्रवर्त्तिनः स्री(श्री)मदादि-

86 न्य(त्य)देवेन[1] [।*] लिखित पंडितगोल्लणेन ॥ उकि-

87 रितं[2] विनाणिपंडयेन [।*] मंगलमहाश्रीश्री ॥[3]

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1 [Read °dēvasya.—Ed.]

2 Read utkīrṇaṁ.

3 On the back of the plate there are three lines of writing. As indicated above, the engraving of the document was originally begun there.

# No. 37—PANDIAPATHAR PLATES OF BHIMASENA, YEAR 89

( *1 Plate* )

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

( *Received on 5.11.1959* )

Pandit S. N. Rajaguru published this inscription in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. VI, Parts II-III (July and October 1957), pp. 97-102 and Plates. He is stated to have received the plates for study from Pandit Ananta Tripathi of Berhampore in the Ganjam District of Orissa and the record is reported to have been discovered at the village of **Pandiapathar** about six miles to the north-east of Aska in the same District. As Pandit Rajaguru's treatment of the inscription did not appear to be quite satisfactory, I was eager to examine the original plates which I received from Pandit Tripathi in October 1959 for study and return. It was indeed the kind help of Dr. H. K. Mahtab, Chief Minister of Orissa, that enabled me to secure the inscription for examination and I am extremely thankful to him.

The inscription is written on **three** plates, of which the first and third are engraved on the inner side and the second on both the sides. There are twentyeight lines of writing, each inscribed face of the plates containing seven lines. The plates measure each about 7⅞ inches in length and 3⅝ inches in height. There is a hole (a little below ½ inch in diameter) about the middle of the left half of the three plates and the seal ring (about ¼ inch in thickness and 3 inches in diameter) holding the plates together passes through it. The said hole has been made at the space left out on each plate at the time of engraving. Before this hole was bored, another hole was bored through mistake elsewhere in each of the three plates after the engraving had been completed. Thus there is a hole in the lower part of the third plate (cutting off an *akshara* in line 27) while a hole each was bored originally at the corresponding place in the first and second plates (affecting two *aksharas* in line 7 on Plate I and one *akshara* in line 9 and two in lines 20-21 on Plate II) although, in the case of Plates I and II, the circular pieces of metal removed by the boring instrument were replaced and soldered soon after the mistake had been detected. The piece of metal similarly removed from the third plate was evidently refixed at its place ; but it is now lost though the marks of soldering are quite clear. The circular **seal** soldered to the joint of the ring is 1⅛ inches in diameter and is much corroded. Its counter-sunk surface bears the sun and crescent symbols above an animal which looks like a boar to right. There is another symbol looking like a conch-shell above the head of the animal. The weight of the three plates together is 56¼ *tolas* and that of the seal and the ring 13¾ *tolas.*

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the East Indian alphabet of about the tenth century A.D. and may be compared with those of such other contemporary epigraphs of the Ganjam region as the Madras Museum plates[1] of the time of Narēndradhavala, which have been assigned to the third quarter of the same century. However, on a careful examination of the palaeography of the record under study with that of the said Madras Museum plates, it is found that letters like *ē*, *kh*, *j*, *ḍ* and *th* exhibit somewhat more developed forms in the latter epigraph. Thus our record may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the **first half of the tenth century** and this, as will be seen below, is supported by the date quoted in the inscription.

[1] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 44 ff. and Plate.

The palaeography of the inscription is characterised by the use of several forms of the same sign in some cases. Thus final *t* has three different forms, viz. the Bengali type in lines 9 and 20, the Dēvanāgarī type in lines 15 and 16 and a form akin to the Bengali type in line 1. Similarly, two different forms of the *visarga* sign have been used in line 7. The sign for *upadhmānīya* used in line 24 looks like that of *sh*. For two types of the medial sign of *u*, see *gurō* in line 1 and *hētu* in line 2. A stroke added to the latter type of medial *u* as well as to initial *u*, was regarded by us as merely ornamental while editing the Madras Museum plates of the time of Narēndradhavala. It cannot possibly be regarded as indicating a sign for *ū* even though in a few cases the stroke is absent in our record (cf. *nu* thrice in lines 12-13). In some cases, *p* and *y* are undistinguishable. The initial vowels *a* (lines 11, 26), *ā* (line 22), *i* (lines 23, 25), *ū* (line 17) and *ē* (line 10) occur in the inscription. Final *n* occurs in line 9. *B* has been written by the sign for *v*.

The **language** of the record is corrupt Sanskrit, although it is not so corrupt as in the Madras Museum plates referred to above. Since the letters are carefully engraved, the errors would appear to be due to the writer of the document. But there are many letters re-engraved on erasures of what was wrongly incised previously and the engraver was no doubt responsible for them. The **orthography** is also characterised by numerous errors. A consonant has sometimes been redoubled after *r* and *anusvāra* has been changed to the guttural nasal before *ś*. The word *pala* has been written as *pla* as in some other early Orissan records as the Madras Meseum plates.

The **date** of the grant is quoted in lines 25-26 as the second *tithi* of the **dark half of Māgha in the year 89.** Considering the palaeography of the inscription, this year can be referred only to the Bhauma-Kara era of 831 A. D.[1] Year 89 would thus correspond to 919 A. D., a date which would place our record a few decades earlier than the Madras Museum plates of the time of Narēndradhavala, and this is in complete accord with the palaeography of the two epigraphs. Lines 13-14 show that the grant was made on the occasion of the **Vishuva-saṅkrānti.** It may be pointed out in this connection that Pandit Rajaguru reads the passage *Samvat 89* as *Samva 189*. But what he has read as *1* looks more like *ta* without a top *mātrā* (cf. final *t* in line 15) and also the figure for 7 in line 14.[2] Moreover, the palaeography of our inscription shows that it is earlier than records like the Daspalla plates[3] of the Bhauma-Kara years 184 and 198. It is also difficult to believe that the figures *1* and *7* would have been written by the same sign by the same writer without noticing that it would lead to an avoidable confusion. If the reading *Samva 789* is preferred, the year 789 may be referred to the Śaka era so that the date would be 867 A. D. But the use of the Śaka era was not popular in the area before the tenth century. The palaeography of our record also seems to suggest a somewhat later date.

The record begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by the auspicious word *svasti*. Next comes the reference to **Bhīmapura** whence the charter was issued. The donor of the grant, viz. *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* **Bhīmasēna** of the **Nala** dynasty, is then introduced as a devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara (Śiva) and as devoted to the god Yamaliṅgēśvara, apparently Śiva in the form of a Liṅga which was probably the family deity of the king. The kingdom of Bhīmasēna is apparently mentioned in this section as **Khiḍḍiraśṛiṅga-maṇḍala.** It is interesting to note that the draft of the said introductory part of our inscription was adapted from the introductory section of the documents of the Gaṅga rulers of Śvētaka.[4] While this fact associates

[1] See ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 191, note 2.

[2] The same figure read by us as *1* in line 6 of the Madras Museum plates of the time of Narēndradhavala may really be 7.

[3] Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 183 ff. and Plates.

[4] See ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 79, 262, 264, 266, 268 ; Vol. XXIV, p. 134 ; Vol. XXVI, p. 168 ; etc.

king Bhīmasēna with the said Gaṅga house, the dating of his grant in a year of the Bhauma-Kara era connects him with the Bhauma-Kara kings of Guhēsvara-pāṭaka or Guhadēva-pāṭaka near modern Jājpur in the Cuttack District. Bhīmapura, probably founded by and named after Bhīmasēna, seems to have been the capital of the said ruler.

The royal order in respect of the grant was addressed to the Brāhmaṇas, the feudatory chiefs and the people of the district including the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* (officer in charge of an administrative unit called *rāshṭra*), the *Bṛihadbhōgin* (big *jāgīrdārs*) and the *Bhōgin* (smaller *jāgīrdārs*) with reference to a district called **Kamaṇḍula-pāṭṭa.** The gift village was **Kūrmatalā-grāma** situated in the said district. The donee was a Brāhmaṇa by name *Bhaṭṭa* Pājūni, who was the son of Ādityadēva and grandson of Agnisvāmin and belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and the Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhruva *pravaras.* That the gift land was granted in favour of Pājūni has been mentioned in two consecutive sentences, the second of which gives the details about his family and ancestry. A passage in line 14 shows that the donee had to pay a kind of rent of seven *palas* of silver apparently per annum. The inscription thus records a *kara-śāsana,* several of which have been discussed by us elsewhere.[1] It is interesting to note that, although the grant made was permanent, it is not stated that the gift village was made rent-free.

Line 17 assigns some of the usual imprecatory stanzas quoted in lines 17-25 to the Dharmaśāstra and also wrongly to *Mānavīya*, i.e. the *Dharma-śāstra* of Manu. The date, already discussed above, is quoted in lines 25-26. It is followed by the statements to the effect that the charter was drawn up by *Sāndhivigrahika* (minister for war and peace) Arkadēva and engraved by a person whose name appears to have been Sāmantāka. *Vagu* Vanasiṁha endowed the original document with the royal seal. *Vagu* is no doubt a contraction of *Vāgulika* or *Vārgulika* indicating the bearer of the king's betel-box.[2]

The **importance** of the inscription lies in the fact that it reveals the existence of a new king of a new dynasty in Orissa about the tenth century A. D. Several earlier kings of the Nala dynasty are known to have ruled in the Chhattisgarh and Bastar regions of Madhya Pradesh.[3] But Bhīmasēna of the Ganjam area is the only member of the family so far known to have ruled in Orissa. The use of the Bhauma-Kara era side by side with imperial titles and the absence of the king's father's name in the inscription under study suggest that Bhīmasēna was originally ruling over the Khiḍḍiraśṛiṅga district as a feudatory of the Bhauma-Karas and that he succeeded in throwing off the yoke of his overlords and ruled independently for a short time when the present charter was issued. Khiḍḍiraśṛiṅga seems to be identical with Khiḍḍarasiṅgha of the Madras Museum plates of the time of Narēndradhavala who was ruling over the district about the third quarter of the tenth century, i.e. a few decades after Bhīmasēna. The Nala family thus seems to have been ousted from the area by the dynasty of the Dhavalas who also appear to have owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas.

Among the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, Khiḍḍiraśṛiṅga has to be identified with the former Khidishingy Zamindari which had its headquarters at Dhārakōṭa and lay to the south of Bodaguda and to the west of Goomsur.[4] The gift village called Kūrmatalā-grāma and the district of Kamaṇḍula-pāṭṭa in which it was situated cannot be identified. Bhīmapura also cannot be identified, though Rajaguru identifies it with the modern Bhīmnagar in Survey of India Sheet No. 74|A|11. The word *pāṭṭa* used to indicate a district reminds us of Oriya *daṇḍa-pāṭa* found in later records and *paṭṭa* found in many cases elsewhere.

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[1] See *JRAS*, 1952, pp. 4 ff. ; above, Vol. XXX, pp. 114-15 ; Vol. XXXIII, p. 153.

[2] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1497, 1500. 1502.

[3] See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 13 ff. ; *The Classical Age*, pp. 188 ff.

[4] See *Madras Manual*, Vol. III, pp. 269-70 ; Rangachari's List, Vol. I, p. 671, note ; *Or. Hist. Res. Journ.*, op. cit., p. 100.

## TEXT[1]

*First Plate*

1 Siddham[2] svasti [||*] **Bhimapūrāt**[3] bhagavataś=char-āchara-gurō[ḥ*] sa-ka[la*]-**śaśāṅka**-śēkha-

2 ra-dharasyā(sya) sthityōtpati[4]-pralaya-kāraṇa-hētu-śrī-rya(Ya)maliṅgēśvara-bhaṭṭā-

3 rakasya charaṇa-kamal-ārādhan-āvyā(vā)p[t]a-puṇya-nicha[yaḥ*] sa(sva)-śakti-sus(**traya**)-praka-

4 sha(rshai)r=anurañjit-āśēsha-sāmanta-chakra[ḥ*] sva-bhuja-va(ba)la-parākram-ākrā-

5 nta-sakala-**Khiḍḍiraśṛiṅga**-maṇḍalājyē[5] parapa(ma)māhēśvarō mātā-

6 pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāta[ḥ*] **Nala**-vaṅśō(vaṁś-ō)dbhava[ḥ*] kula-kamal-ā[la*]ṅkāra-bhu-(bhū)tō mahārā-

7 jādhirāja-paramēśvara[6]-śrī-**Bhīmasēnadēvaḥ** kuśaliḥ(lī) **Kama[ṇ]ḍula**-[7]

*Second Plate, First Side*

8 **pāṭṭa**[8] rvrā(Brā)hmaṇa-pu(pū)rvvā[n*] sāmant-ādīnāṁ[9] rāshṭ[r]aku(kū)ṭa-vṛi(bṛi)had-bhōgi-bhōgi-

9 p[r]amukhān yathā-nivāsinō vishaya-janapādāḥ[10] sā(sa)mādiśati ch=ānyat

10 vidit(dita)m=astū(stu) bhavatāḥ(tām) ētadvivishaya[11]-samva(mba)ddha-**Ku(Kū)rmatalā**-grāmō=yaṁ ||[12] bhā(bha)ṭṭa-

11 Pāj[ū]nēḥ[13] napatiditō[14]=smābhi[ḥ |*] Agismāmiśūta- A[15]dityadē-

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[1] From the original plates.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] Read *Bhīmapurāt*. *Ma* or *mu* was originally written for *pu*.

[4] Read *sthity-utpatti*.

[5] Read *maṇḍala-rājyē*.

[6] The *aksharas śvara* are affected by the marks of a hole originally bored.

[7] The superscript of *ṇḍu* is written on the marks of a previously engraved letter and is really unrecognisable. The name reminds us of the Sanskrit word *kamaṇḍalu*.

[8] Read *pāṭṭē* or *paṭṭē*.

[9] Read °*ādikān*.

[10] Read °*padān* The letter *dā* is affected by the marks of a hole which had been first bored and then repaired.

[11] Read *ētad-vishaya*.

[12] The *dandas* are superfluous.

[13] Better read *Pājūnayē*. The leter *p* is wirtten on *n* which had been previously engraved. *Ju* was originally ved for *jū*.

[14] Read *pratipāditō*°.

[15] Read *Agnisvāmi-sut=Ā*°.

ii, a

Scale : Four-fifths

*ii, b*

*iii*

12 vasya śuta[1]-bhā(bha)ṭṭa-[Pājūna][2] K[ā]shapa[3]-gōtrāy=Āvachhanupravara Nōdrūvavachhā-

13 nu-anupravaraḥ[4] mātā-pitrōr=āt[n]yan(tmana)ś=cha puṇy-ābhirvṛi(vṛi)ddhayē Viśu(shu)-

14 va-saṅkrāntyāḥ(ntyāṁ) ru(rū)pya-plāni[5] sapta 7 ka[chchhikṛita][6] salila-dhārā-purassa-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

15 rēṇa chantrā(ndr-ā)rkka-sthityā pratipāditō=smābhir=yatatkālaḥ[7] kāl-āntarēna(ṇa)

16 kau(kai)śchid=asmad-uparōdhād=dharmma-gō(gau)ravāt na chcha(cha) vyā(vā)dhā kara ṇīya(yā |) tathā

17 cha paṭhyatē Mānavīyē utaṁñ=cha[8] dharmma-śāstrē [|*] Vahuhi[9]r=vvasudhā datā(ttā) rājabhi-

18 s=Sagar-ādibhirya(bhiḥ | ya)sya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mis=tasya tasya tadā

19 phalaṁ(lam |) Sva-datā(ttā)m=para-datāmvā[10] yō harēd=vasūndharāṁ[11] [|*] sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimi[r*]=bhu(bhū)tvā

20 pitṛibhis=sabha[12] pachyatē | Mā bhut phala[13]-śaṅkā[14] va[ḥ*] para-datē(tt=ē)ti pārthivā[ḥ |*]

21 sva-dānātpā(t=pha)lam=ānantya[ṁ*] para-datt-ānupālanaṁ[15] [||*] Shashṭi-varsha-[saha-srā*]ṇi rgga[16]

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[1] Read *suta* or better *°dēva-suta*. Originally *ta* seems to have been incised in place of *śu*.

[2] Read *Pājūnayē*. The name is written on an erasure.

[3] Read *Kāśyapa*.

[4] The intended reading is *Āvatsār-ānupravarāya Naidhruv-Āvatsār-ānupravarāya*. Better read *Āvatsāra-pravarāya Naidhruv-ānupravarāya*.

[5] Sanskrit *palāni*.

[6] These letters are written on an erasure. The intended reading may be *aṅgīkṛitya* or *svīkṛitya*. The *akshara ka* at the beginning of the expression seems to be engraved on *a* originally incised.

[7] The *akshara lah* is written on *ka* which had been previously engraved. The intended reading is *yatas=tat-kāl-āntarēṇa*.

[8] Read *uktañ=cha*.

[9] Read *Bahubhi°*.

[10] Read *dattāṁ vā*.

[11] Read *harēta vasundharām* for the sake of the metre.

[12] Read *°s=saha*. *Ssa* seems to have been engraved on *bhbhi* previously incised.

[13] Read *bhūd=a-phala*.

[14] The lower part of this *akshara* and the upper part of *la* below in the following line are affected by the marks of a hole to which reference has been made.

[15] Read *pālanē*. A *visarga* sign appears to have been unnecessarily engraved after *naṁ*.

[16] The *akshara* is redundant.

*Third Plate*

22 svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāṇai(ny=ē)va nara-

23 kamvajētiḥ[1] | [|*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-llō(lō)lā[ṁ*] śriyaṁ(ya)m=anu-chintya ma-

24 nushya-jīvitaṁ [cha |*] sakalam=idam=udāhārīta vudhvā[2] na hi purushaiḥ=pa-

25 ra-ki(kī)rttayō vilōpyā iti || **Samvat[3] 89 Māgha-vadi**

26 **duti[4]** **sāsa[5]** nirvartitaḥ(tam) | ta[l*]=likhitaṁ **sāndhivigrahi[ka*]-śrī[6]-A-**

27 rkadēvēṇa(na |) utki(tkī)rṇṇañ=cha Sāma[ntākē]ṇa(na |)[7] lāñchhi[taṁ cha*] Vagu[li*][8]-

28 Vaṇasiṅghaṇa[9] ||[10]

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[1] Read °*kaṁ vrajēt*. The *visarga* mark before the *daṇḍa* may also be regarded as a part of the mark of punctuation.

[2] Read °*udāhṛitañ=cha buddhvā*.

[3] Read *vilōpyāḥ* ||*iti*|| *Saṁvat*.

[4] Read *dvitīyāyāṁ*.

[5] Read *śāsanaṁ*.

[6] An *akshara* looking like *chha* was originally engraved in place of *śrī*. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[7] Originally *nta* or *ntā* was written in place of *ma*. The following *akshara* is cut off by the hole to which reference has been made above. The intended name seems to be *Sāmantāka*. After having incised the first *akshara* of the name, the engraver forgot the second *akshara* and incised the third which was however immediately corrected.

[8] This is sometimes found in the records of the Ganjam area as *Vāgulika* and *Vārgulika*.

[9] Read *Vanasiṁhēna*.

[10] The punctuation is indicated by a *visarga*-like sign followed by a *Siddham* symbol.

# No 38—BANAVASI INSCRIPTION OF VINHUKADA SATAKANNI, YEAR 12

(*1 Plate*)

G. S. Gai, Ootacamund

(*Received on 2.12.1959*)

This well-known inscription was discovered by J. Burgess as early as 1879-80 at Banavāsi, a village about 15 miles southeast of Sirsi, the headquarters of the Taluk of that name in the North Kanara District of Mysore. The record is engraved on the two edges of a large slate slab bearing a beautiful representation of a five-hooded cobra. The slab is fixed into a niche in the courtyard of the Madhukēśvara temple. The inscription consists of three lines, the first line being on the left margin of the slab from top to bottom and the others on the right margin.

The epigraph was first published[1] by Bhagwanlal Indraji who read the text as follows :

1 Sidhaṁ Raño[2] Hāriti-putasa **Viṇhukaḍaḍuṭukulānaṁda-Sātakaṇisa** vasa-satāya **sava-chharaṁ 12 Hemaṁtāna pakha 7 divasa 1** mahābhūviya mahārāja-[bāli]kāya jivaputa-

2 [bhā]jāya sa-kumā[rāva] Sivakhaṁdanāgasiriya deyadhaṁma nāgo taḍāgaṁ vihāro cha [|*] etha[?] kamatiko amacho Khadasātisa [|*] Jayaṁtakasa achariyasa [putasa]

3 Damorakasa sisena Naṭakena nāgo kato [||*]

Indraji thought that a letter was broken away at the beginning of the second line, perhaps two more a little way down and some at the end of the same line which he restored in square brackets. Burgess, in an editorial note, observed that the letters in the second line read as °*ya saku*° and *Sivakhadanā*° may also be read somewhat differently.[3] The translation of the record given by Indraji[4] runs : " To the Perfect ! In the year 12 of the century, the king (*being*) Hāritiputa **Sātakaṇi**, the cherisher of the Vehnukaḍaḍuṭu (?) family, the **7th fortnight** of the **winter months**, 1st day, the meritorious gift of the Mahābhuvī (Mahābhojī), the king's daughter, Sivakhandanāgasiri, wife of Jivaputa, with her son — of a Nāga, a tank and a *vihāra*. These three works by the prime minister Khadasāti. Naṭaka, the disciple of Damoraka and son of the *Āchārya* Jayantaka, made the Nāga. "

Bühler who re-edited the inscription[5] suggested the reading *visa-satāya* (for *vasa-satāya*) standing for Sanskrit *viśva-sattāyāḥ*, ' of the rule of the universe or univeral sovereignty ', although later he adopted the reading *vasa-satāya* and interpreted it as Sanskrit *vaśa-sattāyāḥ*, ' of the existence of the rule'.[6] At the beginning of the second line, he supplied the letter *pa* instead of *bhā* suggested by Indraji, and took the whole compound as *jivaputa-pajāya*, remarking that the *u*-stroke of *yu* was due to a scratch and hence accidental. He read the next three letters as *sa-*

[1] *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*, 1881, pp. 100-01.

[2] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

[3] Ibid., p. 100, note 2.

[4] Ibid., p. 100.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 331-34.

[6] Above, Vol. I, p. 96. According to Fleet *vasa-satāya* stands for *varsha-sattāyāḥ*, 'of the year-existence, i.e. of the continuance for one year more ' (*JRAS*, 1905, pp. 304-05). [In our opinion, these interpretations of the expression are wrong. See below, p. 241, note 1. —Ed.]

*umā*.. or *saomā*.. standing for Sanskrit *sakumā* and accepted Indraji's restoration of the next two letters as *rāya*, so that the word would be *sakumārāya*. Thus the gift portion was translated by him as '(*the image of*) a Nāga, a tank and a monastery (*are*) the meritorious gift of the Mahābhojī Sivakhadanāgasiri (Śivaskandanāgaśrī), the daughter of the great king, — of her whose son and (*other*) progeny is living, (*and*) who is associated (*in this donation*) with her son'. With regard to the sentence *etha kamatiko*, etc., Bühler, besides interpreting *kamatiko* in a different sense, stops with Khadasāti, taking it as a nominative singular and connecting the following *sa* with *jayatakasa*, and interprets *Sajayataka* as 'an inhabitant of Saṁjayantī'. According to him, only one letter could have been lost at the end of the second line, and taking this lost letter to be *i*, he read the name in question as *Idamoraka*. He translated the last two sentences as 'with respect to these (*gifts*) the minister Khadasāti (Skandasvātī) (*was*) the superintendent of the work. The Nāga has been made by Naṭaka (Nartaka), the pupil of the *Āchārya*[1] [I]damoraka (Indramayūra) of the town of Saṁjayantī.'

While Indraji and Bühler took Śivaskandanāgaśrī as the donatrix and the king's daughter, Rapson thought that the name refers to the prince and that the name of the donatrix is not mentioned in the record, she being only stated to have been the daughter of the great king who was associated in the donation with the prince.[2] He also read the name of the family as *Chuṭu* instead of *Ḍuṭu* and identified the unnamed donatrix with Nāgamūlanikā of the Kanheri inscription,[3] who is stated to have been the daughter of the great king and the mother of Skandanāgaśātaka, and attributed the latter record to king Viṇhukaḍa-Chuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi. He further identified the said king with his namesake mentioned in the Maḷavaḷḷi inscription.[4] According to him, Śivaskandanāgaśrī of the present record, Skandanāgaśātaka of the Kanheri epigraph and Śivaskandavarman mentioned in the Maḷavaḷḷi inscription were identical.

Lüders also regarded Śivaskandanāgaśrī as the prince whose mother's name is not given in the record.[5] The same view has been adopted by N. Lakshminarayan Rao and R. S. Panchamukhi who accept the identification of king Viṇhukaḍa-Chuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi of the present inscription with his namesake mentioned in the Maḷavaḷḷi record.[6] D. C. Sircar who also follows Rapson in regarding Śivaskandanāgaśrī as a prince, however, is doubtful about the ascription of the Kanheri inscription to the king mentioned in the Banavāsi epigraph and thinks that from the palaeographical and linguistic points of view, the kings mentioned in the latter record and the Maḷavaḷḷi inscription should be regarded as different.[7] In his opinion, the identification of Śivaskandanāgaśrī, Skandanāgaśātaka and Śivaskandavarman, suggested by Rapson, cannot be accepted.

I had an opportunity to study the record *in situ* in 1947-48 and recently again studied it from impressions preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India in its collection for the year 1935-36.[8] My suggestions regarding the reading and interpretation of the inscription are offered below.

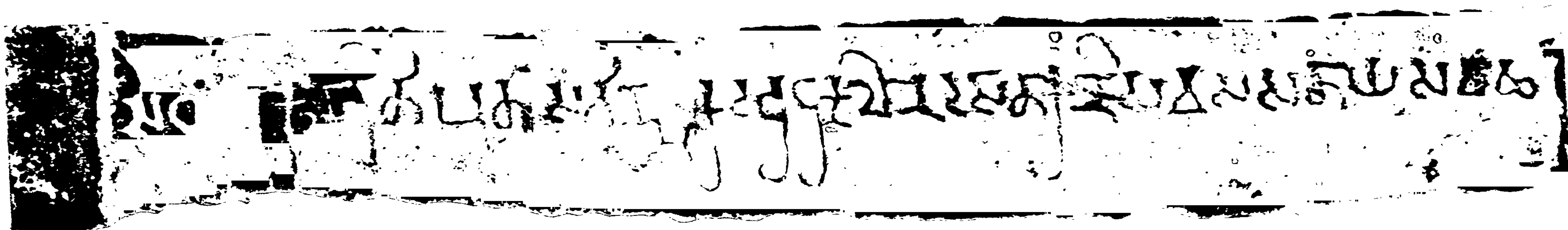
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[1] This word means here, according to Bühler, 'master-mason'.
[2] *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, p. liii, No. 25.
[3] *ASWI*, Vol. V, p. 86.
[4] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, p. 251.
[5] Cf. *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1186.
[6] *Karṇāṭakada Arasumanetanagaḷu*, p. 3.
[7] *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 221-23 ; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 208-09.
[8] *A. R. Ep.*, 1935-36, No. E 123.

BANAVASI INSCRIPTION OF VINHUKADA SATAKANNI, YEAR 12

A

Left Half



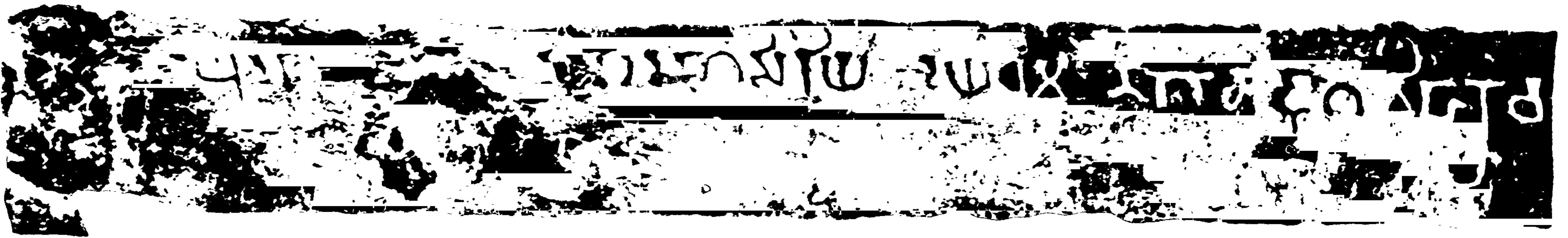
Right Half



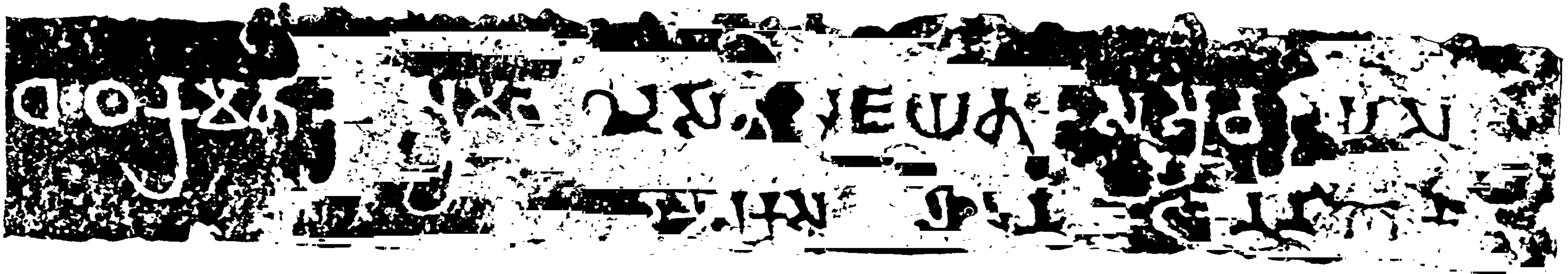
Scale : One-half

B

Left Half



Right Half



As regards the reading *vasa-satāya* or *visa-satāya* in line 1, our impression shows clear traces of the sign for *i* over *v*, so that the letter is *vi*. Thus Bühler's earlier reading *visa-satāya* for Sanskrit *viśva-sattāyāḥ*, 'of the universal sovereignty', is correct.[1] Both Indraji and Bühler thought that the first line ended with the letter *ta*. But it is certianly *tā* in our impressions and it is also followed by another letter, the traces of which show that it can be read as *ya*. Thus the last word of the first line should be read as *jivaputāya*, 'of one whose sons are living'.

We do not think that any letters have been lost at the beginning of the second line as supposed by Indraji and Bühler. Their view that the medial sign for *u* in *yu* is an accidental scratch does not seem to be correct. We propose to read this letter as *yu* which, in our opinion, is the first letter of the second line. The next letter can be read as *va* which is followed by *rā*, the lower part of which is very faintly preserved. The letter following *rā* is clearly *ja*. It will thus be seen that what Bühler read as *saū* or *sao* consists of three letters *varāja*, the whole word being *yuvarāja*.[2] After *ja*, the letter *mā* was rightly suggested by Indraji and Bühler though only faint traces of the letter are seen in our impression. The next two letters which are completely damaged may be restored as *tuya* instead of *rāya* as proposed by Indraji and Bühler. The restoration suggested here suits the context very well and the whole compound can be taken as *yuvarāja-mātuya*, ' of the mother of the heir-apparent'.

If the readings and interpretation suggested above are accepted, then it would be clear that Śivaskandanāgaśrī would be the name of the donatrix who was the king's daughter. She was also the mother of the *yuvarāja* whose name is not given in the record. It appears that the king nominated his daughter's son as *Yuvarāja*.

The only geographical name in the record, viz. Sajayata (Saṁjayantī), has been identified with Banavāsi, the findspot of the inscription, which was also known as Jayantī and Vaijayantī.[3] The text, with the suggested readings, is given below.

## TEXT[4]

1 Sidhaṁ[||*] Raño Hāriti-putasa **Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭu[5]-kul-āna[ṁ]da-Sātā(ta)kaṁṇisa**[6] visa-satāya[7] **savachharaṁ 10 2 Hemaṁtāna pakho 7 divasa 1** mahābhuviya mahārāja-bāli[kā]ya jivaputā[ya]

---

[1] [The impressions show that the *i-mātrā* in the *akshara vi*, which had been originally engraved, was later rubbed off. There is little doubt that *vasa-satāya* stands for Sanskrit *varsha-śatāya* and indicates that the pious act recorded in the inscription was performed for a hundred years' life of the king. Cf. *varsha-sahasrāya* used in praying for the long life of a pious deed in some records (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 174, text line 15; p. 181, text line 2; etc.). For *varsha-śatāya* in other records, see below, Vol. XXXV, p. 3, text line 3.—Ed.]

[2] [Traces on the impressions appear to suggest that the name of the *Yuvarāja* in two or three letters (cf. the name of Maṅgi-yuvarāja of the Eastern Chālukya family) is rubbed off at the beginning of the line. —Ed.]

[3] Cf. *SII*, Vol. XI, Part II, No. 141; above, Vol. VI, pp. 12 ff. A place called Sañjayapura, which is mentioned along with Vanavāsa in an inscription from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa has been identified with Sañjayantīnagarī of the *Mahābhārata* (II, 31, 70) and with Sañjān in the Thana District of Bombay State (above, p. 199). This is not impossible, though the identification of Sañjayantī with Banavāsi appears to be more probable. See also *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 220-21.

[4] From impressions.

[5] Bühler reads this letter as *ḍu*.

[6] Bühler: *Sātākaṁnisa*.

[7] [See above, note 1.—Ed.]

2 yuva[1][rā]ja[2]-[mātuya][3] S[iva][4] khadanāgasiriya deyadhaṁma[ṁ] nāgo taḍāgaṁ vihāro cha [|*] etha[5] kamatiko[6] amacho Khadasāti [|*] Sajayatakasa achariyasa [I][7]-

3 [da]morakasa sisena Naṭakena nāgo kato [|*]

---

[1] Bühler reads two letters before this as *paja* and corrects the word into *pajāya*. Indraji restores it as *bhā-jāya*.

[2] In place of °*varāja*, Bühler reads *saū* or *sao* while Indraji reads *saku*.

[3] Traces of *m* can be seen on the impressions. Indraji and Bühler restore the last two letters as *rāya*.

[4] Bühler reads these two letters as *Saḍa* and corrects into *Śiva*.

[5] The vowel *e* looks more like *dh*.

[6] Bühler reads an *anusvāra* above *ma*.

[7] The restoration of the letter is due to Bühler.

## No. 39—SOME INSCRIPTIONS FROM U.P.

(*4 Plates*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 10.12.1959*)

In October 1959, I copied a number of small inscriptions in several areas of U. P. A few of them reveal the existence of a hitherto unknown ruler or indicate the extension of the territory of a little-known king. But the majority of the inscriptions, especially those copied by me at Sondhia in the Allahabad District and Jāgēśvar in the Almora District, are pilgrims' records of the type of the epigraphs at Dēvaprayāg in the Tehri Garhwal District of U. P., which were edited sometime ago in the pages of this journal.[1] Some of the inscriptions I copied are published in this article.

In connection with the **pilgrims' records** included in the present paper, it may be pointed out that they are all later than the Dēvaprayāg inscriptions, although we do not fully agree with the learned editor's views regarding the date of the latter. He assigns the Dēvaprayāg inscriptions to 'a period ranging from the 2nd to the 5th century A.D.'. But it appears to us that none of those records can be assigned to a date much earlier than the fourth century A.D.[2] Some of the records exhibit letters with the top *mātrā* of the hollow triangle type and they may be later than the fifth century. As regards the palaeography of the Dēvaprayāg inscriptions, he further observes, " According to J. F. Fleet, the script represented in all these inscriptions will be ' a variety, with sourthern characteristics, of the Central Indian alphabet ' of about the 4th century A.D.[3] The letters *m*, *s* and *h* here are throughout of the so-called southern type. Since these inscriptions are in the north, we need not call the script as peculiar to Central India alone." We find it difficult to agree with these views also. In the first place, all the published Dēvaprayāg records do not apear to exhibit the characteristics of the Central India alphabet. Secondly, such records found at various places of pilgrimage were generally incised by pilgrims coming from a distance. Although pilgrimage to holy places appears to have been a non-Aryan custom gradually adopted by the Indo-Aryans,[4] there is no doubt that it was very popular at least since the 3rd century B. C. when the Maurya emperor Aśōka of Pāṭaliputra (near modern Patna) is known to have visited different Buddhist holy places such as Sambōdhi or Bodhgayā in the Gaya District of Bihar and Lumbinī-grāma and Kanakamuni's *stūpa* in the Nepalese Tarai.[5] In the first quarter of the second century A. D., the Hinduised Śaka chief Ṛishabhadatta of Northern Mahārāshṭra is likewise known to have visited a number of pilgrim spots in Western India including Prabhāsa in Kathiawar and Pushkara near Ajmer in Rajasthan.[6] In the fifth century A. D., an inhabitant of the Dinajpur region of North Bengal seems to have visited the temple of the Boar incarnation

[1] Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 133-35, and Plates.

[2] The editor draws our attention to the tripartite form of subscript *y* in one of his epigraphs (No. 18). But the same sign occurs in South Indian Middle Brāhmī records, one of which he has himself assigned to 'the 3rd or 4th century A. D.' (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 147 and Plate between pp. 148 and 149). His suggestion that Skandadatta mentioned in Nos. 14 and 15 is the name of two different persons and that the two records are separated by an intervening period of several centuries does not appear to be correct. As will be seen from our inscriptions, often the same person got his name incised at more places than one.

[3] *CII*, Vol. III, p. 18.

[4] See my *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 178, note 1, and p. 229.

[5] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 28, 70-71.

[6] Ibid., pp. 160 ff.



47 DGA/59 10

of Vishṇu at Kōkāmukha (modern Barāh Chhatra) in Nepal,[1] while, in the sixth century, a king of East Malwa visited Prayāga near Allahabad where he sacrificed his life in the fire made of cowdung cakes.[2]

As regards the reading of the Dēvaprayāg inscriptions, the first letter in No. 4 is *i* (not *ī*)[3] and the third letter in No. 19 looks like *bā* (not *ba*). What has been read in No. 17 as *Adhishṭhāna* looks like *Būḍhiprāṇa*.

### I.—Inscriptions in the Vārāṇasī Sanskrit University Museum

#### 1. *Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Rudradāmaśrī*

This is a fragmentary inscription engraved on a stone slab measuring about 14½ inches by 19 inches. There are only four lines of writing, the end of all of which is broken away and lost along with the right hand portion of the slab. As regards the extant part of the epigraph also, a few letters are damaged in line 1 while a number of them are lost in the other lines owing to a layer of the stone having peeled off. The inscribed slab is stated to have been secured by Shrī Kubernath Shukla from Agiabir in the Mirzapur District, U.P.

The **characters** belong to the Middle Brāhmī alphabet of north India and the inscription may be palaeographically assigned to a date about the **third or fourth century A. D.** Interesting from the palaeographical point of view are the letters *m*, *l*, *s* and *h* which are of the so-called Eastern Gupta type. The letter *sh*, which occurs in the damaged *akshara shṭhā* in line 4, seems also to belong to the same variety. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit slightly influenced by Prakrit.

The inscription begins with the word *siddham* which is followed by the *aksharas*: *Mahārāja* .. *ṭataṅga-Rudradāmaśri*, the rest of the line being broken away. This line of the record undoubtedly refers to the reign of a king named *Mahārāja* **Rudradāmaśrī**. Since line 2 begins with the word *[ē]tāya* (Sanskrit *ētasyām*) after which traces of the word *pūrvvāyāṁ* are visible, the date of the inscription quoting a year with reference to the said king must have been broken away at the end of the line. We can therefore safely restore the passage as *Rudradāmaśriyaḥ saṁ* (or *saṁvatsarē*)...which appears to have been followed by the details of the date in the style of the records of the rulers of the early centuries of the Christian era such as the Śakas of Western India.[4]

About two *aksharas* are damaged between *mahārāja* and *ṭataṅga*, the latter being apparently the concluding part of a second name of *Mahārāja* Rudradāmaśrī. But whether this second name of the king was written in four or five *aksharas* cannot be determined since the first of the two damaged *aksharas* may be *sya* so that the preceding expression is *mahārājasya*. It has, however, to be admitted that the traces of the letter following *ja* appear to suggest *m* rather than *s*.

The latter part of line 2 seems to mention the name of a person called Sugama in the sixth case-ending while the correspondig part of line 3 reads *[ku]likō Vēt[i]* probably referring to a *dēvakulika* (the superintending priest of a temple) named Vēti. .. In line 4, we can read *[pratishṭhā]pitaṁ prīya*, the second word apparently being *prīyatāṁ* which appears to have been followed by a word indicating a deity.[5] It is not possible to be sure about the object that was installed. But the word *pratishṭhāpitaṁ* sugggests that it was not a *pratimā* (image) in the feminine gender but may have been a *dēvakula* or shrine or some other object (in the neuter) for the deity in question.

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[1] *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, pp. 217 ff.

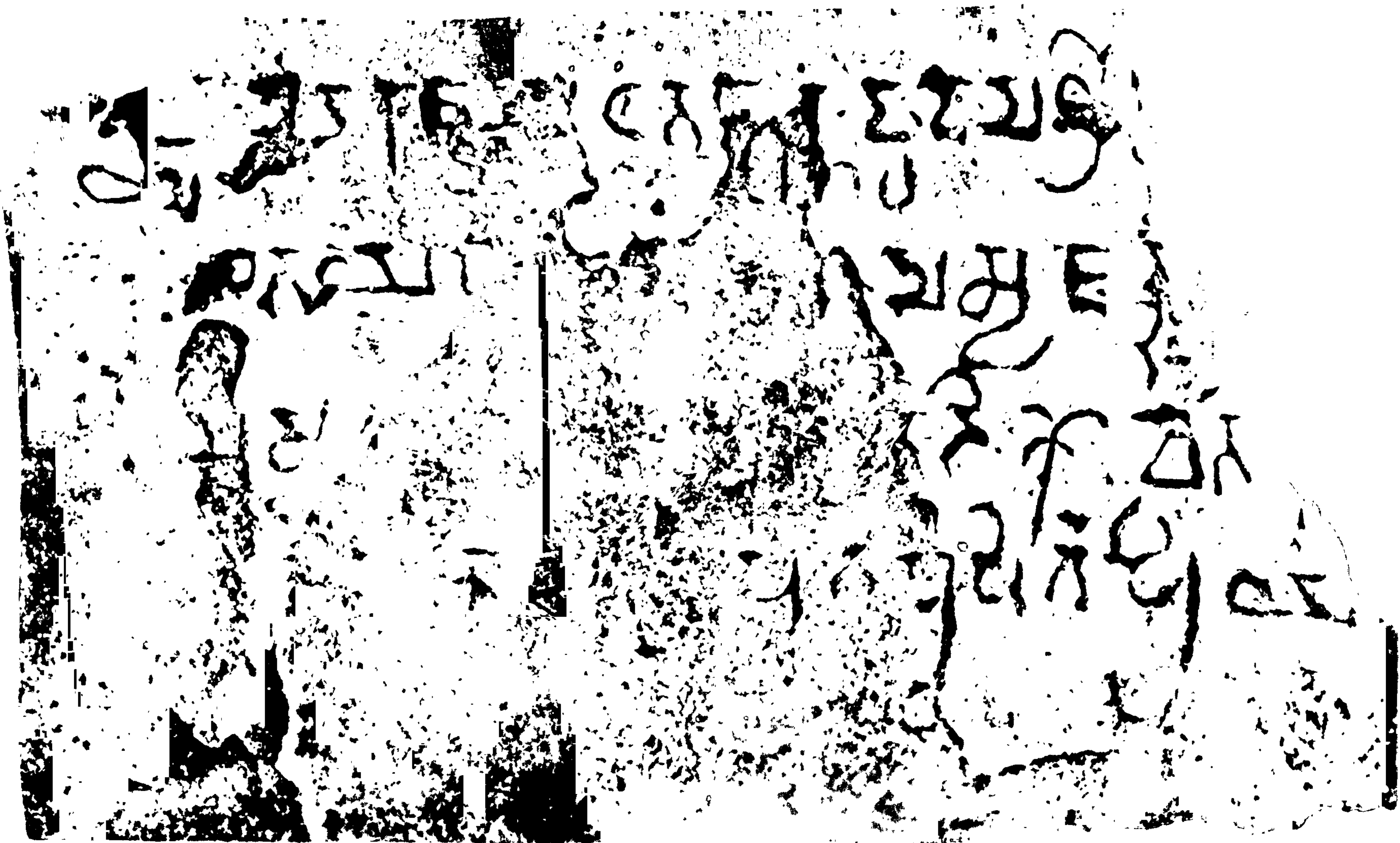
[2] Cf. *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XI, 1945. p. 70, note 3.

[3] That this three-dot type of *i* was used in South India as late as the fourth century is suggested by the Hirahadagalli plates (Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prāchīn Lipimālā*, Plate XV).

[4] See, e.g. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 176, text lines 3-4.

[5] Cf., e.g. ibid., p. 134, text line 5 ; *JBRS*, Vol. XXXIX, Parts 1-2, 1953, p. 5 ; *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV, XXV, p. 136.

I (*i*)




Scale : One-half

I (*ii*)

## Left Side

2 2

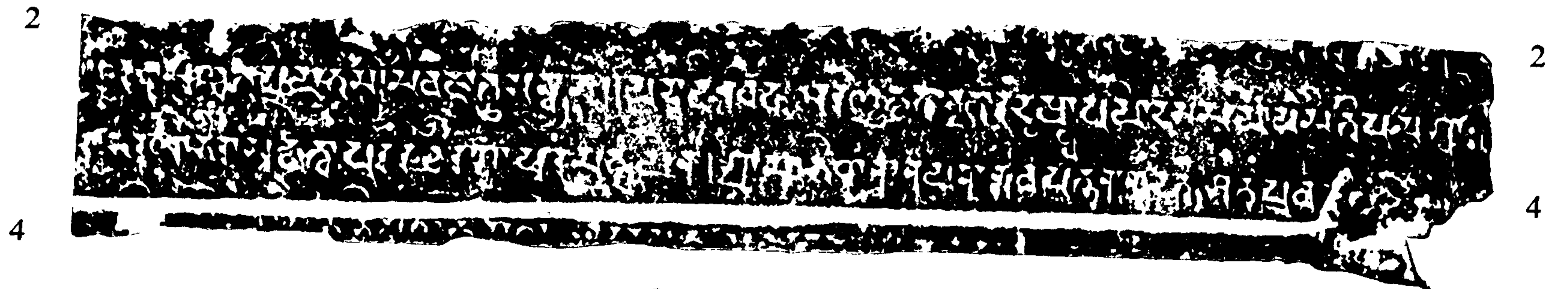


4 4

I (*ii*)

## Right Side

2 2

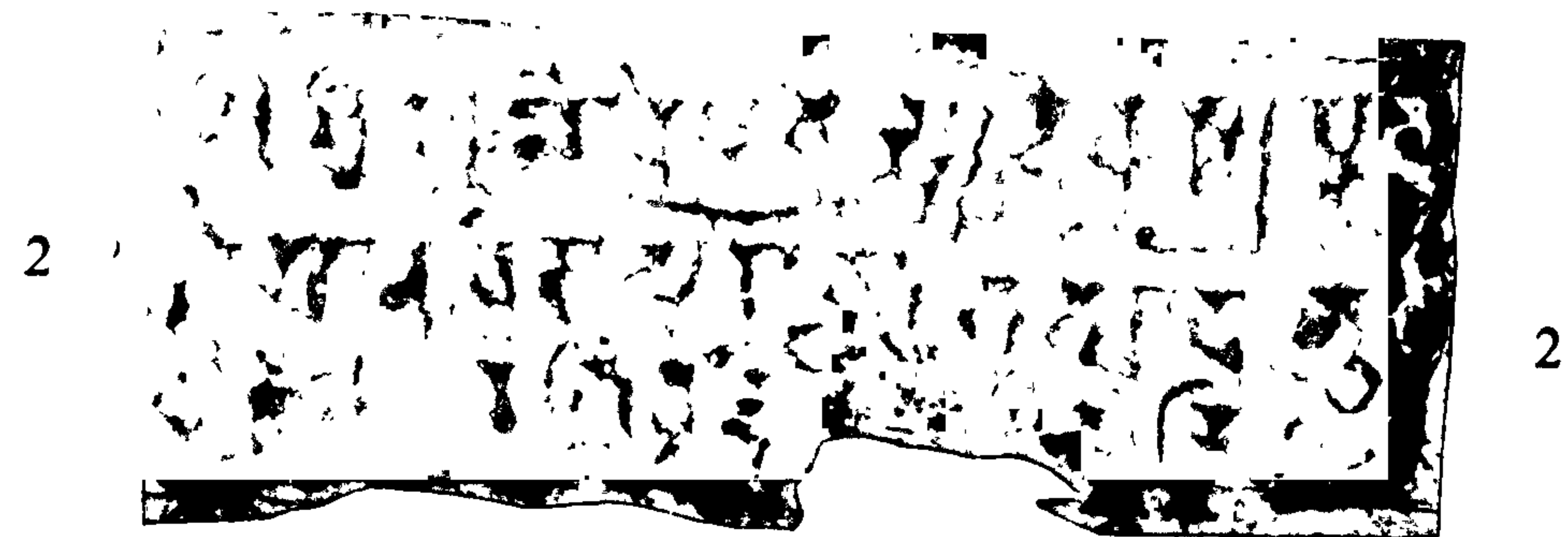


4 4

(from Photographs)

II

2 2



Scale : One-third

The name of *Mahārāja* Rudradāmaśrī reminds us of two Śaka rulers of Western India named Rudradāman, the first of them ruling in the period 130-50 A. D. and the second in the second quarter of the fourth century A. D. We are also reminded of the name Dāmajadaśrī borne by no less than three rulers of the said Śaka family. Dāmajadaśrī I was the son and successor of Rudradāman I, while the second and third kings of the same name ruled respectively in the first quarter and the middle of the third century A. D. *Mahārāja* Rudradāmaśrī of our inscription thus seems to have been related to the said Śaka house. In this connection, it may also be pointed out that, in ancient India, the honorific word *śrī* was sometimes prefixed and sometimes suffixed to personal names. By way of illustration, we may refer to Khāravēla's name written both as śrī-Khāravēla and Khāravēla-śrī in the Hathigumpha inscription.[1] Thus the name of the king mentioned in our record may actually be merely Rudradāman. But it is difficult to say whether he was a scion of the Śaka house or belonged to some other ruling family matrimonially related to the Śakas.

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A. D.) gives a list of Āryāvarta kings extirpated by him and this is headed by a king named Rudradēva.[2] As we have suggested elsewhere,[3] this Rudradēva seems to be none other than Śaka Rudrasēna III who was the son of Rudradāman II and ruled in the period between 348 and 378 A. D. Can we suggest the identification of *Mahārāja* Rudradāmaśrī of our epigraph with the father of Rudrasēna III ? It is, however, difficult to come to any definite conclusion about the inclusion of the Mirzapur region, where the inscription under study is said to have been found, in the dominions of the Śakas of Western India during the rule of Rudradāman II. It is equally difficult to say whether our Rudradāmaśrī belonged to the house of the kings of Kauśāmbī and whether that family had matrimonial relations with the Śakas of Western India.

### TEXT[4]

1 [Si]ddham [|*] Mahārāja . .[5] ṭata[6]ṅga-Rudradāmaśri . . . .[7]
2 [ē]tāya[8] [pū] . . ṁ[9] . [ga]masya[10] ja[ḍ]la] . . .
3 masya . . . . . [ku]likō[11] Vē[12]t[i] . . . .
4 . . . . . [pratishṭhā]pitaṁ(tam |) prīya . . . .[13]

### 2. *Another Fragmentary Inscription*

This inscription is found on a narrow slab of stone about 46½ inches in length and 4 inches in height. Originally, however, the slab was apparently much bigger in height and contained a fairly big *praśasti* carefully engraved on its surface. The stone was re-dressed at a later date probably for

[1] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 207 (text line 1), 211 (text line 17).
[2] Cf. ibid., p. 257, text line 21.
[3] See *Proc. IHC*, Madras, 1944, pp. 78 ff.
[4] From impressions.
[5] Two *aksharas* are lost here. The first of them may be *sya* although the traces appear to suggest *m* rather than *s*.
[6] The *akshara* does not appear to have any *u-mātrā* attached to it, though the intended word may well be *tuṅga*.
[7] As indicated above, the *aksharas* °*yaḥ saṁ* (or *saṁvatsarē*) . . . . are lost here.
[8] Sanskrit *ētasyāṁ*.
[9] The word can be restored as *pūrvvāyāṁ*.
[10] The damaged first *akshara* of what appears to be a personal name may be *Su*.
[11] The word may be *dēvakulikō*.
[12] This *akshara* may also be read as *Kha*. But, in that case, we have to suggest that the change of *visarga* into *ō* in the preceding *akshara* is due to Prakrit influence.
[13] The intended reading was probably *prīyatāṁ bhagavān* (or *bhagavatī*) . . . .

using it as the lintel of a door. Both the upper and lower parts of the slab were cut off in this process, affecting a line of writing in both cases. There is also a deeply cut line (about $^{3}$ inch in width) nearly half an inch above the lower edge of the stone. This line runs over the letters of the left part of the last line of the writing. Besides the said two damaged lines of writing at the upper and lower edges of the slab, the extant part of the inscription consists only of two other lines in its central section. Unfortunately, even of these two lines, the left half of the first and also a quarter (consisting of eighteen *aksharas*) from the left end of the second are chiselled off. Since the metrical composition of the record helps us in determining the number of lost syllables in line 3, it is seen that about eighty *aksharas* were originally incised in each line of the inscription. The inscribed slab is stated to have been found at the Agnēśvar Ghāṭ, Vārāṇasī.

The **characters** belong to the ornamental variety of the North Indian (Siddhamātṛikā) alphabet of the **seventh or eighth century A.D.** The forms of the letters *ch*, *j*, *s*, etc., show that it cannot be assigned to a much later age. The shape of the letter *r* is palaeographically interesting since it exhibits a triangular projection at the left side of the vertical in addition to the slanting stroke joined to its lower end from the left. There is only a slight difference between the letters *p* and *y*. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is a *praśasti* written in verse. There are portions of three stanzas, all in the *Vasantatilaka* metre.

The **object** of the inscription seems to be to record the building of a *pura*, i.e. city or temple, apparently by a king, the clouds of dust raised by whose army is referred to. The *pura* is stated to have been endowed with palatial buildings and gateways. But the name of the king cannot be read in the extant part of the epigraph. The said person is further stated to have granted a hundred of what were called villages though they were really townships. The villages may have been given for the maintenance of a temple, around which a city appears to have been built. Unfortunately no other details can be gathered from the existing part of the inscription.

TEXT[1]

1 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [||*] – – ◡ –

2 ◡ ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – – – – – ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – –[|*]– – ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – la[ṁ] nā m[u]ñchatē priyatamām=iva jātu sandhyām | Yad-vāhinī-va(ba)hala-rēṇu-kṛit-āndhakāraṁ dṛishṭvā payōda-samayō=yam=iti pramugdhāḥ |

3 – – ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – – – – – ◡ – prachalitā[ḥ] khalu rāja-[ha]ṁsāḥ || Prāsāda-śaila-ś[i]khar-ābharaṇ-ābhirāmaṁ kṛitvā puraṁ ruchira-gōpuram=attra yēna | grām-ābhidhānā(na)-nayan-ōtsava-pattanānāṁ dattaṁ śataṁ prava ◡ – ◡ ◡

4 – ◡ – – [||*] . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

## II.—Iliya Inscription of the time of Manōrathavarmadēva

**Iliya** is a village in the Chakiya Tahsil of the Varanasi District, about 40 miles from Vārāṇasī. The area was formerly within the estate of the Rājā of Banaras. A fragment of a sculptured pilaster (about 19½ inches by 12 inches), now kept in the house of the former Zamindar of the village, contains a small inscription. It is stated to have been found at the northern extremity of the village. The lower part of the stone is broken away resulting in considerable damage to the last line of the record. The inscribed space covers an area about 11½ inches in length and 3¼ inches in height. There are only three lines of writing.

[1] From impressions.

The **characters** belong to the North Indian (Siddhamātṛikā) alphabet of the **seventh or eighth century A.D.** The record bears **no date.** Lines 1-2 refer to the victorious reign of a king named **Manōrathavarmadēva** and lines 2-3 to a *kīrti* of one who was meditating on the said king's feet (or, was favoured by them). The word *kīrti* means a fame-producing work.[1] But it is difficult to determine whether it was used to indicate the sculptured stone bearing our inscription or a structure of which it formed a part. The name of the subordinate of king Manōrathavarman, who was responsible for the *kīrti*, cannot be satisfactorily deciphered. But it may be Bhārativarman.

King Manōrathavarman and his subordinate mentioned in our record are not known from any other source. It is also difficult to say whether the king ruled over the Vārāṇasī region before the death of king Harshavardhana of Thanesar and Kanauj in 647 A.D. or after that date and before the expansion of the power of king Yaśōvarman (c. 728-53 A.D.) of Kanauj over the area in question. We know that the Maukhari king Grahavarman, who was the son of Avantivarman and was ruling over wide regions of U. P. and Bihar, was defeated and killed in his encounter with the invading forces of the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka and the Mālava (East Malwa) king Dēvagupta about 605 A.D. and that Harshavardhana, a relation of Grahavarman and originally the king of Thanesar, succeeded in driving out the Gauḍas and Mālavas from the Maukhari dominions and in ultimately annexing U. P. and Bihar to his own dominions.[2] But the discovery of a seal of a Maukhari king, who was another son of Avantivarman and whose name was probably Suchandravarman,[3] seems to suggest that the Maukhari throne was not vacant on Grahavarman's death. That the Maukharis continued to rule even after Harshavardhana's death is indicated by an inscription referring to Bhōgavarman, 'the crest-jewel of the illustrious Varmans of the valorous Maukhari race', as the son-in-law of king Ādityasēna (672 A.D.) of Magadha and the father-in-law of king Śivadēva II of Nepal.[4] These facts appear to suggest that the Maukharis were ruling over some parts of U. P. as feudatories of Harshavardhana during the life time of that monarch. Manōrathavarman of our record was probably a scion of the **Maukhari family.**

TEXT[5]

1 Siddham[6] [||*] Śrī-**Manōrathavarmmadēvasya** prava-

2 [rddha]māna-vijaya-rājyē tat-pād-ānu[ddhyā]-

3 [ta-śrī-Bhā]rativarm[madēvasya k]īr[tt]i[ḥ][7] [|*]

### III.—Inscription at Amawa

The village of **Amawa** belongs to the Bhadohi Tahsil of the Varanasi District, within the jurisdiction of the Gopiganj Police Station. An inscription in one line engraved on the pedestal of a broken image was discovered at the village by Mr. R. G. Pandeya, Exploration Assistant of the Department of Archaeology, Mid-Eastern Circle, Patna. The **characters** of the record belong to the North Indian (Siddhamātṛikā) alphabet of about the **seventh century A. D.** Some of the letters exhibit the hollow-triangle type of top *mātrā*. It reads :

Hari-śrēshṭhi-dharma[dē]ā(yaḥ) |

" The pious gift of Hari-śrēshṭhin. "

The sign of punctuation at the end of the inscription is interesting as it is also found in some of the Jāgēśvar inscriptions edited below (cf. No. VI-A 1, line 4, etc.).

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[1] Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 184.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 296.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXIV, p. 284, note 6.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 181, verse 13.

[5] From impressions.

[6] Expressed by symbol.

[7] The reading of the letters and signs within brackets in this line is not beyond doubt.

## IV.—Inscriptions at Sondhia

The village of **Sondhia** in the Karchana Tahsil of the Allahabad District lies on the bank of the river Tons about 25 miles to the south of the city of Allahabad. This river, which rises from the Vindhyan range in the former Maihar State and joins the Ganges on its right bank in the Allahabad District, is the ancient Tamasā mentioned in the Puranic list of rivers as springing from the Ṛikshavat mountain,[1] a name sometimes applied in ancient Indian literature to that part of the Vindhyas which lies to the north of the Narmadā.[2]

The following three pilgrims' records were found by me at Sondhia on boulders standing at a site about a furlong from the bank of the Tons.[3] A temple may have originally stood at the site which, as the inscriptions suggest, was a place of pilgrimage in olden days. But no trace of any structure is now found at the place.

The inscriptions read as follows:

No. 1

Īśvarachaṁ(cha)ndraḥ

No. 2

Śrī-Ślōkachaukshaḥ

No. 3

Śiva[chaṁ(cha)ndra]ḥ

These merely contain three personal names apparently of pilgrims who visited the place. The honorific word *śrī* is prefixed only to one out of the three names. The **palaeography** of the records is interesting in that the characters belong to the South Indian alphabet of about the seventh century A.D.[4] It seems that Īśvarachandra, Ślōkachauksha and Śivachandra came from the south and visited the place on their way to the celebrated *tīrtha* of Prayāga near Allahabad. Ślōkachauksha is a rather peculiar name.

As regards Nos. 1-2, interesting from the palaeographical point of view is the form of the letter *ś* in both the epigraphs since it resembles the early Grantha form of the letter. The form of *visarga* in No. 1 is normal. But the same sign in No. 2 and the sign for *anusvāra* in No. 1 are ornamental. The signs for the medial vowels *ī*, *ō* and *au* in No. 2 are ornamental and remind us of similar signs in the records written in the so-called shell-characters.

The letter *ś* in No. 3 looks like early Telugu-Kannaḍa in form. The palaeography of the three records thus appears to suggest that the pilgrims Īśvarachandra and Ślōkachauksha hailed from the Tamil-speaking region and Śivachandra from the Telugu- or Kannaḍa-speaking area.

## V.—Inscription at Kasardēvī

**Kasardēvī** is really the name of a deity enshrined in a modern temple on a hillock about 5 miles from the city of Almora. There is an inscription on a boulder below the site of the Kasardēvī

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1 See *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 47 and note 7.

2 Ibid., p. 49, note 3. Another river of the same name runs through the Fyzabad and Azamgarh Districts of U.P. and joins the Sarju (ancient Sarayū) near Bhulia. The celebrated sage Vālmīki is believed to have passed his early life on the banks of this river. Cf. N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, s. v. Tamasā.

3 My trip to the village was facilitated by the help rendered by Mr. K. B. Srivastav of the Allahabad University and his father Mr. B. N. Srivastav of Sondhia.

4 Among the records in South Indian characters found in the neighbourhood, mention may be made of the inscriptions of Vākāṭaka Pṛithivīshēṇa's feudatory Vyāghra at Nachne-ki-talai and Ganj, which I was formerly inclined to assign to the middle of the fourth century A.D. See *CII*, Vol. III, Plate XXXIII, A-B; above, Vol. XVII, Plate facing p. 12; also *The Classical Age*, p. 179 and note 1. But *th* in the Nachne-ki-talai inscriptions resembles the same letter in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions (close of the fifth century) in the Ajanta and Ghatotkacha caves while its form in the Ganj inscription is the same as in the grants of Narēndra (beginning of the sixth century). Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 259 and note 3. This shows that the Vākāṭaka king of these inscriptions is Pṛithivīshēṇa II (beginning of the sixth century) and not Pṛithivīshēṇa I (middle of the fourth century).

SOME INSCRIPTIONS FROM U. P.—PLATE II

IV (1)



Scale : One-fourth

IV (2)



Scale : One-sixth

V



Scale : One-sixth

VI (*A*) *1 and 2*




Scale : One-fourth

temple. The **characters**, which are each about four inches in height, exhibit an admixture of the North Indian script and the South Indian alphabet of the Telugu-Kannaḍa-speaking area of about the sixth century A.D. Interesting from the palaeographical point of view is the hollow triangle type of the top *mātrā* exhibited by the letters of the record. The southern type of *ś* in line 1 has a triangle at the lower end of both its arms.

The inscription reads :

1 Rudrēśvara[ḥ*] pratish[ṭh]āpita[ḥ*]

2 Vētilā-putrēṇa Ruda(dra)[k]ēṇa [||*]

"[The god] Rudrēśvara is installed [here] by Rudraka, the son of Vētilā."

It is difficult to say whether Vētilā is the name of Rudaka's father or mother. But there is little doubt that Rudaka hailed from the Telugu-Kannaḍa-speaking region of South India. He may have been a hermit settled at least for sometime in these parts of the Himalayas.

### VI.—Inscriptions at Jāgēśvar

**Jāgēśvar** is a pilgrim spot in the Almora District, about 22 miles from the city of Almora. It is famous for the temples of the gods Jāgēśvara and Mṛityuñjaya. There are also a few minor shrines near the said temple. The inscriptions are mostly pilgrims' records giving the names of persons (usually one, but more in a few cases) often without any case-ending and rarely in the sixth case-ending. They are usually in one line, only a few running into more lines than one.

On **palaeographical grounds**, these inscriptions, which are written in the North Indian (Siddhamātṛikā) characters, may be assigned to dates ranging **between the eighth and tenth centuries A.D.** The mark of punctuation used in some of the records is rather peculiar and therefore interesting.

A.—*On the Maṇḍapa Pillars and Walls of the Mṛityuñjaya Temple.*

Nos. 1-3 of this group form a class by themselves. Their importance will be discussed under each one of them separately. The other records of this section offer bare personal names in most cases. Among these latter, only a few of the names (cf. Nos. 5, 13, 17 and 24) are given in the sixth case-ending, the other names being without any case-ending. Some of the personal names are peculiar and interesting. The honorific word *śrī* is prefixed to many of the names.

It is difficult to say whether Vāchchharāja (Sanskrit *Vātsyarāja*) of No. 5, whose name ends with the word *rājan*, was a ruler of any sort. The two persons mentioned in No. 5 apparently visited the pilgrim spot together. The same was no doubt the case with the three persons mentioned in No. 7. But it is not easy to determine whether No. 9 contains the names of two persons or the person in question had a double name. The name Grāmahēri (Sanskrit *Grāmabhērī*) occurs four times in the records, in Nos. 6, 10, 12 and 23. It was apparently the same person who got his name engraved at different places. The name of Nētraharisha occurs twice in Nos. 5 and 11 and that of Śaṅkaragaṇa, son of Sujūma, likewise in Nos. 13 and 17. Śaṅkaragaṇa is also mentioned in a record of the next group. In all these three cases, Śaṅkaragaṇa is mentioned along with another person named Raṇavigraha who must have visited the place in his company. It has, however, to be noticed that, in all the cases, Śaṅkaragaṇa's name has been written in letters of much smaller size than the name of Raṇavigraha. These two names remind us of king Raṇavigraha Śaṅkaragaṇa (also called Mugdhatuṅga and Prasiddhadhavala) of the Kalachuri dynasty, who ruled over the Jabalpur region in the first half of the tenth century A.D. It is also interesting to note that Śaṅkaragaṇa's name, in all the cases, offers an instance of a person's mention as the son of another. This may have been done to distinguish him from a namesake, although no other Śaṅkaragaṇa is known from our records

No. 1

1 Śrī-Sadār[ṇṇa]va-Gandhahasti-Vasantalī-
2 la-Harshavarddhana-pakshapātaḥ(ta)-
3 **Pūrvva-dēśī[ya*]**-Va(Ba)lavarmmaṇa[ḥ] [|*]
4 likhitaṁ Tamvra(Tāmra)ghaṭēna |

Among **palaeographical peculiarities** of the inscription, reference may be made to the mark of punctuation at the end, which is similar to the sign in other inscriptions at Jāgēśvar. The expression *pakshapāta* in line 2 is of lexical interest as it has apparently been used in the sense of 'one who works on behalf of someone else'. The person named Balavarman, who was responsible for the inscription, is thus stated to have caused the record to be engraved on behalf of four other persons named Sadārṇava, Gandhahastin, Vasantalīla and Harshavardhana. There is little doubt that Balavarman performed the pilgrimage to Jāgēśvar as a proxy of the four persons mentioned. As we have seen elsewhere,[1] people of ancient India, who were themselves unable to visit holy places, sometimes sent others on pilgrimage at their cost with the belief that part of the merit of visiting the holy places in question would fall to their share. Balavarman is described as one hailing from **Pūrva-dēśa** or Eastern India, defined in ancient Indian literature as the land lying to the east of the eastern districts of U.P.[2] The inscription is stated to have been written by a person named Tāmraghaṭa. By 'written', apparently writing the letters of the record on the stone with a paint for facilitating the work of the engraver was intended.

No. 2

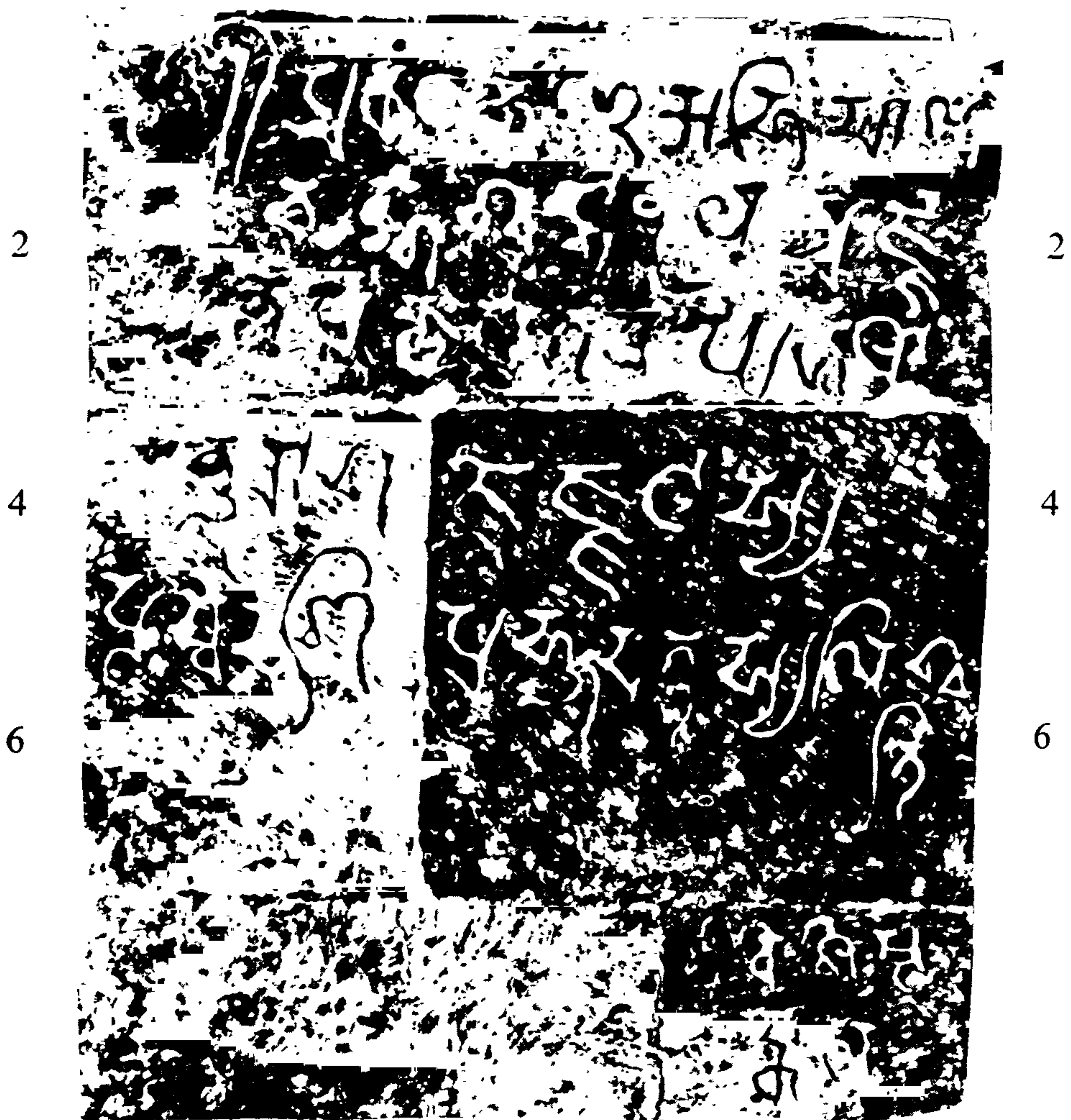
1 Śrī-Pēṭṭ-Ā[ṇa(na)]rtha-Lava-Kracha-Bhaṇḍa-
2 [Vi]dyādhara-Ch[urga]-Vajrāha-pakshapāta-
3 Va[ṭē]śvarasya **Pūrva-dēśī[yasya** |*]

Some of the letters and signs of this epigraph, written in characters similar to those of No. 1 above, are ornamental. The vowel-mark in *vi* at the beginning of line 2 is so ornamentally formed that the *akshara* looks like *ki* and may be compared with the form of the same *akshara* in No. 22 below. The most interesting from the palaeographical point of view is, however, the letter *ś* in the last *akshara* of the inscription. Its ornamental shape resembles the late medieval type of the Bengali *ś*. The modern Bengali form of the letter first occurs in the manuscript of Chaṇḍīdāsa's *Śrī-kṛishṇakīrtana* written in the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D.[3] It is really strange that a form, in which the precursor of the developed shape of the letter can be easily traced, is found in the epigraph under study which belongs to the early medieval period. This shows that the tendency towards the final development of the letter was already there in the early medieval period in the Siddhamātṛikā stage of the Gauḍīya or East Indian alphabet which gave rise to the Bengali script about the fourteenth century A.D. It is interesting, however, to note that similar forms have not yet been traced in earlier records.

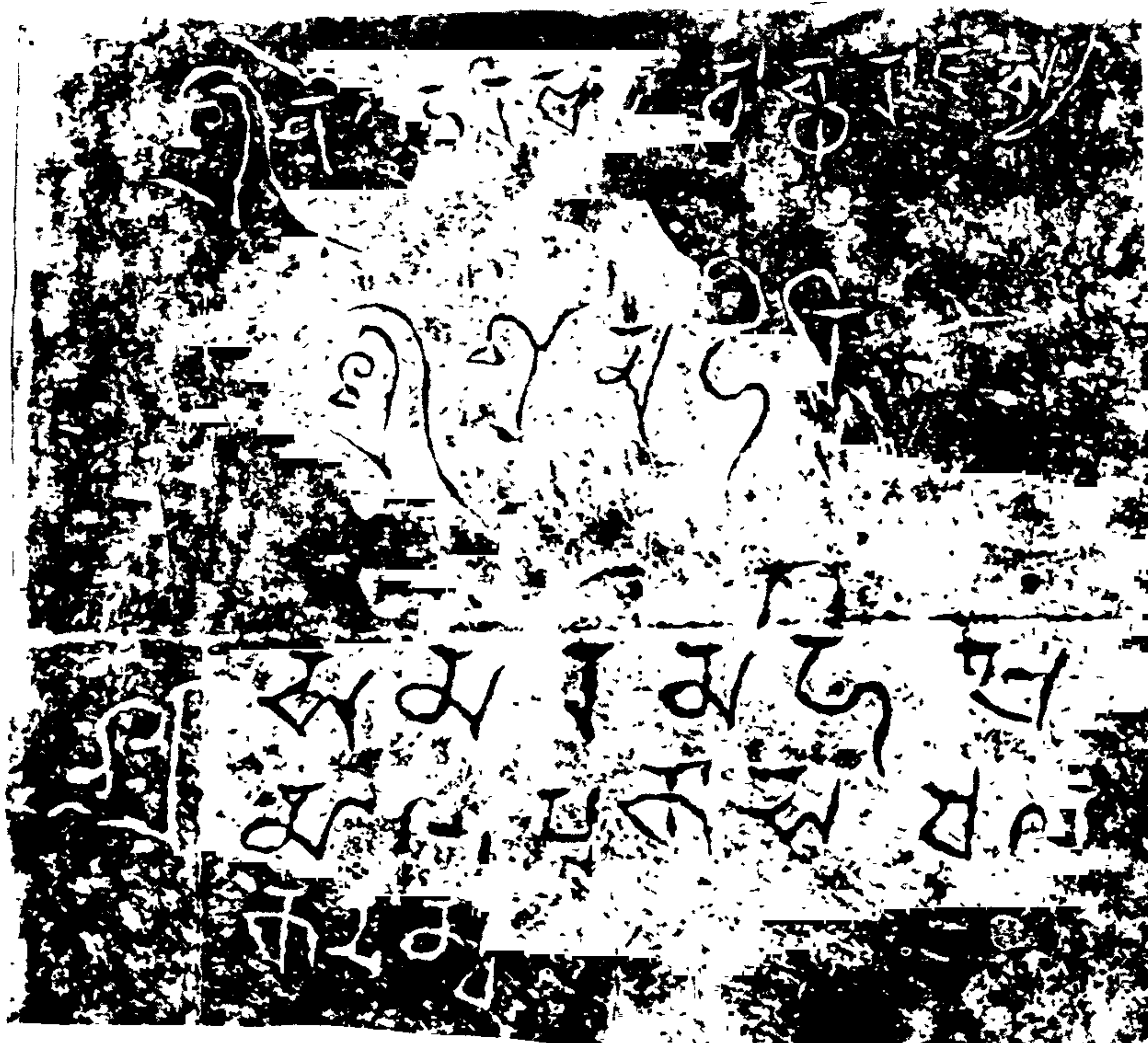
The word *paksha-pāta* has been used in this inscription in the same sense as in No. 1. The record states that it belonged to (i.e. was caused to be engraved) by Vaṭēśvara of Pūrva-dēśa on behalf of Pēṭṭa, Anartha, Lava, Kracha, Bhaṇḍa, Vidyādhara, Churga and Vajrāha. Vaṭēśvara apparently performed the pilgrimage as a proxy of the said persons. It appears that Balavarman of No. 1 and Vaṭēśvara of No. 2 visited Jāgēśvar together. The probability is that both of them hailed from the Bengal region of **Pūrva-dēśa.** This is possibly suggested by the form of *ś* in No. 2, which does not resemble the shape of that letter in the other alphabets of the eastern region such as Maithilī and Oriyā.

[1] See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 100-01 ; cf. Vol. XXXII, pp. 103 ff.
[2] Cf. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 172-83.
[3] R. D. Banerji, *Origin of the Bengali Script*, p. 110 ; *JRASB*, Vol. IV, 1938, p. 375.

VI (*A*) *3 and 4*

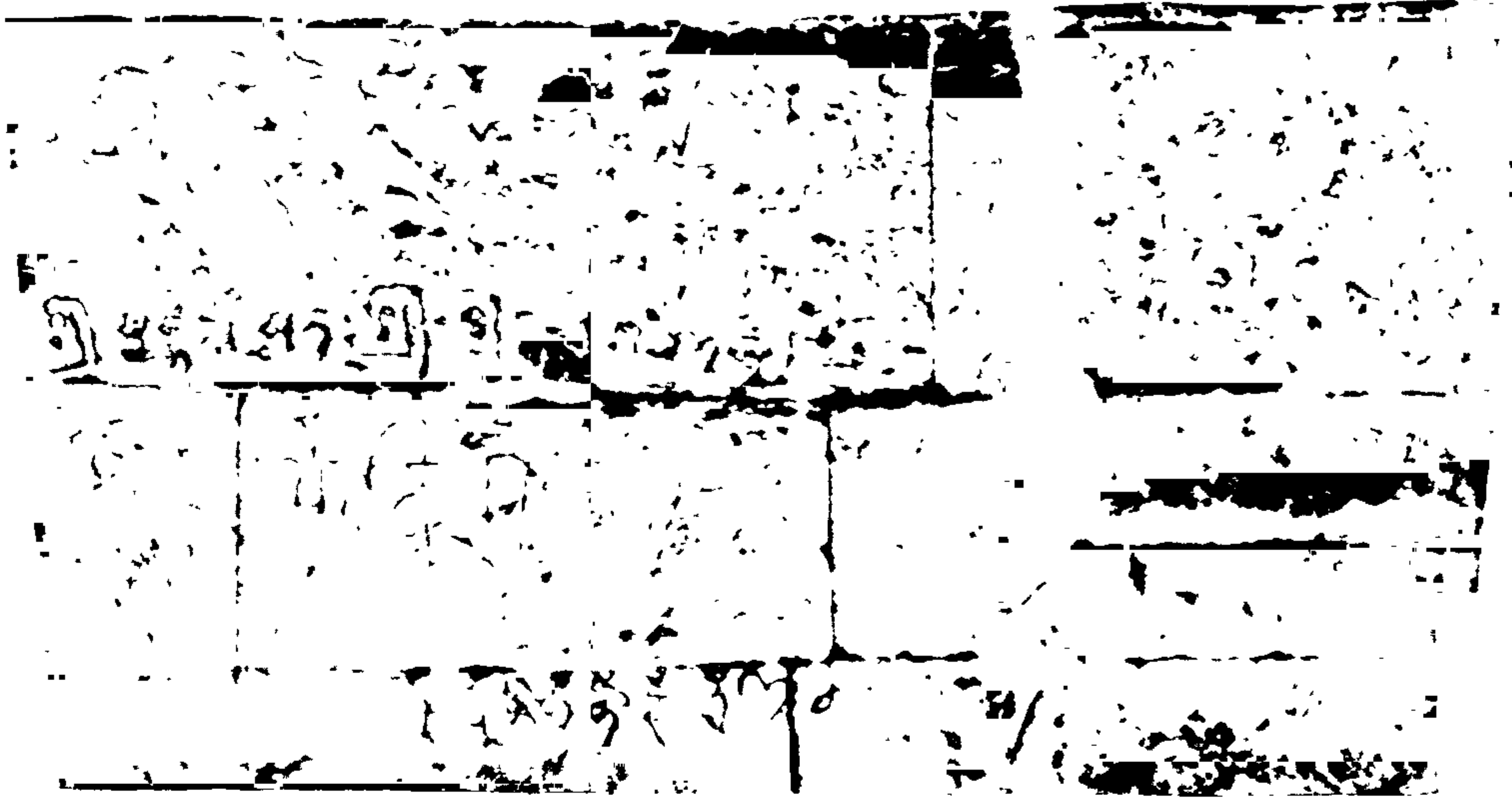


VI (*A*) *5, 6 and 7*



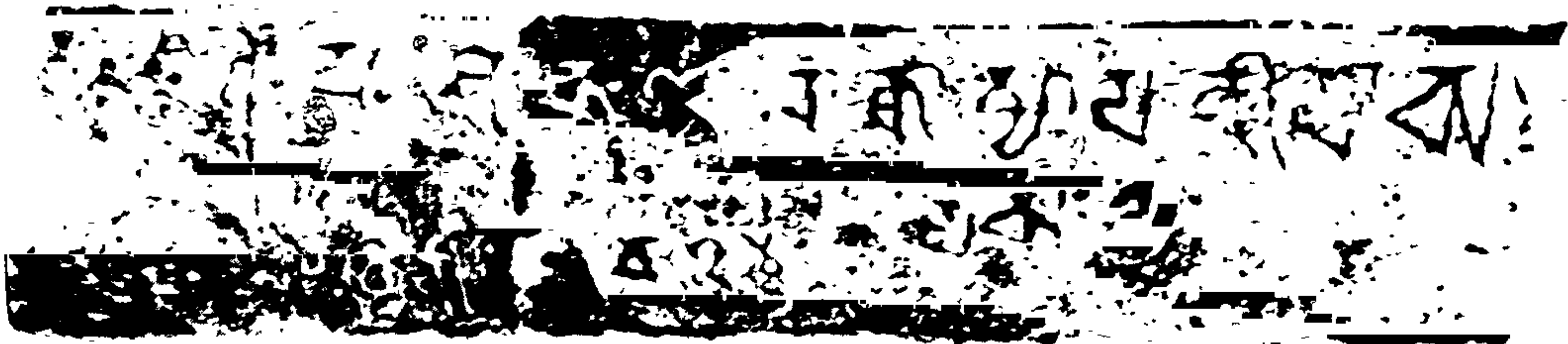
Scale : One-fifth

VI (*A*) *16. 17. 18 and 19*

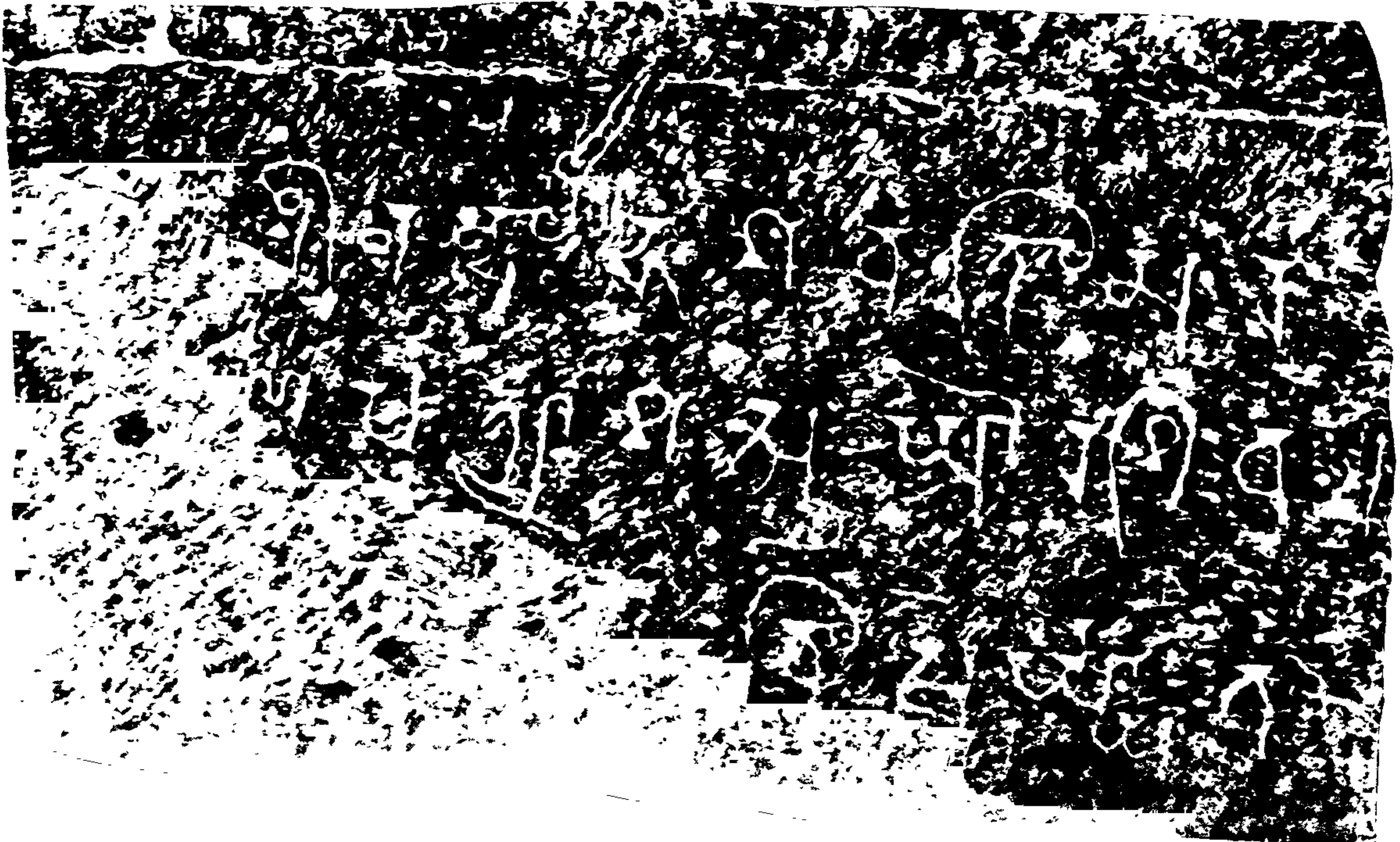


Scale : One-eighth

VI (*A*) *24 and 25*



VI (*B*) *1*



Scale : One-fourth

No. 3

1 Śrī-Prakaṁ(ka)ṭa-Bhaṇḍa[1]-Abhimāṇa(na)-
2 Chaṅga-Khaḍg-Ānartha[1]-Arjja-
3 na-sha(pa)kshapāta-Vaghē-kath-ā-
4 nurāga-Jējjaṭasya [|*]
5 Pūrvva-dēśi-Prabhudattasya likha-
6 ti[2] [||*]

This inscription belongs to the same class as Nos. 1 and 2. A person named Jējjaṭa was responsible for the epigraph while it was written on the stone, apparently for the guidance of the engraver, by Prabhudatta of Pūrva-dēśa. Jējjaṭa is described as a lover of the stories told by Vaghē who (or Jējjaṭa) was the *pakshapāta* of Prakaṭa-Bhaṇḍa, Abhimāna-Chaṅga, Khaḍga, Anartha and Arjjana. The correct form of the last name may be Arjuna. Vaghē or Jējjaṭa performed the pilgrimage to Jāgēśvar as a proxy of the five persons mentioned in the inscription. He may have come in the company of Balavarman (No. 1) and Vaṭēśvara (No. 2). The importance of story-telling in the life of travellers, referred to in the inscription, is very interesting.

No. 4

1 Śrī-Viśishṭa-
2 [ka]ṅkāla

No. 5

Śrī-Nēttraharisha | Vāchchharājasya

The mark of punctuation used in this record is peculiar, though the same sign is also found in other records of the place (cf. No. 1 above and Nos. 9, 12, 14-15 and 17-19 below). The name Nētraharisha also occurs in No. 11 below.

No. 6

Śrī-Grāmahēri

The name also occurs in Nos. 10, 12 and 23 below.

No. 7

1 Śrī-Samaramahisha
2 Māṇa(na)prakāsa(śa) V[ā](Bā)la-
3 kadamva(mba)

No. 8

Kal[y]āṇi(ṇī)ya

No. 9

Śrī-Sabhārtha Salōṇa |

No. 10

Śrī-Grāmahēri

The name also occurs in No. 6 above and Nos. 12 and 23 below.

No. 11

Śrī-N[ē]ttraharisa(sha)

This name occurs also in No. 5 above.

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[1] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[2] The intended reading is °*dattēna likhitam*.

No. 12

Śrī-Grāmahēri |

The same name occurs in Nos. 6 and 10 above and No. 23 below. The incision of the letters in Nos. 11-12 is shallow and their preservation unsatisfactory. Some of the letters in No. 11 exhibit the hollow-triangle type of the top *mātrā*. Both the names in Nos. 11-12 also occur in Nos. 5-6.

No. 13

[Śrī-Sujūma-suta-śrī]-Śaṅkaragaṇasya

The first seven *aksharas* of the inscription appear to be written on an erasure and are thicker in shape than the letters in the latter half of the record. The same person is mentioned in No. 17 and in No. 7 of Group B below. The reading is the same in all the three cases. The father's name clearly shows that the same person is mentioned in the different inscriptions.

No. 14

Śrī-Raṇavigraha |

The same person is mentioned in No. 18 and in No. 8 of Group B below.

No. 15

[Śrī-Su]naṁ(na)ndachaṇḍa |

The letter *ja* is found a little to the left of the beginning of this record. But it cannot be related either to No. 14 or to No. 15.

No. 16

Śrī-Vijēndri-mahayōgi-bhaṭṭ[ā]raka

This mentions the great ascetic (*mahāyōgin*) with the peculiar name Vijēndri who is called *bhaṭṭāraka*. We have other instances of Śaiva ascetics being mentioned as *bhaṭṭāraka*.[1] Apparently the same ascetic is also mentioned in No. 9 of Group B. The correct form of the name may be *Vīryēndra*. Cf. the same name borne by a monk in a Bodhgaya inscription published in *ASI*, A.R., 1908-09, pp. 157-58.

No. 17

Śrī-Sujūma-sutaḥ(ta)-śrī-Śaṅkaragaṇasya |

The same person is mentioned also in No. 13 above and in No. 7 of Group B below.

No. 18

Śrī-Raṇavigrāha |

The same person is also mentioned in No. 14 above and in No. 8 of Group B below.

No. 19

Nivṛi[ta] Ha[nnaḍa(?)] Chaṇ[ḍ]a |

No. 20

Ōdishaṇḍa

No. 21

Ma[ṁ]galachaṇḍa

[1] See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 47 ff.

VI (*B*) 2



Scale : One-fourth

No. 22

Śrī-Chā(Cha)lavigraha

In this record, some of the letters and signs are of the ornamental type. The *akshara vi* looks like *ki* as in No. 2 above.

No. 23

Śrī-Grāmahēri

This name occurs also in Nos. 6, 10 and 12 above.

No. 24

1 Śrī-Yaś[ō]bha(bhā)ṇḍāra-Kātyāyanīdās[ī]-

2 yakasya

*Yaśōbhāṇḍāra* seems to be a title of Kātyāyanīdāsīyaka.[1]

No. 25

Vichī [81] va 24

The interpretation of the inscription is doubtful.

B.—*On the Walls of Minor Shrines*

Of the following ten inscriptions, Nos. 1-5 are engraved on the walls of small Śiva shrines near the Jāgēśvara temple, while Nos. 6-10 are on the walls of the Pañchaliṅga shrine to the south of the same temple. No. 2 is not a pilgrims' record. The names of Śaṅkaragaṇa, son of Sujūma, and Raṇavigraha (Nos. 7 and 8) are each thrice found in the records noticed in the preceding group. Vijēndri-bhaṭṭāraka (No. 9) is no doubt the same as the *Mahāyōgin* of the same name mentioned in No. 16 of Group A. Two of the inscriptions (Nos. 1 and 6) begin with the *Siddham* symbol. The honorific word *śrī* is not prefixed to some of the personal names.

No. 1

1 Siddham[2] [|*] śrī-Nandā-bhagavati(tī)-mara

2 ṇa-pratyāśa-Āghōraśiva-[3]

3 Vishanirghghāta[4]|

The person responsible for the inscription was Aghōraśiva *alias* Vishanirghāta who was desirous of ending his life at the temple of Nandā-bhagavatī. Aghōraśiva appears to have been a Śaiva ascetic[5] while Nandā-bhagavatī was apparently the same as Nandādēvī worshipped in a temple at Almora. The ascetic was probably a resident of the Nandādēvī temple. The word *maraṇa* may also be a mistake for *smaraṇa*, *charaṇa* or *śaraṇa*.

No. 2

Kalyāṇa-sūttradhārēṇa kṛitaṁ ka[rmma] [||*]

" The work has been done by the mason Kalyāṇa. "

Kalyāṇa, the *sūtradhāra* or mason, appears to have built the Śiva shrine in question about the **eighth century A. D.** as indicated by the palaeography of the record.

[1] Cf. *Yaśōbhāṇḍāgāra* as a *viruda* in the Sēnakapāṭ inscription (above, Vol. XXXI, p. 32).

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] Read *pratyāś-Āghōraśiva*.

[4] Read °*nirgghātaḥ*. The *akshara ni* is engraved below the line.

[5] Cf. above, Vol. XXXII p. 181.

No. 3

1 Śrī-Raṇastambha
2 Vanakarabha

No. 4

Śrī-Raṇabhadra Vaḍha

No. 5

Śrī-Samarthakēsari(rī)

No. 6

Siddham[1] [|*] Viparītachaṇḍa |

The **characters** exhibit the hollow triangle variety of the top *mātrā*. **The medial signs of** *i* and *ī* are ornamental.

No. 7

Śrī-Sujūma-suta-śrī-Śaṁkaragaṇasya |

The same person is also mentioned in Nos. 13 and 17 of Group A above.

No. 8

Śrī-Raṇṇa(ṇa)vigraha

The same person is also mentioned in Nos. 14 and 18 of Group A above.

No. 9

1 [Ma]hāyōgi-
2 Śrī-Vijēndra-bhaṭṭāri(ra)ka [|]

The same person is apparently mentioned in No. 16 of Group A above.

No. 10

Kan[n]ara[cha]ṇḍa

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[1] Expressed by symbol.

# No. 40—BAMHANGAVAN SATI STONE INSCRIPTION, V. S. 1404

BALCHANDRA JAIN, RAIPUR

(*Received on 18.5.1959*)

The inscription published here was discovered by me at the village of **Bamhangavan** about two miles from the Kymore Cement Factories in the Murwara Sub-Division of the Jabalpur **District** of Madhya Pradesh, during my tour in that area in the month of October 1957. It was examined by me *in situ*.

The inscription is incised on a stone **slab** measuring 1′ 7″ in length and 1′ 5″ height. There are nine lines of writing in the record in the **Nāgārī characters** of the 14th century A.D. The **language** is Sanskrit. There are a number of grammatical and orthographical errors in the inscription, which show that the composer of the epigraph had little knowledge of the language.

The record is **dated in the [Vikrama] year 1404 (1347 A D.), Tuesday the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshāḍha,**[1] when *Mahārājādhirāja* **Vīrarāja-dēva** was ruling at **Uchahaḍā**. Another inscription[2] of the time of Vīrarājadēva, dated in V.S. 1412, was found at Karitalai, seven miles from Kymore, which shows that his kingdom extended upto the northern part of the Jabalpur District.[3]

The inscription records that *Rājā* Mānigadēu (Māṇikyadēva), who was the son of *Rājā* Sahajū of the Sōmagaurī *gōtra* and was born in the Agravāla-vaṁśa, was killed in a battle fought at the village of **Kalaharā** situated in the **Mīlahīya** *vishaya* and that his wife Rēvā, the daughter of Surāgachandra, cremated herself on her husband's funeral pyre.[4] Harikēśava, son of Rēvā and Māṇikyadēva, caused the inscription to be inscribed on the stone.[5]

Among the **geographical names** mentioned in this record, Uchahaḍa (ancient Uchchakalpa) which was the capital of Vīrarājadēva is identified with modern Uchahara, a railway station near Maihar. Mīlahīya can be identified with Maihar. Kalahara where Māṇikyadēva was killed in the battle, is represented by the modern village of that name situated near Vijayaraghogarh.

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[1] [The details of the date correspond regularly to the 19th June 1347 A.D.—Ed.]

[2] Cunningham, *ASI*, Vol. IX, p. 113; Hiralal's List, 2nd edition, p. 39, No. 48.

[3] Hiralal's reference to Cunningham's *Report* quoted by Mr. Jain, is wrong. Hiralal speaks of a ruler named Vīrarāmadēva, and apparently intended to refer to Cunningham's Vol. IX, Plate II, No. 3, which is an inscription from Karitalai dated V. S. 1412 (1355 A.D.) and mentions a ruler named Vīrarāmadēva. But another record (loc. cit., p. 34, Plate II, No. 4) from Rampur, dated V.S. 1404, Phālguna-badi 14 (probably corresponding to the 27th February 1348 A.D.), speaks of the *satī* of two queens of Vīrarājadēva.—Ed.]

[4] [The correct reading of the name of Rēvā's father seems to be Rāmānanda.—Ed.]

[5] [The inscription does not mention Harikēśava as the son of Māṇikyadēva. It speaks of a stone-cutter named Kēśava who was responsible for fashioning the slab.—Ed.]

## TEXT[1]

1 ओं सिद्धिः ॥ संवत् १४०४ बरषे(वर्षे) आषाढ

2 सुदि ११ भौमे उच्चहडानगरे महाराजाधिरा-

3 जवीरराजदेवविजेयराज्ये [मी]लहौ[अ]वि-

4 श(ष)[य*]मध्यकलहराग्रामे अगरवालवंशसं-

5 भूतसामगौ[री]गोत्रान्य(न्व)यराजसहजूसु-

6 तराज[मा]नि[ग]देउ[2] सुभटसंग्रामे निहता[:*] ॥

7 तस्यी(स्य) ग(ध)र्म्मपत्नी सुरागचन्ददुहिता रेवाना-

8 म्नी[3] सहगमनं कृतं पुरुषानुकोत्तरस(श)तं[4]

9 तारितं(तम्) ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ घटित सुतहारिकेसव[5] [॥*]

[1] From the original stone and impressions.

[2] [Sanskrit *Māṇikyadēvaḥ*.—Ed.]

[3] [The reading is *patnī(tnyā) sra(śrī)-Rāma(mā)namda-duhitā(trā) Rēvā-nāmnī(mnyā)*.—Ed.]

[4] [Read *purushān=ēk-ōttara-śataṁ*.—Ed.]

[5] [Read *ghaṭitaṁ sutahāri(sūtradhāri)-Kēśavēna*. It means that the inscribed stone slab was fashioned (*ghaṭita*) by a stone-cutter named Kēśava.—Ed.]

MGIPC—S1—47 DGA/59—24-4-62—750.

# INDEX

By B. R. Gopal, M.A., Ootacamund

[The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure to foot-notes, and *add* to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used : *au.*=author ; *ca.*=capital ; *ch.*=chief ; *Chron.*=Chronicle ; *ci.*=city ; *co.*=country ; *com.*=composer ; *de.*=deity ; *di.*=district or division ; *do.*=ditto ; *dy.*=dynasty ; *E.*=Eastern ; *engr.*=engraver ; *ep.*=epithet *f.*=family ; *fe.*=female ; *feud.*=feudatory ; *gen.*=general ; *gr.*=grant, grants ; *hist.*=historical ; *ins.*=inscription, inscriptions ; *k.*=king ; *l.*=locality ; *l.m.*=linear measure, land measure ; *m.*=male ; *min.*=minister; *mo.*=mountain ; *myth.*= mythological ; *n.*=name ; *N.*=Northern ; *off.*=office, officer ; *peo.*=people ; *pl.*=plate, plates ; *pr.*=prince, princess ; *prov.*=province ; *q.*= queen ; *rel.*=religious ; *ri.*=river ; *S.*=Southern, *s.a.*=same as ; *sur.*=surname ; *te.*=temple ; *Tel.*= Telugu ; *t.d.*=territorial division ; *tit.*= title ; *tn.*=town ; *tk.*=taluk ; *vi.*=village; *W.*=Western ; *wk.*=work ; *wt.*=weight.]

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MGIPC--13 DGA/60—5-12-63—750.

## FOREWORD

While the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, is contemplating the celebration of the hundredth year of its existence about the end of the year 1961,[1] the *Epigraphia Indica*, published by the Department, is going to complete its thirtyfourth Volume relating to the years 1961-1962. The first fasciculus of Vol. I of the periodical having been published as early as 1888, it will have then served the students of Indian epigraphy in particular and of Indian history in general for three quarters of a century. The inscriptions published or discussed in the pages of the journal run into thousands while most of its earlier volumes are out of print.[2] For a long time now, students of Indology all over the world have therefore been feeling the need of an index of the contents of the published volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica* prepared more or less on the lines of that of the *Indian Antiquary*.[3] It is with a view to fulfilling this long felt want that the scheme of the present Index of Vols. I-XXXIV of the journal was drawn up sometime back and the work was entrusted to Mr. A. N. Lahiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant in my office. The work is now presented to the readers of the *Epigraphia Indica* as an Appendix to Vols. XXXIV (1961-1962), XXXV (1963-1964) and XXXVI (1965-1966).

Mr. Lahiri's Index is divided into several Sections. Section A contains a serial list of all the articles published in Vols. I-XXXIV together with the numbers of the volumes and of the articles, and the names of the authors and references to pages, illustrations, etc. In Section B, names of the authors have been arranged alphabetically and the serial numbers of their articles, as enumerated in Section A, have been quoted against each of them. Section C deals with such items of topography as (i) findspot of the inscriptions, (ii) places where they are now deposited, and (iii) gift villages mentioned in the titles and subtitles of the articles, and Section D with the Districts, etc., in which the findspots of the inscriptions and the places of their deposit are situated. In Section E, the names of kings mentioned in the titles and subtitles of various articles have been alphabetically arranged while Section F contains an alphabetical list of the dynasties to which the kings belonged, with reference to the articles in both the cases. It is expected that Mr. Lahiri's Index to the *Epigraphia Indica* will be useful to the students of Indian history and epigraphy.

The importance of the study of inscriptions for the reconstruction of early Indian history was realised as early as the closing years of the eighteenth century and, since then, epigraphic records were being published in various periodicals. There was, however, no journal for the exclusive publication of inscriptions. The *Epigraphia Indica* originated in order to meet this demand. A proposal was submitted to the Government of India in February 1887 for the printing of a *Record* to publish the texts and translations of inscriptions in Sanskrit, Arabic and other languages[4] as

[1] Alexander Cunningham planned an Archaeological Survey of India as early as 1848. But the Survey was created with his appointment as Archaeological Surveyor to the Government of India (December 1861 to the end of 1865). Cf. *Ancient India*, No. 9. p. 4, note 4 ; p. 10 ; S. N. Majumdar Sastri, *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*, 1924, p. liv. Cunningham later served as the first Director General of the Archaeological Survey from the 1st January 1871 to the 30th September 1885 (Sastri, loc. cit. ; cf. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 1).

[2] Arrangements have now been made for reprinting Vols. I-X.

[3] L. M. Anstey. *Index to Volumes* I-L (1872-1921) [*of the*] *Indian Antiquary*.

[4] Later a biennial supplement to the journal for publishing Arabic and Persian inscriptions was conceived and its first issue appeared as relating to the years 1907-1908. Its next issue for 1909-1910 and the subsequent issues, however, had the title *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*. From the issue of 1951-1952, the periodical is being styled *Epigraphia Indica : Arabic and Persian Supplement*. This periodical was originally edited by part-time workers. The post of Assistant Superintendent for Muslim Epigraphy (later changed to 'Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions'), who is now its editor, was created in 1945 (*Anc. Ind.*, No. 9. p. 43 ; cf. p. 40, note1).



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well as their lists[1] and other miscellaneous antiquarian information, including materials like those published for the Archaeological Survey of Western India in the *Memoranda* issued by the Government of Bombay from time to time between 1874 and 1885. As the scheme of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*[2] envisaged indefinite delays in arranging and publishing inscriptions belonging to particular dynasties or periods, it was considered ' altogether better to publish them, as they are found, in the fasciculi of the *Epigraphia Indica*, and trust to the index of the volume to facilitate references'. Information on the scheme was asked by the Government on the 17th October 1887 and details for a quarterly issue of the fasciculi were submitted. After further correspondence, the Government sanctioned the publication and the first fasciculus appeared in October 1888.[3]

The concluding fasciculus of Vol. I of the periodical appeared in 1892 and the volume was entitled *Epigraphia Indica : A Collection of Inscriptions Supplementary to the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, published under the auspices of the Archaeological Survey of India.[4] The editor of the volume was Jas. Burgess, who was the Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India from the 25th March 1886 to the 1st June 1889,[5] while E. Hultzsch, then Epigraphist to the Government of Madras, and A. Führer, then Archaeological Surveyor of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh (i.e. modern Uttar Pradesh), were the assistant editors.

Vol. II of the *Epigraphia Indica*, for which ' much progress ' in the preparation of materials had already been made by October 1891 when the Preface for Vol. I was written,[6] came out in 1894, edited by Burgess with the assistance of Führer. It completed what Burgess had undertaken to publish and closed his 'work in connection with Indian epigraphy'.[7] It was published under the auspices of the Archaeological Survey of India as ' Volume XIV ' of the 'New Imperial Series.'[8]

It was, however, felt that the continuation of the *Epigraphia Indica*, devoted exclusively to the publication of inscriptions, was necessary for the progress of historical studies in India. As a matter of fact, even before the concluding parts of Vol. I edited by Burgess were out, Hultzsch offered a scheme for the publication of Vol. II under his editorship in his letter to the Madras Government, dated the 3rd July 1891, and some progress in the matter of its printing was already made before the 30th June 1893.[9] The said volume, however, ultimately appeared as Vol. III of the *Epigraphia Indica*. From this volume, the journal became a quarterly to be published in the

[1] Cf. the lists of inscriptions compiled by F. Kielhorn (Appendices to Vols. V and VII), H. Lüders (Appendix to Vol. X) and D. R. Bhandarkar (Appendix to Vols. XIX-XXIII).

[2] This name for an epigraphical series was suggested by James Prinsep who pointed out the necessity of such collections of inscriptions as early as 1837 (*Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI, p. 663; *CII*, Vol. III, p. 1). It was Prinsep who was primarily responsible for the decipherment of the early Indian writings and placed the study of Indian epigraphy on a sound and critical basis.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Preface, pp. v-vi.

[4] The Preface to the volume bears the date ' 5th October 1891'. The volume was regarded ' as properly one of the series of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* ' and it was expected to pass practically as the fourth volume of that series (*ibid.*, p vi). Arrangements had previously been made for the preparation of three volumes of the *Corpus*, of which Vol. I (*Inscriptions of Aśoka* By A. Cunningham, 1877, its revised edition by E. Hultzsch appearing in 1925) and Vol. III (*Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors* by J. F. Fleet, 1888) had already appeared. According to a later arrangement, the Kharōshṭhī and Brāhmī inscriptions of the period between the Mauryas and the Guptas would have to be edited respectively by E. J. Rapson and H. Lüders for Vol. II of the series (cf. *CII*, Vol. II, Part i, p. v). But only the Kharōshṭhī inscriptions edited by Sten Konow ultimately appeared in 1929 as Vol. II, Part I. A part of the work allotted to Lüders is now in the press.

[5] *Ancient India*, No. 9, pp. 21, 23.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Preface, p. vii.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Preface (dated August 1894), p. ix.

[8] Cf. *Ancient India*, No. 9, p. 22. Vol. II of the *Epigraphia Indica* was expected to pass practically as the fifth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (cf. Preface, p. ix).

[9] Madras G. P., Public, No. 675 of 7th August 1891, Nos. 642-43 of 14th August 1893. Hultzsch's letter refers *inter alia* to the rate of honorarium payable to the contributors as fixed by Burgess and proposes to print epigraphic texts in verse in running lines and not arranged according to separate stanzas as in Volumes I-II edited by Burgess.

first month of each quarter of the year though a volume would consist of eight Parts covering a period of two years. The volume in question, pertaining to the years 1894-1895, was edited by Hultzsch and was ' published under the authority of the Government of India as a Supplement to the *Indian Antiquary* ' under the title of *Epigraphia Indica and Record of the Archaeological Survey of India.*[1] The size of the volume, comprising seven equal Parts of 48 pages each and the Index, Contents, etc. in Part VIII, changed from the Super royal quarto of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* to the royal quarto of the *Indian Antiquary* started by Burgess in 1872.[2] The words 'as a Supplement to the *Indian Antiquary*' continued to appear on the title page of the volume of the *Epigraphia Indica* upto Vol. XV (1919-1920). It may be pointed out that there was no issue of the journal pertaining to the year 1904 so that Vol. VII for 1902-1903 was followed by Vol. VIII for 1905-1906.

From Vol. XVI (1921-1922), still ' published under the authority of the Government of India ' under the title *Epigraphia Indica and Record of the Archaeological Survey of India*, the periodical ceased to call itself a ' Supplement to the *Indian Antiquary*.'[3] Though it was still published under the auspices of the ' Archaeological Survey of India ', the words ' and Record of the Archaeological Survey of India ' were omitted from the title page and the journal began to bear the simpler title *Epigraphia Indica* from Vol. XXV (1939-1940). From Vol. XXVI (1941-1942), the name of the publishing authority began to be given as the ' Department of Archaeology ' instead of the ' Archaeological Survey of India.'[4] There was another break in the continuity of the publication of the journal for four years owing to the Second World War. This accounts for the absence of any issue pertaining to the period 1943 to 1946 between Vol. XXVI (1941-1942) and Vol. XXVII (1947-1948).

E. Hultzsch edited Vol. III (1894-1895) to Vol. VI (1900-1901) as the ' Government Epigraphist ' his designation being sometimes referred to as ' Epigraphist to the Government of Madras.'[5]

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[1] The publication of the *Epigraphia Indica* as a supplement to the *Indian Antiquary* was the result of an arrangement with Richard Carnac Temple, then editor and proprietor of the latter journal. Burgess started the *Indian Antiquary* and edited Vols. I (1872) to XIII (1884). Temple then edited Vols. XIV (1885) to XX (1891) jointly with Fleet. Vols. XXI (1892) to XXXIX (1910) were edited by Temple alone and Vol. XL (1911) to LX (1931) by him jointly with others. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LX, pp. iii-iv.

[2] Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, 1884, Preface ; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II : *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. iii.

[3] The *Epigraphia Indica* became an independent journal from the 8th February 1921 when the agreement with the editor and proprietor of the *Indian Antiquary* was terminated (*ARASI*, 1920-21, pp. 21 and 33). Archaeology, which was receiving divided attention from the Provincial and Central Governments before the inauguration of the Reforms of 1919, became the sole charge of the Centre from 1921. The Epigraphic Section was thoroughly reorganised on this occasion. Cf. *Progress of Science in India during the Past Twenty-five Years*, Calcutta, 1938, p. 259 ; *Anc. Ind.*, No. 9, p. 36 and note.

[4] For the retrenchment in the expenditure of the Archaeological Survey in 1931 and the changes due to the Government of India Act of 1935, see *Anc. Ind.*, No. 9, pp. 39-40.

[5] Hultzsch was at first appointed for three years as ' Epigraphist ' to Government (i.e. the Government of Madras) in the Archaeological Survey (i.e. the Archaeological Survey of Southern India under the Madras Government, sometimes called 'Madras Archaeological Survey ' as in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, Preface, p. ix) on the 21st November 1886 (Madras G. O., Public, No 1462 of 24th October 1887, p. 2). For his next term for 3 years, he was made independent of the Archaeological Survey of South India (*Anc. Ind.*, No. 9, p. 23). His designation 'Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of Southern India ' was now changed to 'Government Epigraphist'. See Madras G. O., Public, No. 189 of 11th March and No. 355 of 14th May 1890. Hultzsch's work was to edit the volumes of the *South Indian Inscriptions* series and to submit reports containing notices of the inscriptions examined by him, which appeared in the Madras G. O.s. The earlier volumes of the above series, edited by Hultzsch, were prepared on the lines of those of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vols. IV-VIII quote only the texts of inscriptions without introductions and translation. Later, certain changes were gradually introduced in regard to the size of the volumes and the presentation of the epigraphic material. The other publication afterwards became the report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, and was later called the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*. Still later it became the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* (edited by the Superintendent for Epigraphy under the guidance of the Government Epigraphist for India from 1930-31), its current name being *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (edited by the Government Epigraphist for India since 1945-46).

Vols. VII (1902-1903) to VIII (1905-1906) and Parts I-III of Vol. IX (1907-1908) were also edited by the same scholar but as Professor in the University of Halle, Germany.[1] Parts IV-VIII of Vol. IX were edited by Sten Konow, the first Government Epigraphist for India (24.11.06 to 15.11.08).[2] Parts I, II, VI and VII of Vol. X (1909-1910) were also edited by Sten Konow, while Parts III, IV, V and VIII of the same volume and Parts I-V of Vol. XI (1911-1912) were edited by V. Venkayya, the next Government Epigraphist for India (November 15, 1908, to November 21, 1912).[3] After the death of Venkayya on the 21st November 1912, the post of Government Epigraphist for India was virtually in abeyance till the appointment of H. Krishna Sastri to the said post on the 1st July 1920.[4] During these years, the *Epigraphia Indica* was edited from abroad by Sten Konow (Parts VI-VIII of Vol. XI, Vol. XII for 1913-1914 and some Parts of Vol. XIII for 1915-1916) and by F. W. Thomas (remaining Parts of Vol. XIII, Vols. XIV for 1917-1918 and XV for 1919-1920 and some Parts of Vol. XVI for 1921-1922), as Honorary Correspondents of the Government of India, Archaeological Department.[5]

Since the appointment of the third Government Epigraphist for India, viz. H. Krishna Sastri who retired from service on the 15th September 1925,[6] the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India has been functioning at Ootacamund in Madras State[7] and the editing of the *Epigraphia Indica* is being done by Indians. Krishna Sastri edited some Parts of Vol. XVI (1921-1922) and

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[1] Hultzsch left India on leave on the 27th May 1903 and subsequently resigned his post with effect from the 27th November of the same year (Madras G. O. Nos. 678-79, Public, 12th August 1904, p. 2). The difficulty caused by the resignation of Hultzsch was apparently responsible for the absence of any issue of the *Epigraphia Indica* for the year 1904, to which reference has been made above.

[2] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. xix: Home Dept. (Archaeology and Epigraphy) Notification No. 390, dated 10.12.06; *ibid.*, No. 291, dated 30.11.08. Previously 'a special appointment was created' for J. F. Fleet who served as 'Epigraphist to the Government of India' from the 17th January 1883 to the 4th June 1886. The object was to entrust to him the task of bringing out Vol. III of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. See *CII*, Vol. III, p. 1; *Dyn. Kan. Dist.* (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II), p. iii; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. ix. The post of an Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy was created in 1906 (*Anc. Ind.*, No. 9, p. 34). According to the reorganisation of 1921, there were one Superintendent and three Assistant Superintendents for Epigraphy (*ibid.*, p. 36 and p. 37, note 1). Some of these posts were later abolished. But since 1958, there are two Superintendents (one for Sanskrit and the other for Dravidian inscriptions) and three Assistant Superintendents (one for Sanskrit and two for Dravidian inscriptions). It has also been proposed that the designation of the Government Epigraphist for India, the Superintendents for Epigraphy and the Assistant Superintendents for Epigraphy would be changed respectively to the Chief Epigraphist, Epigraphists (one for Sanskrit and the other for Dravidian inscriptions) and Assistant Epigraphists (one for Sanskrit and two for Dravidian inscriptions).

[3] Cf. Madras G. O. No. 538, 28th July 1909, p. 1; *ARASI*, 1907-08, Part I (Administrative), p. 7; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. vii; Home Dept. (Archaeology and Epigraphy) Notification No. 291, dated 30.11.08. Venkayya was an Assistant of Hultzsch from 1887 (Madras G. O. No. 675, Public, 7th August 1891). He acted as the Government Epigraphist in place of Hultzsch and was later made 'Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey for Epigraphy' (cf. Madras G. O. No. 492, Public, 2nd July 1906), the designation being soon changed to 'Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphhy, Southern Circle' (Madras G. O. No. 503, Public, 27th June 1907).

[4] *Gazette of India*, Part I, 1920, p. 1322. Krishna Sastri, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, is mentioned as 'Officiating Epigraphist' (*ARASI*, Part I, 1912-13, p. 31), 'Officiating Government Epigraphist for India' (*ibid.*, 1913-14, pp. 27-28), 'Officiating Government Epigraphist' (*ibid.*, 1914-15, p. 25; 1915-16; p. 20, 1916-17, p. 17), and 'Officer in charge of the current duties of the Government Epigraphist for India' (*ibid.*, 1917-18, p. 30; cf. *ibid.*, 1918-19, p. 23; 1919-20, p. 32). He was one of Hultzsch's Assistants from January 1891 (Madras G.O. No. 675, Public, 7th August 1891) and succeeded Venkayya as Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy on the 26th November 1908 (Madras G. O. No. 538, Public, 28th July 1909).

[5] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. xix; Vol. XXXI, p. xiii.

[6] *Gazette of India*, Part I (dated 29th August 1925), p. 783, G. O. No. 1745.

[7] Sten Konow and Venkayya had their office at Simla. Hultzsch had his office originally for ten years at Bangalore from 1887 and later at Ootacamund.

Parts I-III of Vol. XVIII (1925-1926) as well as Vol. XVII (1923-1924),[1] when his successor Hirananda Sastri (Government Epigraphist for India, 16th September 1925 to 10th October 1933) edited Parts IV-VIII of Vol. XVIII, Vols. XIX (1927-1928) and XX (1929-1930) and a few Parts of Vol. XXI (1931-1932).[2] The later parts of the last-mentioned volume were edited by K. N. Dikshit (Government Epigraphist for India, 20th April to 21st August 1932)[3] and N. P. Chakravarti (Government Epigraphist for India, 4th May 1934 to 1st May 1940) who was also the editor of the next five volumes (Vol. XXII for 1933-1934 to Vol. XXVI for 1941-1942).[4] B. Ch. Chhabra (Government Epigraphist for India, 28th December 1945 to 31st July 1949; 13th February 1950 to 31st August 1953; 25th May 1957 to 8th March 1958)[5] edited Parts I to VII of both Vols. XXVII (1947-1948) and XXVIII (1949-1950), Parts I-IV of Vol. XXIX (1951-1952) and Parts IV-VI and the first half of Part VII of Vol. XXXII (1957-1958). N. Lakshminarayan Rao (Government Epigraphist for India, 1st August 1949 to 12th February 1950; 1st September 1953 to 13th May 1955)[6] edited Part VIII of Vol. XXVII, Parts V-VII of Vol. XXIX and Parts I-II of Vol. XXX (1953-1954). The present Government Epigraphist for India (14th May 1955 to 24th May 1957; 10th March 1958 to date)[7] has edited Part VIII of both Vols. XXVIII and XXIX, Parts III-VIII of Vol. XXX, Vol. XXXI (1955-1956) and Parts I-III, the latter half of Part VII and Part VIII of Vol. XXXII as well as the subsequent Volumes covered by Mr. Lahiri's Index.

From Vol. XXXII (1957-1958), the old arrangement of publishing a Part of exactly 48 pages irrespective of whether it begins or ends in the middle of articles was given up and arrangement was made to have a Part concluding with a complete article ending on a page of even number. A Part could now be a few pages more or less than 48 although the bulk of the volume of eight Parts would remain the same as before.

Besides the editors, to whom the *Epigraphia Indica* owes its high standard and reputation, thanks are due to the numerous contributors whose learned articles have adorned its pages and rendered its existence remarkably fruitful throughout its long career. Among the authors who have contributed the largest number of articles to the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*, the three German scholars, viz., G. Bühler, F. Kielhorn and E. Hultzsch, deserve prominent mention as the authors respectively of 42, 122 and 111 articles.[8] The debt of the journal is great to Bühler and Kielhorn for their learned contributions and to Hultzsch both for able editorship and for numerous contributions.

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[1] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. xv.

[2] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p .xvii; *Gazette of India*, Part I (dated 29th August 1925), p. 793, G. O. No. 1746; *ibid.* (dated 28th October 1933), p. 1093, G. O. No. F. 343/33F.

[3] Cf. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. ix.

[4] Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p.xv; *Gazette of India*, Part I (dated 26.5.34), p. 556, G. O. No. F 39-3/34; *ibid.* (dated 8.6.40), p. 821, G. O. No. F 1-12(ii)/40-F and L. The post of Government Epigraphist for India was not filled up for nearly two years after Chakravarti had left the Epigraphic Branch and he continued to edit the *Epigraphia Indica* during this period. Chakravarti's successor, C. R. K. Charlu, served as Government Epigraphist for India from the 19th May 1942 to the 2nd September 1943 (cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. xviii; *Gazette of India*, Part I, dated 16th May 1942, p. 857; *ibid.*, Section 2, dated 25th September 1953, p. 1063).

[5] *Gazette of India*, Part I, Section 2 (dated 22nd June 1946), p. 931, G. O. No. 411-AR/46; *ibid.*, dated 10th September 1949, p. 1301, G. O. No. F 1-20/49-A2; *ibid.*, dated 17th September 1949, p. 1337, *ibid.*, dated 13th May 1959, p. 57, G. O. No. F 1-34/49-A2; *ibid.*, dated 15th June 1957, p. 614, G. O. No. 1/18/57-Adm.; *ibid.*, dated 2nd August 1958, p. 450, G. O. No. F 1/2/58-C1.

[6] Cf. *ibid.*, dated 17th September 1949, p. 1337; dated 13th May 1950, p. 57; dated 3rd October 1953, p. 347, G. O. No. F 1-14/53-A2; dated 11th June 1955, p. 262, G. O. No. F 1-2/55-A2.

[7] See *ibid.*, dated 11th June 1955, p. 262; dated 15th June 1957, p. 614; dated 2nd August 1958, p. 450.

[8] Other authors who have contributed numerous articles to the *Epigraphia Indica* are R. D. Banerji (32 articles), V. V. Mirashi (51 articles), L. D. Barnett (51 articles) and the present Government Epigraphist for India (154 articles).

The articles published in the recent volumes of the journal prove clearly the hollowness of the popular belief that all important inscriptions have already been discovered as well as utilised for the reconstruction of early Indian history. As a matter of fact, the importance of epigraphic studies does not show any sign of waning even long after their beginning more than 150 years ago. There is thus no doubt that the *Epigraphia Indica* has still a useful career ahead for many years to come.

OOTACAMUND,
*December 23, 1959.*

D. C. SIRCAR,
*Government Epigraphist for India.*

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BY

A. N. LAHIRI; OOTACAMUND

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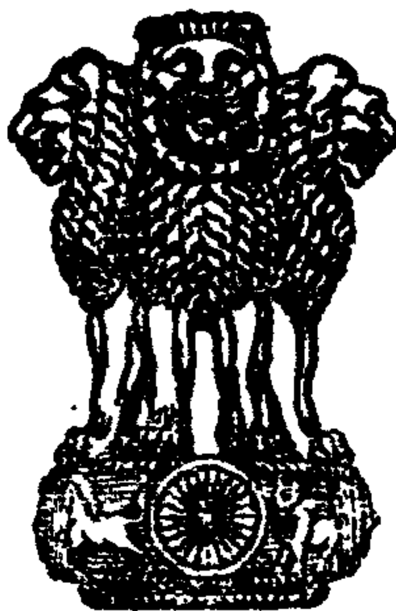
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EDITED BY

DR. D. C. SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S., F.R.A.S., F.R.N.S.,

Government Epigraphist for India




Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi
Printed by the Government of India Press, Calcutta, India
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APRIL 1961

EDITED BY
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Government Epigraphist for India



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VOL. XXXIV PART III

JULY 1961

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Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi
Printed at the Government of India Press, Calcutta, India
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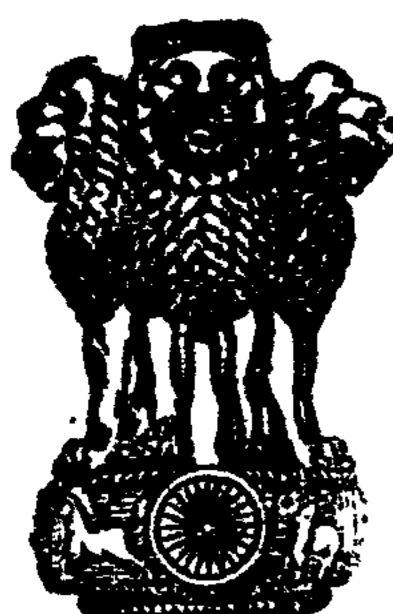
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VOL. XXXIV PART IV

OCTOBER 1961

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VOL. XXXIV

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JANUARY 1962

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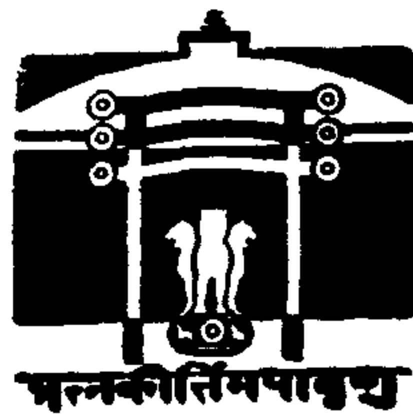
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VOL. XXXIV PART VI

APRIL 1962

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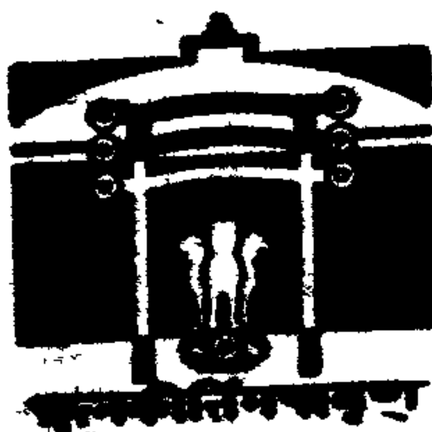
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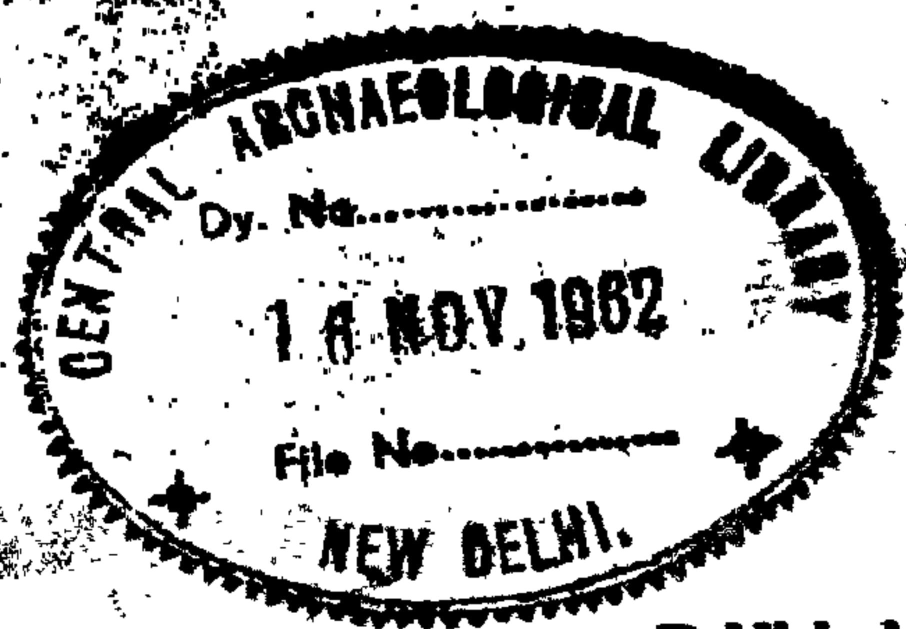
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VOL. XXXIV PART VIII

OCTOBER 1962

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Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi
Printed at the Government of India Press, Calcutta, India
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